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CONTENTS.

- Apprentice System of the United States Navy, The. *Lieutenant Wadhams.* 35.
 Attempt at Church Union in Japan, The. *Rev. Dwight W. Learned.* 464.
 Authority in Religion, The Fountains of. *Rev. Frank R. Shipman.* 361.
 ✓ Bishop Brooks. *Rev. Julius H. Ward.* 433.
 Calvinistic System, The, in the Light of Reason and the Scripture. *Professor Schaff.* 329.
 Christian Minister of To-day, The Mediating Function of the. *Rev. Philip S. Moxon.* 1.
 Church and State in Canada. *Mr. George R. Stetson.* 476.
 Congregational Churches, The Contribution of, to Modern Religious Life. *Wolcott Calkins, D. D.* 453.
 Criminals, Possible Progression in the Punishment of. *Rev. William W. McLane.* 393.
 Dr. A. Baer on Drunkenness, Views of. *Dr. Arthur McDonald.* 259.
 Duddleian Lecture for the year 1891, The. *Professor Emerton.* 238.
 Episcopal Church, The Contribution of the, to Modern Religious Life. *Rev. Fred-eric Palmer.* 376.
 Ethical Resources, Our. *President Hyde.* 124.
 Ethnic Religion in its Relation to Christianity. *Professor Gerhart.* 113.
 Eudæmonistic Ethics. A Reply. *Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster.* 293.
 Grammar School Curriculum, The Proposed Reform of the. *Professor D. Collin Wells.* 47.
 Great Love, The. *Christian Van Der Veen, D. D.* 57.
 Greek Question at Cambridge, The. *Mr. Frank G. Moore, Ph. D.* 589.
 Have we too Many Churches? *Rev. H. A. Bridgman.* 488.
 Homer, The Figures of. *Miss Julia H. Caverno.* 146.
 Leaders of Widening Christian Life and Thought. II. John McLeod Campbell. *Miss Agnes Maule Machar.* 549.
 "Life in Himself:" A Meditation on the Consciousness of Jesus Christ. *Professor Tucker.* 186.
 Local Church, The Expansion of the. *A. E. Dunning, D. D.* 12.
 Missionary Problems in the Turkish Empire. *Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.* 23.
 Missions and Civilization. I. *Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.* 496.
 Missions within and without Christendom. *Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.* 277.
 Morality: What is Better? *Amory H. Bradford, D. D.* 537.
 Organized Revival among the Young, An. *Francis E. Clark, D. D.* 573.
 Perfecting of Jesus, The. *Rev. Charles H. Dickinson.* 339.
 Pessimism's Practical Suggestions to the Ministry. *Mr. Gerald H. Beard.* 272.
 Prisoner, Reflections of a. 265.
 Reality in the Pulpit. *Rev. Charles H. Cutler.* 580.
 "Rembrandt as Educator." *H. C. Bierwirth, Ph. D.* 167.
 Scientific Theology, The Duty of, to the Church of To-day. *Professor Pfei-derer.* 133.
 The Christ and the Creation. *Rev. John Coleman Adams.* 225.

EDITORIAL.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Colonel Gardiner Tufts. 80.
 Do Common Schools Educate?—Pro-
 posed Improvements. 197.
 Dr. Parkhurst and the New York
 Police. 515.
 Dr. Storrs's Ultimatum. 613.
 How much did the American Board
 mean in granting to the Prudential
 Committee Liberty to ask "Supple-
 mentary Questions"? 312.</p> | <p>In Memoriam. Abraham Kuenen.—
 Paul Anton de Lagarde. 201.
 Lewis French Stearns. 307.
 Missionaries or "Cases"?—The Present
 Question in Regard to Applicants to
 the American Board. 410.
 Noah Porter. 407.
 Religious Authority. 298.
 Social Christianity—The Andover House
 Association. 82.</p> |
|---|---|

- Social Legislation: The New Danish Poor-Law.—Belgian Councils of Arbitration. 609.
- The Approaching Election in the Province of Quebec. 207.
- The Christian Academy. 308.
- The Divinity of Christ. I. Introductory. 510.
- II. The Primitive Church. 598.
- The Recent Election in the Province of Quebec. 405.
- The Regression of the Critical Attack on the Deity of Christ. 402.
- The Roman Catholic Policy concerning Popular Education. 606.
- The Teaching of Jesus as related to that of the Apostles. 70.
- The Theological Restiveness of Ultra-Conservatives. 75.
- Why not clear our April Holiday of Religious Pretense? 513.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

- Mark XVI. 9-20 and John VII. 53-VIII. 11. *A. P. Peabody, DD., LL. D.* 631
- Paul's Rabbinic Education. *Rev. Samuel Weyler.* 88.

NOTES ON CURRENT CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.

- Discussions upon the Fourth Gospel. *Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.* 419.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

- ✓ The University Settlement Idea. *Mr. Robert A. Woods.* 98.
- The Tee-to-tum Movement. *Mr. H. Otto Thomas.* 415.

- NOTES FROM ENGLAND. *Mr. Joseph King, M. A.* 318, 518.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

- ✓ Bixby's The Crisis in Morals. *J. H. Hyslop.* 213.
- ✓ Booth's Labor and Life of the People. *Robert A. Woods.* 221.
- Buhl's Kanon und Text des Alten Testaments. *George F. Moore.* 220.
- Caldecott's English Colonization and Empire. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 324.
- Carter's Mark Hopkins. *W. E. Merri-man.* 533.
- Cheyne's The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter. *John Phelps Taylor.* 218.
- Clark's Savonarola. *M. B. Norton.* 531.
- Earle's The Sabbath in Puritan New England. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 224.
- Fronde's The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 430.
- Godard's Poverty, its Genesis and Exodus. *J. H. Hyslop.* 529.
- Hardy's Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. *M. L. Gordon.* 106.
- Henry's Patrick Henry. *Charles A. Starbuck.* 638.
- Henty's A Dash for Khartoum. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 223.
- Henty's Held Fast for England. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 223.
- Holtzmann's Hand-Commentar zum neuen Testament. *George F. Moore.* 100.
- Knox's A Winter in India and Malaysia among the Methodist Missions. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 321.
- Lavissee's General View of the Political History of Europe. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 321.
- MacRealsham's Romans Dissected. *Owen H. Gates.* 522.
- Müller-Simonis' Relation des Missions Scientifiques de MM. Hyvernats et Müller-Simonis. *Merwin-Marie Snell.* 527.
- Muirhead's The Elements of Ethics. *J. H. Hyslop.* 526.
- Murray's An Introduction to Ethics. *J. H. Hyslop.* 104.
- Pierson's The Divine Enterprise of Missions. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 326.
- Spalding's Education and the Higher Life. *M. B. Norton.* 528.
- Spencer's Justice. Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. *J. H. Hyslop.* 216.
- Things to Come. *Robert A. Woods.* 215. ✓
- Wildeboer's Die Entstehung des Alttestamentlichen Kanons. *George F. Moore.* 103.
- Winsor's Christopher Columbus. *Charles C. Starbuck.* 640.
- Woods's English Social Movements. *James M. Whilton.* 429. ✓

NOTE. 195.

BOOKS RECEIVED. 109, 327, 431, 536, 644.

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VOLUME XVII.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XCVII.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE MEDIATING FUNCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER OF TO-DAY. <i>Rev. Philip S. Moxom</i>	1
2. THE EXPANSION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH. <i>A. E. Dunning, D. D.</i>	12
3. MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i>	23
4. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. <i>Lieutenant Wadhams</i>	35
5. THE PROPOSED REFORM OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM. <i>Professor D. Collin Wells</i>	47
6. THE GREAT LOVE. <i>Christian Van Der Veen, D. D.</i>	57
7. EDITORIAL.	
THE TEACHING OF JESUS AS RELATED TO THAT OF THE APOSTLES	70
THE THEOLOGICAL RESTIVENESS OF ULTRA-CONSERVATIVES	75
COLONEL GARDINER TUFTS	80
SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY—THE ANDOVER HOUSE ASSOCIATION	82
8. BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.	
PAUL'S RABBINIC EDUCATION. <i>Rev. Samuel Weyler</i>	88
9. SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.	
THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT IDEA. <i>Mr. Robert A. Woods</i>	98
10. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Holtzmann's Hand-Commentar zum neuen Testament, 100.—Wilkeboer's Die Entstehung des Alttestamentlichen Kanons, 103.—Murray's An Introduction to Ethics, 104.—Hardy's Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima, 106.	
11. BOOKS RECEIVED	109

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with the assistance of a large staff of
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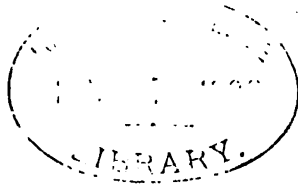
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THE MEDIATING FUNCTION OF 'THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER TO-DAY.

THE continuity of the Christian ministry and the permanence of certain elements with which it deals, as the main facts of revelation on the one hand and the main qualities of human nature on the other, give it a certain stableness of position and work. Yet each age in the history of the world needs, as each age produces and trains, its own peculiar ministry. The Christian work of to-day must be done by men of to-day. The Christian ministry must be far more vital than institutional. The business of the ministry is to lead in the realm of the moral and spiritual ideas and activities of men. It has a true prophetic function to fulfill. It should be always in advance of the times; not so far in advance as to be out of touch with the great common life of the world, but ahead,—thinking larger and higher thoughts and uttering them, feeling finer and holier emotions and manifesting them, apprehending better ideals of individual and social conduct and attempting them. The ministry is to be prophetic, not in utterance only, but in life, and so capable of leading men onward in the process of realizing the kingdom of God.

Naturally the minister's formal training is determined by the prevalent idea of his function. His self-training will be determined by his own idea of his function. If that idea is large, and high, and progressive, his self-training will broaden toward the breadth, and rise toward the height, and advance with the propulsive force, of his idea. I speak of the minister's *self-training*, for that is the most important part of his training. All that is done for him by college and seminary is necessarily subordinate

to that which he does for himself ; or rather, the extent and the value of what is done for him are determined by what he does for himself. He is not merely passive and receptive ; he is active and creative, if he is alive, if the true prophetic impulse has awakened in his soul. The school can make theologians, and scholars, and writers, perhaps, but not preachers, prophets, and leaders, unless in the students there is the true perception of their calling and a persistent reaching toward its powers and ends.

I purpose in this paper to set forth some thoughts on the function of the Christian minister, in the light of the conditions and needs of the time in which we live. Whatever value this study may have will lie not in any novelty of fact or principle, if that were possible in connection with so worn a theme, but in the expression which it gives to some results of experience, and in a deep sympathy with the perplexed, passionate, and struggling social life in the midst of which to-day the Christian minister's work must be done.

1. The function of the Christian minister is *to preach* : that is, to announce clearly and constantly the great facts of the gospel. These facts — the love of God for men revealed in and through Jesus Christ, the exposure and defeat of sin by the cross, the forgiveness of sins, the vision of faith, and the realization of the eternal life — are not mere remembered incidents or announcements of a bygone age ; they are elements in actual and present experience ; and as such have all the newness and force of fresh facts and communications. The preacher of these is not a mere witness of something past. He testifies of that which is. Every essential fact of the gospel is reproduced in the sphere of man's inner-experience as he enters into the Christian life. The office of the Spirit is, in part, to revitalize ancient and factual revelation and pour it into the soul as a new communication. The perpetuity of preaching is grounded just in the reality of this process. Preachers are not called merely to iterate and reiterate past incidents, happenings that belong to a remote age and an archaic phase of life. The living voice and magnetic personality are not needed for such work. It is because revelation is ever renewed through the spirit of man, and ever bodies itself in facts of inward experience, that men continue to be in any real sense "witnesses of the resurrection," and that their word can be, now as of old, "the power of God unto salvation." The preacher declares not merely what he has learned from a book, but what he has seen and felt and known. His testimony is like that of St.

John, save in the entirely subordinate particular of material contact, — “That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.”

This direct, personal testimony, this declaration of facts which have reappeared in the sphere of his own spiritual experience, must always be the first and most important part of the minister's function. It is this which gives power and efficiency to all the rest of his work. It is his experience of revelation, above everything else, that qualifies him as the ambassador of Jesus Christ. It is this which makes his utterance prophetic — a speaking for God.

Real preaching can never be perfunctory; it can never become merely traditional or didactic; and it can never lose its power over the human soul; because it has its spring in a continuous personal experience of divine communion and communication. A failure to appreciate his immediate relation to Christ, and to find the perpetual authentication of his message in that experience by which revelation becomes a spiritual process in his own soul, makes the minister a mere echo of other men's thoughts and a mere reporter of external and remote facts. He may still be a priest administering sacraments, but he is no more a prophet upon whom rests the precious and mighty “burden of the word of the Lord.” He may be a valuable instructor of his fellow-men in many sorts of knowledge, but he misses the chief power and the chief glory of his calling. The true liberty of the pulpit is not in the license which may be given it by councils or presbyteries to declare this or that form of theological or ecclesiastical opinion, but in that immediate apprehension of God and of Christ, and that personal experience of revelation, which raise the preacher's mind into a realm above dogma and precedent and make his speech an original testimony to divine reality. This liberty is the realization of Christ's words, “ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free,” and “if the son make you free ye shall be free indeed;” and of the apostle's words, “where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

To preach, then, to declare the great facts of the gospel out of an experience in which those facts have been reproduced, and have become new and vital, is the first part of the Christian minister's work.

2. It is the function of the Christian minister *to teach*. Testimony is to be explicated and enforced by teaching. The facts of the gospel are the bases of Christian principles. The facts verify

4 *Mediating Function of the Christian Minister.* [January,

themselves to consciousness in experience; they are also to be justified to reason as concrete expressions of great principles of thought and life. The teaching of the Christian pulpit is, thus, a rational exposition of the truths of revelation and the application of these truths to life. This is a continuous work. It is not properly theological. The theologian seeks a coherent, and as far as may be complete, system of thought, — a philosophy of God and humanity in their mutual relations. The teaching of the Christian minister is always practical in its aim. It terminates not on knowledge, merely, but on life. His perpetual effort is to secure the application of doctrines to conduct, and the consequent realization of doctrines in deed and character, in quality and power of life.

It is a main characteristic of Christianity that, as every essential fact on which it rests may be reproduced in experience, so every essential doctrine that it sets forth may be embodied and expressed in life. Just here we discover a powerful corrective of speculative tendencies in theology. The end of truth is *being*. The highest form of truth is in personality. Jesus said, "I am the truth." He was not using figure of speech. Truth as principle is truth unrealized. It must be taken up and transmuted into quality and force of being. Life, therefore, and not logic, is the supreme test of doctrines. Doctrines that have no relation to conduct and cannot be incorporated in character are valueless, if not meaningless.

The Christian minister must teach continually with this thought in mind, that the true outcome of his teaching is better life. This thought will keep him close to reality. It will unify all his work. It will make his presentation of religion full and strong, able to touch men on every side. His work is much more than ethical; it is spiritual, and therefore ethical. The morality of Christ is righteousness. Righteousness is the expression of holy love, in disposition and action, in all the relations of life. Religion is not "morality touched with emotion," but it is morality created and suffused by that love of God and man which is at once emotion, intelligence, and will. The distinction between doctrinal preaching and practical preaching is not a valid distinction. Christian doctrine, or teaching, is always practical. Here, at least, "theory" should never be divorced from "practice." The need of truths to believe is fundamentally a need of truths to live. Jesus said to those who professed to follow Him: "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?" These words are full

of suggestion to the minister of Christ. As a teacher he should seek continually so to present truth as to awaken in his hearers the impulse to do and to become. The relation of truth to life at once discloses the breadth of the minister's field. His teaching must be as broad as the whole sphere of human life, because the gospel addresses itself to the whole not only of man's need, but even of his possibility. Every question concerning man in his relations to God or to his fellow-men is fundamentally a moral question. This fact at once relates the minister as a teacher to every such question.

As Christian preaching demands in the preacher an inward experience of the facts he announces, so Christian teaching demands in the teacher both experience and discipline. The discipline involves wide knowledge, careful judgment, penetrating insight, profound sympathy, and unflinching courage. The minister is ever a learner and ever an experimenter; that is, he is continually testing truth in his own conduct, and continually observing the operation of moral principles and forces in the life of society. For he does not stand apart from his fellow-men; he is incorporate with them. There is one law for pulpit and pew; one standard of righteousness and one fountain of grace for clergyman and layman; and this oneness of obligation and resource at once binds the Christian teacher to his fellow-men and holds his teaching close to life. So great is the sphere of the Christian minister as teacher that, though by ignorance or unfaithfulness he may sink below it, he can never rise above it, nor reach beyond its far-lying limits. So large is this function that, to fill it rightly the Christian teacher must be in sympathy with all truths, and seek to coördinate them with the great central truths of revelation; and he must have the skill to apply truth to condition with such certainty as to disclose at once its divine and sovereign efficacy. Then under his teaching life will be modified as the soil and its growths are modified under the sunshine and the rain and the diligent hand of the husbandman.

3. It is the function of the Christian minister *to lead*. On this point I shall have little to say, partly because methods of leadership in the church are to a great extent determined by forms of ecclesiastical organization. In a word, it is the minister's business to lead; that is, to organize, direct, and wield the forces of the church for the accomplishment of the large ends which are set before the church by the command and manifest purpose of Christ. I say it is the minister's business *to lead*. That is an im-

portant part of his function. He is not to be the mere echo of a certain set of opinions which his congregation may formally hold; no more is he to be the mere executor of methods which that congregation may have adopted. At the present time it is specially important that Protestant ministers should wisely magnify their office — and fill it. At no time has there been greater need than now of strong and intelligent leadership. The minister *will* lead, if he has a true and high idea of his calling and the courage that is born of a free and full consecration. He *must* lead, if the church is to be steadily efficient in its work of realizing in human society the kingdom of God. He is the ambassador of Christ. Let him never yield to any clamor for a sensationalism that fills the pews with seekers after novelties and puts the Christian meeting-house into competition with the lecture-platform and the play-house. Let him never be the mere creature of a standing-committee which has an eye mainly to the receipts from sittings and not to the divine mission of the church to the ignorant and sinful. Let him never accept the domination of that spirit which says that his sole business is to secure material and social prosperity for the particular church which he serves. It is his duty, as it is his privilege, to multiply himself in the service of Christ and of men, through the members of his church. But Christian churches do not exist for their own sake, but for humanity's sake. They are constituted for the salvation of the world. Like an army, they exist not for the comforts of camp-life and the pleasures of parade, but for the prosecution of a campaign and the achievement of a conquest.

The social, industrial, and political life of to-day makes a demand upon the Christian church for enlightened and self-sacrificing service that is but feebly met. Never before has the church had such an opportunity as now to justify its existence and to prove its divine mission. Its opportunity brings also its great peril. Pastorates of churches, if ever they were, are not now sinecures. Never were pastors so taxed and strained by exhausting demands and heavy burdens as now; and never was there more urgent need of skillful and courageous leadership. The solution of social problems lies in the genuine gospel of Christ. The leadership which shall bring this gospel, with the organized force of the whole church, into efficacious contact with the great masses of restless and eager people who are reaching half blindly after a better social life, and the almost equally great multitudes who have not wakened to reach after anything save the daily crust, is a leadership which is almost desperately needed.

But the function of the Christian minister includes much that thus far I have not mentioned. There is that beneficent and fruitful service which he renders to his people in the close and tender relation of pastor. All this I pass by for the present that I may hasten to the consideration of a special work which the Christian minister of to-day must do, a special function that he must at least attempt to fulfill. This may be called his **MEDIATIVE FUNCTION**.

(1.) In an important sense the Christian minister is called upon to-day to mediate between Christianity and culture, or, more explicitly, between Christian thought and that thought in philosophy, science, and literature which, while not often essentially anti-Christian, is, or at least, through a misunderstanding, I believe, names itself non-Christian. The common conception of Christianity has been too much qualified by dogmatic ideas. Christianity, it cannot be repeated too often, is not a theology; it is not, as Dr. Mulford so clearly pointed out, even a religion; it is a revelation and a life. It implies a great and growing theology; it has stimulated the production of many theologies; but it is more than any or all of these. Faith has been confounded with belief of creeds and confessions. But faith in God existed before formulas. Dogma is historically posterior to faith. It is the result of an endeavor to express faith in terms of the understanding. The relations between faith and dogma are not accidental. A theology is an inevitable product of serious and prolonged thought upon God and life. But no theology has exhaustively stated, or can exhaustively state, even the rational contents of sacred Scripture, much less the spiritual contents of the progressive revelation which Christianity is. Now it is the function of the Christian minister, in whose experience the essential facts of Christianity have been reproduced as vital elements of his spiritual life, to interpret Christianity with such elemental simplicity and breadth as will enable sincere minds everywhere to coördinate their scientific thinking with their religious thinking; to show, by the vital method of Jesus himself, the essential nature of the gospel, and thus to disclose the real comprehensiveness of the fundamental Christian idea. A vast and difficult task this is, indeed, but not an impossible task, especially not impossible in very many individual cases, and a task that even now is being prosecuted with cheering success in the field of apologetic and constructive Christian literature. But there can be no substitute for the interpretative work which

a large-minded, highly cultivated, and wholly consecrated ministry can do. The personal element must always enter largely into the most efficacious exposition of Christian truth. The man informed and sublimed by the truth of Christianity is the mightiest apologist. The Christian thinker in whom revelation has become experience, and whose insight is the result of culture quickened by communion with the divine Spirit, is the most powerful interpreting and reconciling force in the realm of thought. There is a power in personality that is not communicable through the printed page. The true function, then, of the exponent of Christianity is not that of criticism and attack, but of interpretation, comprehension, and reconciliation. Christianity is hospitable to every sincere and earnest thought. It welcomes every discovery of truth, and has a place for every real addition to man's knowledge of himself and of the world. The sun coördinates with itself every planet and every satellite in the solar system ; so Christ, when He is known, draws to himself every truth-loving personality, and by his revelation of God unites in one harmonious whole the unnumbered, varying truths, or fragments of truth, that during all the centuries have shone upon the waking and questioning mind of man.

With Christ the Christian minister stands at the centre of the moral universe. As Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man, is the mediator between God and man, interpreting God to man, and man to himself, and drawing man by his reconciling power into fellowship with God, so the preacher of Christ is the true mediator between Christianity and culture, reconciling the multi-fold and varying thoughts of sincere men with the central truth which appears in the embodied love and righteousness of God.

(2.) Inseparable from what precedes is the function of the Christian minister as a mediator between "the church" and what, without discrimination, often is called "the world." As a visible and formal organization, the church is far from being inclusive of all those whose spiritual affinities ally them with Christ and with essential Christianity. There is a vast multitude of what Horace Bushnell called "outside saints," men and women who are striving to live the life of the spirit, but whose names are not on any church roll, and whose force is not operant in the organic life and work of the church. The causes of this separation of forces that belong together may be found on this side and on that. Some of them are in the narrowness and inflexible ecclesiasticism of local churches, and the ignorance or bigotry of church mem-

bers; some of them are in the ignorance or misunderstanding or even bigoted antipathy to creed of those outside. But, be the causes what they may, they are largely removable without the sacrifice of any Christian principle in the church, or any sincere conviction in the minds of those outside. In every community are many men who ought to be, and who might be, brought into organic relation with "the body of Christ." Here, then, is the sphere for a work of mediation by the Christian minister, which, faithfully done, would result in immensely strengthening the practical force of Christianity in society. Wisdom, love for men, and skill in putting emphasis where it belongs on the essentials of Christian faith and life, are qualities which the true minister, the minister who enters most deeply into the spirit of his Master, will cultivate and successfully use in this work.

(3.) In the same general line is the important function of mediation between churches, and between denominations of churches. The organic unity of all Christian churches is to many an Utopian dream. To some it is even an evil to be avoided at any risk. I do not care to discuss the question here. But this may be said without risking dispute, that formal and organic unity of all Christian churches will never come, save as the final result and expression of a triumphant unity of spirit. Such unity of spirit is certainly a condition to be sought with zeal and persistence. Such unity is now, happily, a state that can be realized to a degree far beyond any attained in the history of many hundred years. The preacher of the gospel is not first the creature and advocate of a sect, but a minister of Jesus Christ. He is not, or ought not to be, first a Baptist or a Congregationalist or an Episcopalian, but a Christian. More than that, he is a preacher and teacher of those fundamental Christian facts and principles which are essentially unifying and not divisive. His authority is not derived through any mere historical continuity of office, but through his immediate relation to Christ and his personal experience of revelation. The continuity of the Christian ministry inheres in the continuity of the divine purpose to save the world. Its essential power is an immediate endowment. Over all the claims of the local church, or the sect, or the great historic institution, is the present claim of humanity and the present claim of God. The end of the minister's endeavor is the salvation of men in the broadest sense, which is, in other words, the realization in society of the kingdom of God. In reaching toward this end he may — shall I not say he must? — mediate between the

mutually unsympathetic, if not discordant, churches, and, by imparting a better knowledge and a larger purpose and a sweeter spirit than they all now possess, lead them up to a higher plane of religious thought and work on which their divided and often rival forces will unite in harmonious endeavor to fulfill their mission in the world, and to penetrate and transform all society by the power of the gospel of love. What strengthening of weak places in the Christian line, what rallying of discouraged bands of workers, and what retrenching of enormous material and moral waste would such a unity accomplish!

(4.) Perhaps the most important feature of the mediative function which belongs to the Christian ministry to-day is that which concerns the relation to each other of social classes. After a hundred years of industrial individualism, the civilized world is approaching a crisis of transition. The transition is already in process. Competition in production and trade, which has ruled almost unchecked for so long a time, is already ominously manifesting its inadequacy as a general principle for the regulation of the commercial and industrial relations of society. Combination on a gigantic scale has arisen to check the working of competition. Unlimited competition has proved itself intolerable. Under the competitive industrial system wealth has massed itself enormously in relatively few hands, and with the rapid increase of population a vast body of wage-earning laborers has formed, which is swiftly consolidating into a sharply defined class, with class instincts, jealousies, and discontents. The industrial condition of to-day is one of open war, or of armed and uneasy truce. On one side are capitalists, great land-owners, and employers; on the other side are the great multitude of more or less compactly organized wage-earners. Meantime there are strong tendencies developing in the direction of nationalism and other forms of socialism, and even of anarchism. Whatever view we may take as to the best system of social organization, we are compelled to admit that the present system is not permanent, and is rapidly becoming unendurable. The outlook is such as to make the most careful and conservative students of social questions anxious, and the most hopeful serious. A great social conflict is imminent. On one side are wealth, intelligence, and the power that belongs to possessions and intelligence. On the other side are relative, to a large extent extreme, poverty, ignorance, and the power of numbers and increasing solidarity. Both sides are represented in the churches; though it must be confessed that the former is more largely and

much more influentially represented in Protestant churches than the latter. A vast number of the poor are alienated from the churches, and many of these the churches at present seem to have no capacity or skill to reach.

The only solvent of the social problem which can be entirely efficacious is the diffusion and realization of practical Christianity throughout society. The golden rule, the law of love, applied equally by rich and poor, by employer and employed, by capitalist and wage-earner, will alone radically remove the difficulty. But such a diffusion of Christianity is a work of time and labor and self-sacrifice.

I state the problem, or suggest it rather, not to discuss it at length, but to give a clear setting to the proposition that Christian ministers are called upon to-day, more imperatively than ever before, to mediate between conflicting social classes, and to render the most effective aid in solving the social problem; to contribute, perhaps to an extent beyond that attainable by any other class of men, in making the social transition, already in process, peaceful and beneficent to all concerned. The position of the minister is one of moral independence, and, as the exponent of Christianity, one of highest moral authority. By his love for men he is saved from narrow partisanship. By his supreme obligation to God he is lifted above fear. Bound by closest ties of sympathy to men, irrespective of their circumstances, he is in a position to speak to them with utter plainness and powerful persuasiveness. His daily life lets him deeply into the inner life of men. Now is his supreme opportunity. Now he must turn on the economic relations of men the clear light of Christian truth. Now, with pity for the weak, sympathy for the suffering, respect for the upright, and warning and rebuke for the willfully evil, but with a love, as of Christ himself, for all, he must counsel, instruct, and persuade with the truth and wisdom of Christ and the power and patience of pure self-sacrifice. He must help men to understand each other, to see each other's rights, and to recognize and fulfill their own duties. He must not be swerved from the right by applause, nor cowed by threats, nor bought by favors. For him wealth must have no glamour, and poverty no terrors. He must inculcate justice in the spirit and according to the ideal of the supreme law of all human relations: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

But beyond his faithful preaching of righteousness and love, he must endeavor to know the facts of the economic condition of

society. These he may know. No man, save the professional economist, has better opportunity, if he will take it, to know the elements of the social problem, than the Christian minister, and no one is better qualified to judge fairly and rightly. If he is not so qualified, it is his own fault. The day is past when men ought to be able to say that the minister knows nothing about business. It is his duty to know about men, and the occupations, ambitions, needs, and temptations of men. He should be a careful and continuous student of social and industrial life. He should be able to discover and understand social tendencies, and he should have the courage, the wisdom, and the force to guide men to sound thinking and unselfish action. He should keep the high ground of the great Christian ethics, despite the sneer, often, alas! from professedly Christian lips, that the Sermon on the Mount is impracticable, and he should apply the Christian ethics unflinchingly to the transactions of the market as well as of the saloon.

Thus will he stand before the people as a true friend of all men, and the veritable prophet of the living God. It is scarcely too much to say, that no special work of the Christian minister to-day is more important or more imperative than that of being a wise, faithful, and sympathetic mediator between his fellow-men in the social and industrial crisis that is almost, if not quite, upon us.

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THE EXPANSION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH.

THAT important changes in the organization of churches are soon to take place is beyond question. They are already too general to be treated as exceptions. They consist in plural ministries for local churches, with lay helpers of various kinds; and in providing for various physical, intellectual, and social as well as spiritual wants of the congregation. The demand for these changes, and the tendency to meet it, are alike general and growing. Public attention is fixed on a few conspicuous examples, as the Berkeley Temple in Boston, St. George's and St. Bartholomew's in New York, the People's Tabernacle in Jersey City, and the Grace Temple in Philadelphia. But the impulses and purposes here illustrated are becoming active in all our cities, and are beginning also to appear in country places.

The idea of reorganizing the churches so as to secure for them greater influence and efficiency in proportion to their investments of men and money is no mere scheme of an individual mind. It has found expression recently independently, and in various forms, in different sections of this country and in other countries. In the "Andover Review" for November, 1890, was an article entitled "The Reorganization of Congregational Churches," which proposed the union of the churches of one district under one pastor, with such assistants as he might need to sustain several places of worship, and to cultivate thoroughly the parish thus constituted. The plan there outlined has been extensively discussed in religious periodicals, and in local and state conferences. It has met with various objections, but in many quarters has been received with hearty favor. Better still, it has been put into practical operation in several places, and so far as heard from, with at least encouraging promise of success. Several home missionary superintendents have declared their conviction that it offers a solution of some of their most serious problems, and their desire to try it on a large scale. I will try to indicate the progress of the idea in practice, as I have followed it during the past year.

The most interesting experiment in this line which has come under my notice is now going on at Newport, N. H. This town is situated in Sullivan County, whose population has slowly and steadily declined for the last thirty years. The Congregational churches have also weakened, partly because of the loss of population, and partly because of lack of mutual interest and of centralization. Fifty years ago there were Congregational churches in thirteen towns, all with settled pastors. Last year there were only ten churches, of which six had pastors, and only two of these churches supported their ministers with funds entirely of their own raising. The Newport church, under the lead of its pastor, Rev. G. F. Kenngott, last spring instituted regular Sunday afternoon services in two villages, and assisted in supporting services in a third. At each of these a company from the Christian Endeavor Society of the Newport church regularly attended as assistants.

During the last summer three students from Andover Seminary were associated with Pastor Kenngott in maintaining services in several of the adjoining towns. They visited from house to house, organized Sunday-schools and Christian Endeavor Societies, and conducted schoolhouse meetings. In each town the pastor and the students held a continuous series of meetings for a week.

Each of the students preached in exchange with the pastor while he administered the communion in the country churches. The attendance and interest both in the central church and in the outlying districts increased so steadily, and the general results have been so satisfactory, that Pastor Kennigott felt obliged last fall to decline a flattering call to another field, in order to work out his plan, and the church has installed an assistant pastor with a view to fostering its branch organizations and the neighboring churches, which had been neglected and have now come under its care.

Meanwhile the Vermont Home Missionary Society is developing another branch of ministerial labor by employing women as evangelists in country districts. Their house-to-house visits have everywhere been cordially welcomed, and they have thus gathered audiences which have greatly surprised pastors of neighboring churches who have been called to preach to them. In one place, where the church had long been closed, it was reopened after personal visits by two of these women, with an audience four times larger than had ever been seen within its walls. In other communities, where spiritualism had prevailed, and where few Christians could be found, the places of public meeting have been filled with attentive listeners. Pastors in the neighborhood of whose parishes this work has been done have without exception expressed their approval of it. One writes of the women: "They have shown what young ladies with the spirit of consecration are and can do. They have won all hearts." Another says: "The truth was presented by them so intelligently and clearly, and their manner of approaching people was so judicious and kindly, as to heighten immensely the respect of the community, even the irreligious part of it, for Christian work and workers." Superintendent Merrill says: "To many their story has been a revelation of a new and hitherto untried method and agency in Christian work."

This question of expanding the territory and influence of the local church is attracting much more attention in England than in this country. Bitter complaints are made there of the multiplication of small churches, of the inability to support them, especially in the decaying agricultural districts, and of the miserable pittances on which many ministers with families are compelled to subsist. The London "Independent" not long ago printed several columns of letters from ministers and laymen, urging that these churches should be so grouped together as to form adequate fields of labor with adequate salaries. The bane

of the Congregational denomination was declared to be the excessive number of chapels, each with a separate minister, and the remedy urged was the grouping of from two to four under one pastor with one or more helpers. Many instances were given where two or more Congregational churches stand near enough together so that one of them could easily provide for all the needs of both.

It is worth noting that the same subject is exciting much interest also in the Established Church. One rector says: "The country vicar is terribly alone in his work. Unless he has deep spirituality and great force of character, his enthusiasm will evaporate in face of the stolid indifference of a large section of his parishioners. Of all classes in the community, the small farmer and the agricultural laborer are the least easy to move." Another writes of "the accumulated body of social tradition grotesquely mixing itself up in sacred things, . . . which is quite beyond the power of the country clergy to remove by any special remedy under existing circumstances;" meaning single-handed and alone.

Instances are altogether too common in our own country where churches of the same denomination have separated and built edifices almost side by side, through some petty quarrel, which has been perpetuated at great waste for a generation or more. At the recent Ecumenical Council in Washington a delegate made a statement which is worthy to pass into a proverb, and fits any denomination. He said: "Where two rival Methodist churches meet in a village, there is no need for the devil."

England furnishes already several examples of Congregational churches with more than one pastor and place of worship. For example, at Great Yarmouth one such church has two houses and two ministers who have worked in harmony for several years. At Wellingborough two churches united several years ago, but maintained separate meeting-places. The present pastor, Rev. T. Stephens, with lay helpers, superintends services in six places, all of which are included in one church organization.

The idea we are considering is certainly not a new one in England, since it is fully explained and commended in Dr. Davidson's Congregational lectures, delivered forty years ago. He says: "It is usually a hazardous experiment (as perilous to religion as it is contrary to the tenor of the New Testament) to split up what would be a single church into small societies, each independent of the other." The fact must not be overlooked that he is speaking of Congregational churches, and that he keeps in view the idea of

the self-government and independence of the local church, though its members may have several places of meeting. He defends this idea by saying :—

“ Nothing seems more certain than that there was in *each* primitive church a plurality of presbyters. The fact is admitted by the ablest historians. The advantages of a plurality are obvious : (1.) The people are better instructed. No one minister excels in *all* the duties of the eldership ; there is, therefore, the greatest wisdom in employing several men in the ministerial work. (2.) Pastoral visitation is better attended to. The chief part of the ministry is not the preaching of a sermon on the Sabbath, but the performance of numerous duties in watching over the flock. Where a church is large, *one* pastor has not sufficient time for this. (3.) The unsettledness of the pastoral office is materially lessened. The number of removals made by ministers of religion are fewer. The demands made by a church on a sole pastor are too great. When there is a plurality of ministers, variety is secured, and yet no man is overtasked. Hence the pastors do not become migratory.”

But the discussion in England does not stop with the idea of consolidating two or more Congregational churches into one. The “ Christian World ” takes as its motto “ One Town, One Church,” and proposes that at least Baptist and Congregational churches in the same town, both being Congregationally governed, be federated, with different buildings, but a united membership ; and this proposal is heartily supported by some of the foremost leaders of Congregationalism. This is more feasible in English than in American communities, because the majority of Baptists there do not practice close communion. The proposition leaves those who believe in immersion free to continue it, and to maintain, if they choose, a separate congregation, while those who prefer sprinkling and infant baptism, are left equally free ; but both would support one pastor, with one or more assistants, if needed.

English Congregational pastors present very effective arguments for this plan, of which there is only space to quote two or three extracts. Dr. A. Goodrich, of Manchester, says :—

“ One district, one church, would, I think, save our smaller churches. Our village churches have done, and are doing, noble service ; but in the changes that are slowly and surely coming over us they will not survive ; their extinction will mean the larger churches becoming smaller churches, which, in due time, will follow their extinct sisters. Salvation for our smaller churches surely must come from the plan here indicated. Many of our laymen are saying that our system is too costly. It certainly is in a sense other than they mean ; it is in our

smaller churches crushing the best life out of our best men. The unification of the churches in a district will save our men as well as our means. Or rather it will so dispose our means that our business men, able and willing to give, will say, 'This means business, and we will support it.' Has not the hour come for some such movement? We as churches have now for some time been contending for liberty of thought. I think we have got it. Then let us draw together and go forward."

Rev. G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, after pointing out the jealousies and differences which are apt to arise in small and divided churches from the littleness of view which is thus fostered, adds:—

"With one large, commanding, and vigorous church in each city or town, this evil would at least be largely neutralized, if not rendered impossible altogether. The freer air, the wider outlook, the more catholic spirit, which come from larger affairs, would insensibly affect the churches themselves, and instead of any departure from the traditions of the fathers being resented as a wanton innovation, it would be judged and tested solely by its adequacy to fulfill the truest and noblest ideal of our Congregational church life, and by its accordance, or otherwise, with the spirit and teaching of the New Testament."

Rev. Dr. Alexander Mackennal says:—

"The general idea, 'One Town, one Church,' has been before my mind as a vision ever since I was at college in the fifties; and I am glad to see signs of its being taken up as a practical question. I am sure it is practicable. If not immediately so, the discussion of it will educate the constituency that will make it so. In these days, when youth is doing so much of the world's work, we ought not to say of an ideal, it cannot be adopted. In ten or fifteen years the generation is fashioned that will give effective form to any desirable idea."

These sentiments are by no means confined to a few. The subject of which they treat is occupying large and increasing attention, and is regarded as offering a possible solution of one of the most difficult and threatening problems of English church life.

The conditions which are forcing this matter upon public attention there are steadily and surely developing in this country. They would, perhaps, be receiving more consideration if the changes they require did not interfere with plans for evangelization which are being earnestly, and perhaps not altogether wisely, pressed. The impression seems to be quite general that there is a dearth of ministers, and that abundant fields, offering comfortable support, are waiting for laborers. At least three schools in and about Boston are offering short cuts to the ministry, or courses of

training for professional service, and several similar institutions have recently sprung up in different parts of the country, all making urgent appeals for money, on the ground that so great is the dearth of laborers for ripe and ungathered harvests, that there is no time to give adequate training to those who are willing to rush in and reap.

What are the facts? It would seem reasonable that the average minister should be expected to be able to care for the spiritual welfare of one hundred and fifty persons, and to lead them in their efforts to win to Christ those outside of the churches. But if every Congregational minister were in active service, we should have one for every one hundred and ten members; and if the ministers now actually in pastoral office were equally distributed, there would be one for every one hundred and thirty-seven resident members. The average resident membership of Congregational churches in the United States is about ninety. If every church must have the entire service of one minister of such qualifications as to bring him a unanimous call, then we need more ministers. But even under present conditions it would not be difficult to man every Congregational pulpit whose church could support a pastor. Meanwhile there are hundreds of towns, not growing in population, where three or more evangelical churches have each a minister, while all the congregations together would not fill one of the churches. It may as well be frankly said, that while the Lord of the harvest calls for more laborers, He does not so much need more salaried officers as a wiser distribution of those already in the field. A church in eastern Massachusetts, without a pastor, has recently received over one hundred applications from ministers, or from others in their behalf, for the privilege of supplying the pulpit. It is safe to say that if fifty vacancies should suddenly occur in churches about Boston the middle of this week, men could easily be found to preach for them all before Sunday. There are in this vicinity a number of able and in every way worthy ministers, whose ambition is not unreasonable, who have spent many months, and in some instances years, of weary waiting, who have so far failed to find pastorates where they can support their families.

The simple fact is, that, looked at from any reasonable business point of view, the ministerial profession at home is numerically overstocked. The only real call for ministers which deserves at present to be heeded is from mission-fields. The special calls of God to individuals we do not gainsay, but the call from home

churches arises from the fact that more than two fifths of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the United States have less than fifty members each, while each wants a minister for itself alone. Though the statistics of Baptist churches are not at hand, I have no doubt the same is true of that denomination. Methodism, with its system of circuit-riding and local preachers, is able to supply all its churches, while more of its ministers annually leap over from its fold into Congregational pastures than from all other denominations together.

The only remedy so far suggested for this unbusinesslike administration of religious affairs, alike wasteful of men and money, is the one discussed in the article already referred to in the "Andover Review," and now under consideration in religious papers and meetings in England. That it has serious difficulties no one denies. But that the continuance of present conditions involves far greater difficulties is at least an open question; and it is possible that men, and women even, burdened with the imperfections of human nature not yet wholly sanctified, may be made to see and choose the better way. Every experiment like that at Newport, successfully carried out, will stand as a powerful argument. If churches whose members agree in all essentials of belief and administration can be so far united as to offer adequate opportunities and adequate support to able ministers, a victory for the gospel will be achieved greater than the evangelization of a heathen nation.

So far in this discussion we have had in view the advantages to be gained from this plan for country churches. But its results would not be less effective were it to be applied to cities. Perhaps this can best be demonstrated by a concrete illustration. Dr C. H. Parkhurst, pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York, a year ago found a family on the East Side of the city in need of help. He introduced to them a family of his own church. The results so far proved promising that, when he described his efforts in the "Congregationalist" for May 7, 1891, he had brought twenty families of his people in some measure into touch with twenty other families on the East Side. The first anniversary of the enterprise a few weeks ago found them established in a well-equipped church house. No doubt that is the way revealed by God to spread the leaven of Christianity through the world. It was the plan which Christ himself adopted. If the wisdom, love, and devotion in that church are equal to the task, it will fulfill its mission.

But let us suppose this plan to be followed out to its natural results, and see what this movement involves. The twenty families on the East Side being kindled with the spirit of Christ and his impulses of love to men, have come together in some kind of organization. But they cannot at once cut loose from the church which planted the new life there. They need still the sympathy and fellowship which they have had. They need financial aid, counsel, and encouragement to find pastoral leadership, and to extend their work. They will probably increase mainly through a Sunday-school, studying the Bible together, getting the gospel into other homes through the children; and they will need teachers and leaders from the other church. Quite likely at first the enterprise will not require large expenditure of money. A wise and devoted woman perhaps can guide it to the larger growth which requires the ministrations of a pastor. We have quite an army of such women in foreign fields. We ought to have more of them in home fields, like Phebe and Priscilla and Mary, deaconesses whom Paul so lovingly commended to the church at Rome.

Further, the Madison Square church will need to continue its interest in the work which has become a part of itself. Its own life will deepen through its labors there, and it will be moved to start other enterprises in the dense mass of heathenism, which, close at hand, outnumbers all the adherents of Protestant churches. But the pastor cannot preach often in these new Christian communities, whose prosperity depends on their union with the mother-church. The deaconesses cannot continue to meet their growing wants. The pastor must have an assistant, and if his church prospers sufficiently in its work, more than one. For its success will depend on its pressing continually into new and needy fields. If it does not, it will settle gradually down into contentment with worship at home, and self-cultivation, without aggressive effort, and will go to seed, as so many churches have done. As business encroaches on its territory, its members will move out, and it will become a dead, down-town church.

It cannot expect, either, to gain sufficient support by establishing branches among the poorer classes only. Suppose, then, it sends out one or more plants into prosperous neighborhoods up-town, and they flourish as such organizations are apt to do, — would do far oftener, if Christians who lived in those neighborhoods would cast in their lot with the new enterprises. For one thing which makes against the prosperity of city churches is that many

of their members live too far away to attend the prayer-meetings and Sunday-schools, and keep up organic life, while yet they are held to retain their pews and attend public worship, in order to sustain the down-town church. It was lately found that in Roxbury, a district of Boston, 1,575 of our church members go past the churches near their homes, to worship three or four miles away. Now if these members had found in their own communities branches of the down-town church, with one chief pastor, and assistants for the various localities, the parent church would retain its prestige, the stronger and weaker parts would combine for the support of the whole, courage and active effort would continue, and masses of heathenism could not flourish undisturbed.

Dr. Schauffler, in figures which have been widely quoted, has shown that in the last twenty years in New York, Presbyterian church members increased from 18,773 to 23,430, while Methodists have hardly held their own at 12,000, and Episcopalians have gained from 19,672 to 36,135. In the latter case, by far the greater part of the gain in their seventy-five churches was in the twenty-two which had more than one minister for each church. Can we not learn from such a showing, how to invest men and money so as to get larger returns than we are getting? Can we not find a way better to distribute our ministers so as to bring Christians more directly into personal contact with those outside the churches?

To meet changed conditions of society created by the rapid increase of city population and its decrease in the country, we do not need to invent methods altogether new. We are already trying, here and there, consolidation of churches, in a disorderly sort of way, hardly recognizing the fact. We have already the orders in the ministry which have here been suggested. To pastors we have joined associate and assistant pastors, pastors' assistants, women missionaries, deaconesses, and lay helpers. We are feeling our way to meet these changed conditions as the zeal and genius of one and another pastor lead them to make experiments. But has not the time arrived for us to deduce some new principles from these occasional enterprises which will help to bring the whole body more to the front in meeting the needs of our times? I venture to state the following conclusions from this discussion as reasonable and practicable:—

1. Every church should make it its business to see that the invitation of the gospel is effectively given to every person within its parish, and that it is given through the active and continued interest of one person in another.

2. The aim should be to have as many centres for worship and work as may be needed in each parish, but with one building in which all on occasion may gather; and as many local organizations as may be necessary to cover the entire field, with one church for all of the same denomination.

3. The organization aimed at should have one pastor for the whole church, with as many assistants as the field requires and as the financial condition of the church will allow.

4. Each local body may administer its own local affairs; but the whole church should choose the pastor, his assistants and church officers, and should decide on the basis of belief and the general plans of work. The extent of the field to be occupied should be determined by its need and by the ability of the church to work it.

The objections to this plan are by no means without weight. I have space only to name some of them. It involves innovations on the traditions of Congregationalism. But I think we have shown that they are not altogether new. At any rate, modern life is making swift and tremendous inroads on the traditions of society. Our denominational traditions are not the only things we need to preserve. Men do not win in these times, either in the business of the world or of God, without taking risks, without boldness as well as wisdom. Let us glorify traditions in their time and place. Let us make new ones worthy of our generation. A wise and courageous application of the principles of Congregationalism will meet the need of to-day.

This plan might trench on the independence of the local church. No doubt there are those who would rather be in a little company than in a large one. They are likely to have more authority, and they regard that as independence. There are, especially in the country districts, hard-headed, not especially warm-hearted men and women who are not at all troubled by dependence on outside helpers to furnish money for their church, if they are only allowed to use it without interference. They would rather be independent than to win the community to Christ. This is an objection easy to answer in theory but most difficult in practice.

This plan might jeopardize the independence of the minister. A considerable number would have to be associate or assistant pastors. Most men prefer to be supreme in their own fields, and to work out their own results. But such independence may cost too much. The man who aims to do the largest service for Christ and humanity is not to be blamed if he hesitates to commit his

life to an organization with such limitations as are to be found in many country churches. He would quite likely value such so-called independence less than the larger opportunity.

Finally, then, has not the time come when it is imperative to discuss such changes in our church organization as will lead to expanding the local church, with a single head and a single centre of meeting, but with helpers and branches sufficient to lead and guide society in its changed conditions? Why should its inventions, appliances, enterprise, and spirit outstrip those of the churches? We are a part of society, and we are also members of Christ. We honor traditions, but we do not spend our lives for them. We live and labor that we may bring all men into the likeness of Christ.

A. E. Dunning.

Boston.

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

AMONG the missions of the American Board, those established in Turkey are in some respects the most important. Some may, indeed, deny them to be missions at all, and maintain them to be merely proselytizing enterprises, inasmuch as their activity is mainly directed upon populations of Turkey that are Christian already, — the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians. Undoubtedly the sacred name of mission is presumptively inapplicable to operations among our fellow-Christians, among those who believe exactly as we concerning God and Christ, and substantially as we concerning the nature of Christian holiness and Christian morality. But it must be borne in mind that the American missions in Turkey have always had and still have ultimately in view the evangelization of the Mohammedans themselves. As the officers of the Board declare, the last thing they purpose is the mere propagation of Protestantism in Turkey. Indeed, there are already various regions of Asia Minor where the Protestants and the members of the Armenian Church, or Gregorians, are on terms of cordiality, and, now and then, hold services together. The members and officers of the Board leave it to divine Providence to determine whether Protestantism shall continue to act upon the elder churches, but especially the Armenian Church, as an influence from without, or shall be hospitably reabsorbed, and

act more powerfully as a quickening leaven from within, or whether, as has been suggested by at least one writer in the "Missionary Herald" (Mr. William Chambers, of Erzroom), the Episcopalians may not find a mediating function whereby the historic continuity of this eldest of national churches may be conciliated with the higher evangelical apprehensions of the Reformation. It is enough that the American Missions in Turkey (including those in Syria and Egypt, of which we are not now speaking) are an admitted and powerful influence for spiritual, moral, and intellectual advance, and are already beginning to overflow from the Christian populations upon the adherents of Islam. Their value has found witnesses abroad as widely divergent in character as the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Earl of Beaconsfield, both of whom recognize that their entire freedom from all suspicion of political aims gives them a force for good which cannot be exerted by many European missionaries in the Ottoman Empire.

The great danger with successful missions is that the missionaries may continue to hold their people too long in tutelage, instead of admitting them more and more to self-control as they become fitter for it, or that they may urge upon them specialties of opinion or usage which are indifferent to the essential end. The very essence of Romanism, as distinguished from the legitimate existence of a Catholicism under the presidency of Rome, is, as Clement XIV. is said to have told the Conclave before he left it as Pope, that Rome, like so many mothers, finds it hard to know when her children are grown. And as American Protestants have exactly the same human nature as Roman Curialists, the American Board has done well to encourage one distinct step forward towards native autonomy, especially in Western Turkey, the measure having already, after trial, secured the cordial approbation of the missionaries. So far as the means of support, however, still come from America, the right of final revision will no doubt yet be claimed by the givers. The Americans and the Armenians, it is true, do not yet view this matter from the same angle of vision. But only in Eastern Turkey have we discovered evidence of bitterness, and there it is chiefly entertained towards persons that have long been out of connection with the Board.

The following questions, which partly respect this matter of growing self-direction, but are mostly of a more general character, have been addressed to a number of missionaries in Turkey, or that have been in Turkey, and also to various native brethren,

after having been first submitted to the foreign secretaries of the Board and approved by them. Indeed, the last two are of their suggestion. We give the main points of reply. The questions, although not drawn up without the help of local experience, are necessarily somewhat vague, as being addressed to laborers dwelling all the way from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus. But it is hoped that as tentative they will be found not unprofitable. It was our original intention to give the answers to each question *seriatim*. We find, however, that many of them run into one another in such a way as to make this difficult to do. And besides, the necessity of averaging the results of inquiry in the three missions of Asia Minor interferes with articulated precision, which, moreover, is not likely to be very much insisted on by our American readers, who desire not so much the lights and shades of particular regions or letters as the combined impression left by a careful and repeated reading of some thirty-eight or forty replies from different parts of Asiatic Turkey, as well as from Constantinople, and from Armenians and missionaries or former missionaries now in the United States.

As Mr. Dwight, of Constantinople, has lately remarked in the "Independent," letters from missionaries are like reports from a battlefield. Each man sees only his own part of the plain, and, in the dust (we can no longer say in the smoke) of the turmoil, hardly sees that. There is no perspective, for this can be gained only by a long and toilsome process of sifting and comparison. Where the battlefield is a whole empire, and the battle is carried on by three or four distinct armies, united only in a distant war office, redaction may well be delayed, and be content at last with very imperfect results. Our correspondence dates from one to two years back, and must be interpreted in the light of the fact that during the last year the Protestant churches of Turkey have received unusually large accessions; the circulation of Christian literature has been increasingly wide; and the native contributions, in the midst of growing poverty, have been larger than ever before. The government has remained unfriendly, but not acutely so, and Mr. Hirsch, our minister at Constantinople, has continued his excellent predecessor's policy of judicious but energetic intervention where international rights had been really invaded.

It is very evident that nothing like a stable equilibrium in missionary matters has been reached in Asia Minor. When the Mohammedans, who form the vast majority, shall begin to accept

the gospel (as Wilfrid Blunt, who knows them so well, holds it to be highly probable that in Turkey and Tartary they will, within a measurable time), the present balance will be entirely shifted. In view of that chiefly, there must not be a hasty withdrawal of Americans, as the Moslems will listen to them with a respect which they are far from entertaining towards the races subject to themselves.

At present, however, we have only to consider the Christian populations of Asia Minor, chiefly the Armenians. The influences which are acting upon them through the missionaries are by no means harmonious. It is not to be desired at first that they should be. They have been reposing unto death for ages. As an English writer has intimated, the eagerness, abruptness, self-sufficiency, and Puritan narrowness of the Yankee character have been just what was needed to break up Oriental slumbers and loose the chains of immemorial habit. Tholuck, among his droll questions, used sometimes to ask his American pupils why God had made so many Chinamen and so few New Englanders. A pertinent answer might well have been: "To save mankind from being reformed quite to pieces." We owe more thanks than we are likely to pay to the solid wall of Dutch and German burgherdom, extending from Schenectady to Delaware, for its services in breaking somewhat the impetuous and intolerant force of New England ideas in our own country. But in Turkey they are not likely to become strong enough to oppress, and will long be useful to rouse. Even the naive indecency with which some of the missionaries, especially the ladies, confine the name of "Christian" to Protestants, has its use in promoting concentration of zeal. And, after all, American religious self-complacency is but a crust over a hearty brotherliness and friendliness which is easily conciliated by anything like corresponding cordiality, not to speak of the many missionaries whose zeal has not needed to be reinforced by bigotry.

Nevertheless it is evidently time that Protestant missions should pass into their second stage. The virgin zeal of the churches for the evangelization of the world inevitably involved an exaggerated idealization of the missionaries. That was less excessive at first, when the hardships and dangers were so great, and the alluring motives, except in the love of Christ and of men, so few. And even yet the missionary life cuts off most ambitions, and eminently favors singleness of aim. The general average of missionary devotedness, whether on our own frontier or in the world

at large, may reasonably be held to be higher than the average of the home pastorate. Yet, seeing that with every year the heathen and Moslem world is becoming more and more a dependent suburb of Christendom, it is absurd to treat the missionary body as if the higher degrees of heroism and saintly consecration would now be alone adequate to induce to a missionary life. Indeed, at no time can Adoniram Judsons have been numerous, with such a union of devotion and intellectual eminence. The body of missionaries, male and female, are, like their brethren and sisters of similar vocation at home, sincere Christians, with a standard of service much more distinctly and invariably held up before them, but depressed in their efforts towards it by a sufficiently large alloy of human imperfection in its various forms of timorousness, indolence, self-seeking, fractiousness, haughtiness, imperiousness, and narrowness. And as the missionary life in some ways weakens these faults, in some others it may aggravate them, especially through its freedom from the sharp oversight of surrounding society, replaced by the presence of converts at once grateful and timid, hardly willing, or hardly daring, to sit in judgment on those to whom they owe so much. Their language, as in the mediæval myth, is: *Judica teipsum, sancte pater, nos enim judicare te non possumus*. The era of pungent criticism of ways and men has begun in England, and must begin in America. It will be crude and harsh at first, but it will settle into the mean of reasonable appreciation and requirement at last.

It is honorable to the American missions in Turkey that, while the letters from the native brethren have been guarded by a pledge of entire privacy (a sort of *sigillum confessionis*), it is only those which respect Eastern Turkey that express dislike and distrust of the missionaries, but principally of some who are not now controllable by the Board, while some who are in its service are expressly exempted from these censures. There seems to have been some root of bitterness early planted in this mission; for letters received from native Protestants who offer to produce explicit testimonies of their own credibility make charges of bigoted obscurantism, desirous of keeping the education of the native assistants down to the lowest pitch; angrily opposing, and indeed forbidding, the study of English, at least formerly; trying to secure preachers of a very low grade of qualifications, for the sake of having the most men for the least money; paying them so little that one minister now in this country, who was for a while an inspector of the stations, declares it was much if a native pastor

could set before him even the simplest lunch, or if the pastor and his family had more than one tumble-down room to live in. They charge certain missionaries, in the face of this meagre provision for the native workers, with luxurious self-indulgence; with a whimsical despotism that would shift or dismiss natives on the slightest occasion or cause of offense; and with such haughtiness that a young American minister is said to have gone through an association meeting of several days without having once condescended to notice a single one of the Armenian pastors, and without appearing to have received any rebuke from his foreign brethren by this superciliousness. They say that, while those pastors who possibly can are expected to give handsome entertainment for days together to missionaries and their families on their rounds, it is a thing almost unheard of for an Armenian minister to be asked to sit at a missionary's table. The force of these accusations, however, against the principal offenders, who are designated by name in letters written in this country, but for whom no American authority is now answerable, is considerably reduced by the declaration that their conduct is too eccentric to be compatible with soundness of mind. And several missionaries of the Board have been acknowledged as men of altogether a different tone, and only so far involved in these faults as the faults have become an inveterate evil of this mission. One Armenian preacher from Eastern Turkey, writing in this country, declares that he and fifteen college graduates, twelve being licensed preachers, have been driven, by sheer impossibility of living on the wages offered them at home, to work in American factories at \$1.20 a day.

From the other two missions not a breath of anything approaching to these charges has been heard. The only accusations made here are that the missionaries, in their disgust at the reverence accorded to the mere office of priest in the old church, have unguardedly used language which is now proving seriously detrimental to the standing of the Protestant ministers among their own countrymen; that after the joint boards of Americans and Armenians have sanctioned outlays for the stations, a veto, only too readily used, rests with the foreigners, or even with one of them; and that the Unions of native brethren are not held worthy of direct correspondence with the Board. The spirit and purpose both of the Board and the missionaries are warmly declared to be excellent, but their policy is believed, now that there is so large a body of approved and cultivated helpers, to be lagging in arrear

of the just claims of equality and coöperation. These friendly criticisms proceed especially from the Armenian brethren at Aintab, Krikorian, Markarian, Bezjian, and Levonian, who expressly absolve us from the obligation of suppressing their names, as, indeed, their temperate remarks require no concealment. Their carefully prepared joint letter deserves separate publication.

There is a frequent expression, in the letters from all three missions, of the opinion that the Board, in steadily reducing appropriations notwithstanding the steadily deepening poverty of the country, has proceeded too mechanically. The people, they say, are able to do less, and, the missions also doing less, the native pastors are sorely straitened. On the other hand, the missionaries not unreasonably remark that the contact with Americans, naturally enough but rather unhappily, often excites in the native helpers wants too far in advance of the general standard of living among their countrymen to make it desirable that they should be met. The missionaries declare with one voice that the incomes of the pastors bear substantially the same proportion to the average incomes of their people as those of American pastors. The Armenians, it must be borne in mind, are great merchants in the regions from Vienna to Calcutta, and this keen susceptibility to gain, while it quickens their energy, is apt to lessen their reliability as evangelical workers. At the same time some of the native brethren (here again from Eastern Turkey) declare that the Roman Catholics develop native force much more fully, and give their clergy (and indeed their laity) a better education and their clergy a better support. In Central (and perhaps in Western) Turkey, the missionaries affirm that great restlessness and discontent are induced by those who come to America and return after securing from private donors a support two or three or even four times as large as the same men could possibly have secured at home. They remark that Americans show themselves rather credulous here. Being accustomed to connect religion and conduct more strictly than the Orientals do, they draw inferences from fluent and earnest devoutness as to advancement of Christian character which they might not always do if they had lived in the East, and do not hesitate to throw things into confusion there for the sake of gratifying their benevolent sympathies, and perhaps also their pride of patronage here. The missionaries mention two or three gentlemen, worthy and useful, whose disproportionate affluence, however, from private liberality, they think lifts them undesirably above the level of their ministerial

countrymen. Private petting, they think, is a very ambiguous good in any connected system of missionary work.

All the correspondents, American and Armenian, urge that special donations should be made from America for the establishment of pastoral libraries at the stations. It is quite impossible for the pastors to buy books enough to keep themselves up to the due level. They are paid at Turkish rates, but must buy books at American rates. Station libraries, however, would meet the want for all that large percentage of the helpers who read English. Those that have not learned it enough to read it are seldom those for whom libraries are especially important. Moreover, the stock of Christian literature in the Asiatic vernaculars is, if not rapidly, yet steadily growing. But all the correspondents protest against being burdened with the leavings of home libraries, or with the productions of the platitudinarians. It is best to send moneys for this designated purpose, and to let those who are to use the books decide what books they will buy. The Board is naturally the best intermediary here.

Here, too, remark several of the correspondents, there would be a great lift in the intellectual standard of the four missions (Mardin, as speaking Arabic, being practically distinct), if in each there could be every year a two weeks' Chautauqua Assembly, with the stereopticon, and all the various mechanical and pictorial appliances, supported by home study. Traveling in these wide regions, however, is toilsome, dangerous, and expensive. There are still those many "perils of waters," and "perils of robbers," and perils of impracticable ways, which St. Paul found of old in these same regions. The salaries of the pastors and teachers would be quite inadequate to compass this result, stimulating for every good end of society and culture, intellectual and religious, as it would be. Here again is suggested a worthy use of money for those Christians who love giving for definite objects.

The native brethren evidently think there are too many Americans in the field, doing less work for more money than if their members were reduced to such as are required for the higher teaching, and the few more whose episcopal and evangelistic gifts are of approved eminence. Some suggest that the missionaries agglomerate themselves too much in a few stations, an instinct of human sociability which used to vex the soul of Adoniram Judson, but which it is plain that the apostles did not view so severely, to judge by their practice. Here, however, say the native brethren, is the place where retrenchment, if imperative,

ought to begin, since everywhere else retrenchment is impossible without inducing impotency.

The native brethren, moreover, criticise very decidedly the policy of opening so many village stations. They would have the missionaries, like the apostles, concentrate labor on the cities, and leave these to radiate abroad a higher influence upon the country districts. Then, too, fewer men could strike heavier blows. Some say outright that the missionaries have been too eager to send home a long beadrill of names, many of which signify little. It is allowed on both sides, that evangelistic labor must be mainly in native hands. The question is as to supervision. The Americans insist that most of the native helpers are not sufficiently developed either in intellect or character to walk alone, so that, indeed, they feel uneasy without having a missionary to whom they may be accountable. The Armenians, of every grade, seem to recognize no such necessity. They hold themselves to be an adult race, and to be in no need of being treated as children.

Those churches in California that have a good many Armenian members have a tough time in working along. The Armenians are by no means intellectually equal to the Jews (as few races are), but they are quite equal to them in heady impracticability. They will have things their own way, or they will block the wheels. It is nothing to them that Americans, in America, may reasonably claim to have American habits of action observed. It seems pretty plain that in the long run the two races must work apart, and that in Turkey the natives, whether Armenian or Greek, must have their own matters in their own hands, American donors contenting themselves with occasional deputations to learn whether their gifts are efficiently applied. If most of the helpers rose to the Aintab level, there would be less friction. But most will not, and those that do will be better supervisors of their countrymen than foreigners, a very few excepted. At present the missions in Turkey are too much like that two-headed tortoise described in the "St. Nicholas." One head may be the wiser, but the other is the more willful, and between the two the body decidedly halts in its going.

In one point the missionaries appear decidedly unreasonable. A good many not only oppose the resort of Armenian students of theology to American seminaries, but even refuse testimonials to them, and treat their going as little short of a criminal offense. This is plainly inequitable. They may urge that most of these have been helped out of mission funds. But the young men have

not been received as Redemptioners, as Nethinim, or *adscripti ecclesiae*. They have retained their rights of free action and free movement, and are plainly entitled to testimonials of their actual standing, unless the missionaries are prepared, like the Brahmins, to treat crossing the sea as involving a forfeiture of caste. Armenians sometimes say, "Why am I bound to stay in Turkey to starve, or to return to Turkey to be browbeaten as a criminal? They intimate that they do not much relish hearing somewhat imperious exhortations to self-denial from those whose own privations are so much less. Doubtless, as the missionaries say, those men who, having equal abilities to command a support abroad, or in secular business at home, take up with the hard lot of a native evangelist, give peculiar proof of an apostolic mind. But it is urged that this, to be worthy, must be a free choice, and not something bound on a man by the angry command of a foreign superior. Various students, we remark, have been self-supported throughout, and are acknowledged by the missionaries to owe no account of their doings to them.

It is evident that the Central Turkey Mission has done strenuous work in raising the intellectual level of the Armenians, ministry and laity. Out of the original school, half academy, half college, and half seminary (to use the Mississippi boatman's arithmetic), there were developed in about ten years a higher and a lower school, the former retaining a duplex character, from which, in about fifteen years more, were evolved the Central Turkey College at Aintab and the Theological Seminary at Marash. The percentage of ministers who have taken a full academic course has grown with the opportunities, until now it includes almost all the newer students. The theological course is of three years, and includes Hebrew, Greek, Systematic Theology, Biblical Theology, Homiletics, Vocal Music, with abundant practice in preaching and the conduct of prayer-meetings. Biblical Theology, gratefully acknowledged as a transplantation from Andover and from Professor Hincks's lecture-room, seems to have taken a peculiarly deep root in the affections of the young men. And, indeed, what the Bible teaches does seem to be of more importance than what divines teach about the Bible. The number of students, however, whether at Marash, Marsovan, or Harpoot, in the centre, the west, or the east, must gradually decline to a minimum as those stations come to be filled which alone can reasonably lay claim to the services of regularly educated pastors. The number of principal stations, remarks a missionary, must soon reach its limit.

Thenceforward, he declares, it will be an unjustifiable redundancy of men and means to maintain three theological schools in Asia Minor. With this seems to agree the weighty judgment of Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who advises us of his decided belief that in ten years' time there ought to be a central seminary set up in Constantinople, and that there ought to be no thought of one earlier.

This question, Number Five, is answered negatively by almost all. A few, however, and those names of weight, are for a central seminary, provided it can be developed out of that now at Marash, and transferred, perhaps, to Cæsarea, that it may be actually central for the great peninsula. Yet one of the missionaries, and one of the most eminent, is very emphatic in affirming the necessity of soon establishing a central seminary in Constantinople. He says that the missionaries, as a general body, have no doubt about it; but so soon as they are segregated again into their separate missions, local feeling carries the day. He holds that a seminary at Constantinople, thoroughly maintained and manned, and absorbing the three divinity schools of Asia Minor, would largely draw the minds of the more promising students away from the thought of crossing the sea. He agrees with a leading clergyman of Constantinople, that there is something childish in urging the dangers to the moral and spiritual life in Constantinople, unless we would urge that it is dangerous for young men to study divinity in New York. Young men of the standing of those who alone ought to be encouraged to repair to Constantinople would be all the better of the atmosphere and grand opportunities of this great capital, and could be depended on to return to such churches as could promise them a reasonable support. Young men of inferior standing could be sufficiently trained in a theological annex to each of the colleges.

The missionary who is most urgent for the speedy establishment of the Constantinople seminary calls attention to the absurd results of a comparison with this country. There is now actually one seminary for every twenty-three churches. If the Congregationalists of America were equally profuse, instead of seven seminaries, as now, they would have one hundred and ninety-eight. If they rated by members instead of churches, they would need three hundred and fifteen. Even counting outstations, each of the Turkish seminaries only serves about sixty churches, less than one tenth of the home rate. It is plain that we cannot expect great results on such a scale.

On the other hand, Miss Mary P. Wright remarks that practi-

cally, rather in time than in distance, Harpoot is much farther from Constantinople than Boston from San Francisco, while the differences in the scale of living and the varieties of usage are greater than between a mining camp of the Rocky Mountains and the most refined culture of the East. Then, while Mardin uses Arabic, and some regions of Asia Minor Armenian, others use only Turkish, so that students who might manage to blunder through the jargon of business would be all at sea in the language of literature or refined conversation. Those, however, who are for the central seminary say, "Let the language of instruction in it be English, as it is in Robert College." It seems plain that it must be that, and equally plain, as Dr. Hamlin says, that the only question is, How soon shall the central seminary be set up, and that in Constantinople? Whenever it is established, it is plain that the three Asiatic divinity schools must be content to subside into simple, shorter-course affairs. As to proposing Cæsarea as a substitute for Constantinople, it is no more practicable than in Italy to propose Bologna for the capital as a substitute for Rome, which would please the Pope but nobody else. Cæsarea might be a geographical, but it would not be a national, social, or intellectual centre.

Marsovan, in Western Asia Minor, has Greek as well as Armenian students. This again brings up the question of language. The seminary can hardly be double-tongued in instruction; and if the Greeks, who are increasing in relative importance, are to be on an equality, the language of the class-room ought to be English. As an eminent member of the West Turkey Mission says, the question of a central seminary is like Banquo's ghost, it will not down.

We note some statistical replies. One letter says that in Eastern Turkey one half of the theological graduates enter the ministry, and one half of these continue in it. But a missionary letter says that, of one hundred and two graduates, *all* have entered the work, and more than one half are still in it. In Western Turkey all have entered the work, and two thirds are still in it. The same proportions, substantially, prevail in Central Turkey. In Eastern Turkey a letter gives \$616 as received from the Board, \$2,561 as raised by the people, within the year. In Central Turkey about three eighths is stated as received from the Board. In Western Turkey, of eight churches in one district, one is self-supporting, two nearly or quite half so. In Eastern Turkey few churches are vacant, and fourteen have ordained pastors. In

Central Turkey, of thirty-three churches, twenty-two are without regular pastors. There are twenty-two ordained natives in the mission.

Students of theology have usually enough given them by the mission to cover at least their board. If they are married, the amount is proportionately increased.

The answer to the question, What inducements can be offered to bring a larger number of the college graduates to enter the ministry, is, A greater spirit of consecration. It is maintained that at present there are as many motives for them to enter the ministry as for our young men at home, and that it is doubtful whether any additional attractions, except through the force of the highest motives, can be offered to them. It is maintained by the missionaries (but denied by some of the native brethren) that they are as well able to give all their time to their work as ministers in our country.

The teachers in the theological seminaries, it is replied to the thirteenth question, might well be relieved, for the most part, from pastoral and evangelistic responsibilities. Some suggest that it would be well to have a few men devoted to the translation of valuable theological and religious books into Armenian, Greek, and Turkish.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

To man the new cruisers effectively and promptly is one of the difficult tasks that is imposed upon the Navy Department during the rebuilding of the navy. All of the new cruisers are short-handed, and ships are frequently ready for commission and are needed for service on the different stations, but they cannot be commissioned for want of men. This is not due to any difficulty in finding men who are willing to serve in the navy. The number allowed by law is easily obtained; hundreds are rejected each year because they do not come up to the standard, either physically or mentally. One difficulty is, according to the Revised Statutes relating to the enlistment of seamen for the navy, there can only be upon the rolls of the Navy Department at *one time*, the names of 7,500 seamen — ordinary seamen, lands-

men, mechanics, firemen, and coal-heavers — and 750 apprentices, a total of 8,250 men and boys. Consequently one ship must go out of commission to make the necessary vacancies before the complement of another ship can be enlisted. But the want of more men is not so serious a difficulty in regard to the efficiency of the crews of our new ships as is the necessity of having reliable petty officers for the important stations that belong to that class. More men can, and doubtless will, be allowed by Congress during the coming session, but reliable petty officers must be educated. The apprentice system of the naval service was established for the purpose of furnishing sailors from whom petty officers could be selected. To secure the services of the apprentices who have been educated by the government, after the expiration of their apprenticeship, is at present the most important matter in regard to the efficient manning of the new ships.

There have been several attempts to establish an apprentice system for the navy, all of which have failed for want of controlling power and proper system in the various school-ships, except the system now in operation. The first act establishing an apprentice system was approved March 2, 1837, which provided for the enlistment of boys for the navy between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, who were to serve until they were twenty-one years old. Many enlistments followed the passage of this act, and the boys were sent on board the line-of-battle ships *North Carolina* and *Columbus*, and the receiving-ships at New York and Norfolk. The orders of the Secretary of the Navy directed that the apprentices were to be thoroughly instructed, so as to be able to perform the duties of seamen and petty officers. Mr. Secretary Paulding, under whose auspices the system was established, said, in his report of November 30, 1839: "Should this system of apprenticeship be carried to the extent of which it is susceptible, I look forward to it as a source of great and lasting benefit to the navy. There is every reasonable prospect of its becoming a nursery for the supply of petty officers, one of the most important constituents in the service; nor can I doubt that it may be the means of supplying a large number of capable, intelligent seamen, more strongly attached to their country by the benefits she has conferred on them." Mr. Paulding was correct in his statement that the petty officers are "one of the most important constituents in the service," and had the system of 1837 been properly organized, no doubt much good would have resulted from it. Unfortunately the object of the apprentice sys-

tem — to educate petty officers and seamen — was not fully explained or understood, and many boys enlisted with the impression that they were in time to be advanced to the grade of midshipmen, and thereby enter the line of promotion to the highest rank in the service. By means of political influence, two or three boys were appointed midshipmen. The less fortunate became discontented, and many applied for their discharges. Those who had strong political influence were successful; those who were without influence were unsuccessful, and many deserted. After a few years the apprentice system of 1837 died out without apparent benefit to the service.

The next attempt on the part of the government to establish an apprentice system was in March, 1864, after the attention of the Navy Department had been called to the apprentice system of the English navy. At that time the department again authorized the enlistment of boys under the act of 1837, and the frigate *Sabine*, the sloops-of-war *Saratoga* and *Portsmouth* were selected as the school-ships. The enlistments continued with much success during the summer, but the Secretary of the Navy, in his annual report to Congress, advocated the promotion to midshipmen of a certain number of boys, which introduced the same element of discontent as experienced in 1839. The secretary said: "Commencing as apprentices on the school-ships, it would be well to open to the sailor-boy the way to promotion by giving him an opportunity, if he shall deserve it, of entering the Naval Academy. From among the apprentices on the school-ship a selection of one half of the midshipmen annually appointed might be made with great advantage to the service and the country. It would popularize the navy, and open to those who may have enlisted the highest positions and honors of the service." It was within the power of the secretary to put his recommendation into practice without an act of Congress, as he was directed by law to fill all vacancies that might exist in the different congressional districts after the first of July of each year. Consequently several apprentices were selected in 1864 and during the next three years, and were appointed as midshipmen at the Naval Academy. There are at present nine lieutenants on the active list of the navy who were appointed from the training-ships during the years above mentioned. The records of those officers prove that the Secretary of the Navy made no mistake in selecting them for the line of promotion to "the highest positions and honors of the service." But the very means that was expected to popularize the appren-

tice system destroyed it. As soon as it was known that a number of the enlisted boys were selected each year for midshipmen's appointments, many boys who were unable to obtain congressional appointments to the Naval Academy were enlisted for the sole purpose of gaining admission to that institution. Some of them, as above stated, were successful. Those who failed were naturally dissatisfied with the prospects before them, and the same results followed in regard to discharges and desertions as were experienced in 1839. The system of 1864 lingered a few years and died out.

Nothing was done of any practical importance by the Navy Department in regard to the enlistment of boys after the failure of 1864 until April, 1875, when a circular was issued stating that a number of boys between the ages of sixteen and seventeen would be enlisted under the provisions of the act of Congress of March, 1837. The number of men and boys allowed at that time was 7,500, but in May, 1879, an act was approved authorizing the enlistment of 750 boys besides the number of seamen then allowed. This was the commencement of the apprentice system of the naval service now in operation, — a system that has educated some of the most reliable and most valuable men in the navy, sailors who are equal, if not superior to, any class of seamen in the world.

The regulations governing the enlistment and education of apprentices have been changed from time to time as experience suggested, but are practically the same as those established in 1875. The headquarters of the Naval Training Station, as it is called, is at Coasters' Harbor Island, in Narragansett Bay, near Newport, R. I. Six ships are assigned to the special work connected with the apprentices, — the *Richmond*, which is the stationary training-ship at Coasters' Harbor Island; the *Minnesota*, at the foot of West 27th Street, New York; the *New Hampshire*, at New London, Connecticut; and the practice-ships *Jamestown*, *Portsmouth*, and *Monongahela*. Boys can be enlisted on board the stationary training-ships *Richmond*, *Minnesota*, and *New Hampshire*; also on board the receiving-ships at the navy yards at Boston, League Island, and Washington, and on board the *Michigan*, which is stationed on the Great Lakes. According to the Revised Statutes, the boys must be between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and must enlist "to serve in the navy until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years." The regulations of the Navy Department state: "Boys enlisted for the naval service

must be of robust frame, intelligent, of perfectly sound and healthy constitution, free from any physical defects or malformation, and not subject to fits." Their height, weight, and measure must be as follows :—

Age.	Height.	Weight.	Chest measurement — breathing naturally.
Fourteen to fifteen . . .	4 feet 9 inches.	70 pounds.	26 inches.
Fifteen to sixteen . . .	4 feet 11 inches.	80 pounds.	27 inches.
Sixteen to seventeen . . .	5 feet 1 inch.	90 pounds.	28 inches.
Seventeen to eighteen . . .	5 feet 2 inches.	100 pounds.	29 inches.

The general rule is that the boys must be able to read and write, although they are enlisted if they show a general intelligence and their reading and writing are imperfect. Great care is taken in the selection of boys, especially to keep out of the training-ships boys who have served sentences in reform schools or prisons, or who have been convicted of any crime. Each boy presenting himself for enlistment must be accompanied by his father, if living, or by his mother or his guardian, who must give a written consent to the boy's enlistment, make oath to the fact of being the parent or legal guardian, and relinquish all claim to his services and compensation during his enlistment. In case the parent or guardian cannot accompany the boy, blank forms are furnished, on application, for the necessary oath and written consent. The boy is examined by a board of officers, of which the senior medical officer of the ship is a member. If they decide that he is in every respect fit for the navy, the engagement to serve until twenty-one years old is read and carefully explained to the boy. If he voluntarily agrees to its terms, he is enlisted as a third-class apprentice, with a pay of nine dollars per month and one daily ration. Upon enlisting, the apprentice is given an outfit of clothing not exceeding in value the sum of forty-five dollars. This outfit is furnished upon the supposition that the apprentice will serve during his minority ; if he is discharged at his own request, or at the request of his parents or friends, prior to the completion of his term at the training station and the first practice cruise, the value of such clothing as may have been issued must be refunded.

As soon as practicable after enlistment, the boys are sent to the

stationary training-ship Richmond, where they remain for six months for instruction in English studies and in the rudiments of seamanship and gunnery. The instruction in English studies embraces reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, geography, history of the United States, history of the navy, writing from dictation, and vocal instruction. The apprentices are thoroughly instructed in practical seamanship and the duties of a sailor. Under this head are included model and draft instruction, knotting and splicing, handling sails, reeving running rigging, handling spars and yards, sailmaking, blocks and purchases, anchors and chains, marlin-spike work, pulling and sailing boats, signals, compass and steering, lead and log lines, and swimming. The instruction in gunnery consists of descriptions of the guns and carriages, the calls to and at quarters; the stations and exercise at great guns, howitzers, and machine guns; knowledge of the different kinds of ammunition and the construction of magazines; broadsword drill, infantry tactics, target practice, and bugle instruction. A certain number of apprentices are selected and trained as buglers, and serve as such when drafted into the general service. Each of these three departments, English, seamanship, and gunnery, is in charge of a commissioned officer, who is held responsible for the proper instruction of the apprentices. The instruction in each department is given by men enlisted as schoolmasters, who are paid forty-five dollars a month. Besides their duties as schoolmasters, the men holding those rates are expected to keep a general supervision over the apprentices, and give them such advice and attention as will be conducive to their contentment and progress. Monthly reports are made by the head of each department to the commanding officer, showing the proficiency of each apprentice. As soon as an apprentice is familiar with decimal fractions and understands the method and statement of his accounts with the paymaster, has completed United States history, and understands geography fairly well, and is able to read and write readily, he is reported as qualified in English studies, and his whole attention is directed to seamanship and gunnery.

Besides receiving instruction in the departments above mentioned, the apprentices are taught how to care for, wash, and mend their clothes; they are also carefully trained in reference to their appearance and deportment. Cleanliness of person, clothing, and bedding are rigidly enforced. Slovenly habits and awkwardness are corrected; vulgar or profane language, insubordinate or violent conduct, shirking or skulking, and the use of tobacco are discoun-

tenanced and prevented as far as possible. Dancing and all kinds of amusements are encouraged, and whenever a boy shows by his conduct and attention to duty that he is worthy of advancement, he is promoted to second and first class apprentice, with an increase of pay of one dollar a month for each advancement. Leave to visit their homes for forty-eight hours is granted upon the written request of their parents, and every indulgence is shown the boys that is conducive to the discipline of the ships. But the boy who makes no progress in his studies, or who has a pernicious influence over his associates, is separated from his companions, and after careful investigation, if the charges are proved, is dismissed from the service, if within the limits of the United States, or on return thereto, if he is serving in the practice-ships or general cruisers.

The discipline on board the training-ships and general cruisers is enforced with firmness and consistency, and it seldom happens that severe punishments are necessary. Admonitions and other mild means are first tried, and severe punishments are only inflicted for gross and repeated infringements of the regulations. The following named punishments are generally found sufficient for the discipline of the apprentices: Toeing a seam on the quarter deck, the length of time depending on the offense; extra masthead lookout; quarantine for one month; extra watch for a week; withholding liberty money for a month; solitary confinement for five days on bread and water. Whenever severer punishments are thought to be necessary, a general or summary court-martial is ordered.

As soon as the boys are advanced sufficiently, which is generally six months after their enlistment, they are transferred from the stationary training-ship to the practice-ships *Monongahela*, *Portsmouth*, and *Jamestown*, during the spring and autumn of each year, for further instruction and the usual cruise. These vessels are fitted only with sails, and cruise during the summer in European waters, keeping at sea most of the time, and during the winter they cruise among the West Indies. On the return of the ships, after the winter cruise, to Coasters' Harbor Island, the headquarters of the training squadron, the commanding officers of the training-ships are directed to furnish the officer in command of the station the name of the apprentice on board each ship that is considered to be the most proficient in the duties of a man-of-war's-man. The boy must also be satisfactory in obedience, industry, and conduct. The selected apprentices are ex-

amined by a board of officers in practical subjects, such as knotting and splicing, sail-making, heaving the lead and log, signals, duties of a gun captain, smallarm target practice, sword exercise, swimming, sewing, knowledge of their accounts with the paymaster, and condition of their clothing. The boy who receives the highest marks at the examination is given the Bailey gold medal, which was instituted by the late Rear Admiral Bailey for the purpose of inciting the apprentices of the navy to greater effort in acquiring a knowledge of their profession. Besides this special examination, at the expiration of the winter cruise, all the apprentices are examined at the same time, and those found qualified are transferred to the regular cruisers, as opportunity offers. By the time this transfer takes place, which is after a year's instruction in the cruising training-ships, the boys are invariably found to be a most valuable part of the crew of a man-of-war. They have been well drilled in the manual of arms, and such guns as are on board the practice-ships; know how to handle boats; are familiar with the rigging and different parts of a ship; many know how to steer and heave the lead; they have learned the etiquette of the quarter deck, the importance of quick movements on board ship and attention to duty, the necessity of ready and implicit obedience to orders, and many other things which cultivate that *aye! aye!* spirit so characteristic of the men of the sea.

Upon transfer to the regular cruisers the apprentices are stationed in different parts of the ship, and are changed from one part to another every three months, in order to acquaint them with the stations and duties in all parts. Their studies are continued with as much care as circumstances will permit. Quarterly examinations are held by a board of officers appointed by the commanding officer, and upon the recommendation of the board the boys are advanced to seamen apprentices of the second and first class, with a pay of nineteen and twenty-four dollars respectively. Apprentices, whose terms of enlistment expire while cruising on foreign stations, are sent to the United States for their discharge, unless they wish to reënlist. Those who return from a cruise in the general service, whose enlistments have not expired, are granted a leave of absence for one month, and are paid half the money due them, if their conduct has been such as to entitle them to special consideration. When their leave expires they are assigned to other cruising ships, or to the stationary training-ships if they have but a short time to serve.

At the expiration of the enlistment of the apprentices they are given an honorable discharge and continuous-service certificate if their conduct entitles them to recommendation for the same by their commanding officer. This discharge entitles the recipient to a bounty of three months' pay of the rate which he held when discharged, and the continuous-service certificate authorizes an increase of one dollar per month to the pay prescribed for that rating, should he reënlist for three years within three months from the date of his last discharge. If the apprentice's conduct and progress is such that he is not recommended for an honorable discharge, — called "a big discharge," — he receives "a small discharge," which carries no privileges.

From the above sketch it will be seen that the boys who enlist as apprentices in the navy receive sufficient education in English for a man-of-war's-man, are carefully instructed in practical seamanship and gunnery, and are given a thorough training, resulting in the important habit of caring for their person and clothing, the forming of this second nature being by no means the easiest part of their training. When discharged they are well equipped for the duties that pertain to a man-of-war; and if they would re-enlist, the crews of our ships would soon be composed of the best trained men afloat. The difficulty is, but few of the apprentices remain in the service. It is estimated that not more than one tenth of them reënlist after completing their apprenticeship. In explanation of this misfortune, Commodore Ramsay, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, says in his report of 1890 to the Secretary of the Navy: "Many boys enter the navy for the novelty of the life, of which they soon tire; and many are entered by their parents apparently with a view to having their boys educated and disciplined before putting them at other work. Large numbers of boys present themselves for enlistment as apprentices, but many are rejected for physical disqualifications, and some of those accepted fail to report. The average number enlisted annually falls below the number allowed by law, and the gain to the service has not been encouraging."

The officers who have expressed themselves in papers read and discussed at the Naval Institute at Annapolis, and at its branches at the various naval stations, are generally of the opinion that, in order to keep the apprentices in the navy, many changes will have to be made in regard to the pay, rates, and other inducements now offered the enlisted men. These inducements are evidently not sufficient to hold the men, who would be very useful on board

the new cruisers. According to law, besides the benefits of the honorable discharge already mentioned, a late act of Congress allows any person receiving such a discharge "to elect a home on board of any of the receiving-ships during any portion of the three months granted by law as the limit of time within which to receive the pecuniary benefit of such discharge, the men so choosing a home to be entitled to one ration per day for their keeping while furnished with such home." The laws of Congress also provide for the payment of four per cent. interest on the men's earnings, and money deposited for interest cannot be forfeited by sentence of a court-martial, but is forfeited by desertion. A pension of eight dollars a month is allowed for total disability or death, with the same allowance to the widow and minor children. The Revised Statutes require that preference shall be given, in the appointment of warrant officers (gunners, carpenters, sailmakers, and boatswains) in the naval service, to apprentices who have served during their minority and reënlisted within three months after their discharge to serve for three or more years. The inducements offered by the regulations of the Navy Department consist of the continuous-service certificate and increase of pay, as previously mentioned. Money prizes are awarded to those who are most proficient at target practice, and the men are encouraged to qualify as marksmen. A good-conduct badge is also given to any man holding a continuous-service certificate, upon the expiration of his enlistment, who is distinguished for obedience and sobriety and is proficient in seamanship or gunnery. After he receives three badges he is enlisted, if qualified for the duties, as a petty officer, and cannot be reduced to a lower rating except by sentence of a court-martial. The ratings of petty officers are generally established by the commanding officer, who has the power to reduce those whom he rates to the ratings they enlisted under. The department also provides by regulation for the classification of the crew in regard to their conduct, and directs the amount of money each class is allowed to draw of their monthly pay, and the liberty to be granted in healthy ports. A few years ago the rate of seaman gunner, with a pay of twenty-six dollars per month, was established, and all men holding a continuous-service certificate who are qualified to reënlist as seamen or petty officers, if they are under thirty-two years of age, and can read and write and understand the fundamental rules of arithmetic, are sent to the navy yard at Washington for special training in the gun-shops, and afterwards to the torpedo station at Newport for

instruction in torpedo work, electricity, manufacture and care of gun-cotton, and diving. These men are carefully instructed in regard to the guns and carriages in use on board the new ships, especially how to make the necessary repairs in case of accident; are given a large amount of rifle and revolver practice; and receive sufficient instruction of a practical character, concerning the electrical appliances that are now used in the navy, to enable them to make repairs and take charge of the dynamos. The seamen gunners are men of high intelligence, and are the nearest approach to the ideal future man-of-war's-man that is to be found afloat in any navy. The special training that they receive fits them for the responsibilities of the petty officer class to which they are assigned, and has doubtless persuaded many men to remain in the service. The latest inducement offered the enlisted men of the navy is continued service on board the receiving-ships at the navy yards, and the stationary ships connected with the apprentice system. Men who have served for twenty years are allowed to choose which ship they wish to serve in, and are allowed all the benefits of honorable discharge and continuous-service certificates while attached to those ships.

How to hold on to the apprentices, seamen gunners, and other desirable men, is a question of vital importance to the navy. There are about 1,400 continuous-service men in the navy, and one half of the enlisted men are American citizens; but the complements of the new ships are largely composed of foreigners and men of the seafaring class who have seen but little service in the navy. It is supposed, by those who have carefully studied the situation, that the immediate step to be taken is to increase the pay of the men, and especially that of the petty officers. The pay of the petty officers of the seamen class is twenty-seven, thirty, and thirty-five dollars per month. To this class are promoted the apprentices and seamen gunners, and it is essentially the military branch of the service. The master-at-arms, apothecaries, writers, schoolmasters, bandmasters, yeomen (men who have charge of the store-rooms), ship's cook, and others are known as special class petty officers, whose pay ranges from twenty-eight to sixty-five dollars. The artificer class of petty officers comprises the machinists, boiler-makers, armorers, blacksmiths, carpenters' mates, sailmakers' mates, printers, painters, and others, who receive from thirty to seventy dollars per month. The men who belong to the seamen class proper — the apprentices, landsmen, ordinary seamen, seamen, and seamen gunners — are

paid from nine to twenty-six dollars. The seamen of the special class are the tailors, barbers, lamp-lighters, jacks-of-the-dust, bay-men (nurses), and musicians. This class is paid from eighteen to thirty-three dollars. The seamen of the artificer class are the coal-heavers, firemen, carpenters, and caulkers, whose pay is from twenty-two to thirty-five dollars. From this statement it is seen that the petty officers and seamen of the seamen class proper receive the least pay. The subject of pay for the men has been carefully considered by a board of officers, and their report is in the hands of the President. By the Revised Statutes, the pay allowed the enlisted men of the naval service is fixed by the President, but he cannot exceed the amount appropriated for such purpose for any one year. It is an open secret that the President is ready to comply with the recommendations of the board to increase the men's pay as soon as Congress appropriates the money.

The other changes, besides increase of pay, that are thought advisable are to increase the number of apprentices from 750 now allowed to 1,500, and to enlist the apprentices to serve until they are twenty-four years of age. By keeping them until that age, they will be more likely to have formed an attachment for naval associations, and with the advantages of retirement on three fourths pay after thirty years' service, as provided by law for the army and marine corps, and the other considerations below mentioned, it is supposed that the men will seek reënlistment. The petty officers' rates and regular advancement of the men must be arranged and more firmly established. At present, for a man to enlist as a petty officer he must have twelve years' continuous service, hold three good-conduct badges, and obtain each year very high marks in regard to various qualifications. As a rule, the rates in the different ships are given by the commanding officer, who has power to reduce any rating established by himself. While this power is used generally with good judgment, and competent petty officers who are well-behaved are not disturbed in their rates, yet the fact remains that a man can be reduced in rate without any reason being given or charges preferred, as the regulations only require the disrating to be entered in the ship's log.

There is room also for improvement in the men's quarters, — both berthing and messing, even in our new ships. An extension of the authority and responsibility of the petty officers, with an increase of time between discharge and reënlistment for the con-

tinuous-service men to six months, with pay for three months as now allowed by law, are recommended as improvements on the present system. The enlisted men should also be given an allowance for clothing, as is the case with the army and marine corps, and every law granting privileges to the enlisted men of the army should be amended to include those of the navy. At present there are strange discrepancies. Commodore Ramsay says in his report of October, 1890: "It is recommended that section 2166 of the Revised Statutes be so amended that an enlisted man serving in the United States Navy may become a naturalized citizen of the United States in the same manner as now provided for enlisted men of the United States Army. A seaman gunner in the navy has recently been refused American citizenship in New York, notwithstanding he made his declaration in this city in April last. This man has served in the navy seven years, holds a continuous-service certificate from the Navy Department and a certificate as a seaman gunner, having successfully passed through the gunnery schools at Washington and Newport. If such men cannot become citizens of the United States, the country gains nothing by educating them."

The fact is, the time has come when the government needs the best men for the naval service. They must be intelligent, able-bodied, disciplined, and carefully trained for the new duties on board the new ships. Some of these men need the expert training which the seamen gunners receive at the Washington navy yard and at the torpedo station. All of them should be sufficiently paid, and protected by law and regulation, so that the advancement of the deserving should be assured; and the naval service should offer such inducements to American boys and young men that it may be considered not only, as it is, an honorable career, but an attractive one.

Albion V. Wadhams.

UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE PROPOSED REFORM OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL CURRICULUM.

THE Faculties of the New England Colleges, comprising the "Association of Colleges in New England," have before them for consideration the following circular:—

At the 35th Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges in New England, held at Brown University, Nov. 5, 6, 1891, it was

Voted, That the memorandum printed below be transmitted to the various Faculties for their consideration, and for action by this Association next year; also,

Voted, That the memorandum, with a statement of this reference of the same to the Faculties, be offered to the press for publication.

MEMORANDUM.

The Association of Colleges in New England, impressed with the real unity of interest and the need of mutual sympathy and help throughout the different grades of public education, invites the attention of the public to the following changes in the programme of New England grammar schools, which it recommends for gradual adoption:

1. The introduction of elementary natural history into the earlier years of the programme as a substantial subject to be taught by demonstrations and practical exercises rather than from books.

2. The introduction of elementary physics into the later years of the programme as a substantial subject, to be taught by the experimental or laboratory method, and to include exact weighing and measuring by the pupils themselves.

3. The introduction of elementary algebra at an age not later than twelve years.

4. The introduction of elementary plane geometry at an age not later than thirteen years.

5. The offering of opportunity to study French, or German, or Latin, or any two of these languages, from and after the age of ten years.

In order to make room in the programme for these new subjects, the Association recommends that the time allotted to arithmetic, geography, and English grammar be reduced to whatever extent may be necessary. The association makes these recommendations in the interest of the public-school system as a whole; but most of them are offered more particularly in the interest of those children whose education is not to be continued beyond the grammar school.

JOHN HOWARD APPLETON, *Secretary.*

A few introductory words are necessary, in explanation of this memorandum. It emanated from an association which comprises nearly all the colleges in New England, — women's colleges excepted. Each college sends its president and one professor to the annual meeting, and the gathering at Providence was a full and representative one. The function of the association is to consult and advise, not to legislate either for the colleges or any one else. Secondly, this memorandum is purely tentative. It is a provisional expression of the all but unanimous view of the gen-

tlemen gathered at Providence, and is referred to the college faculties for their consideration, and suggested as a topic to come before next year's association at Williamstown. Further, the subject of grammar schools was not down upon the programme of the Providence meeting, but spontaneously "broke out," like something that could not be suppressed, and was discussed with a heartiness and seriousness that indicated conviction and profound interest. The gentleman who threw this live question among them was a professor who has long been intimately connected with public school management, and spoke from their point of view. This leads to the observation that it will not do to charge the gentlemen of the association with impractical theorizing upon a subject foreign to them. Aside from the fact that probably each one of them spoke from a sad experience of wasted years in the grammar school, many had come from careers in the public schools, and others had for years made the subject their study, and spoke with authority. Upon public school questions the President of Amherst or the President of Harvard would command attention anywhere.

It is to be noted again that as the question did not start from the point of view of the colleges, so the discussion was not carried on from the college point of view. The changes proposed were discussed as valuable and necessary in themselves. If it was recognized that they might operate to make a boy or girl desire a college education who has not that desire now, and would make it easier to gratify such a desire, this fact is surely not an argument against them.

It should further be remarked that the changes are recommended "for gradual adoption." The speakers fully recognized how radical a change was involved, and by no means deluded themselves with the idea that the school system of the United States could be reconstructed in a day.

On the other hand, the programme was not intended to be an ideal one, either in the sense that it is Utopian and beyond the possibility of exact realization, or in the sense of being the best possible. Doubtless experience will modify it in detail, but it is believed to be thoroughly practicable, and in the line of healthy progress.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the grammar school in our public school system. Practically the grammar school is the finishing school for nearly our entire population; they get no instruction beyond the fifteenth year when they leave

the grammar school. If now the grammar school curriculum is radically wrong, or deficient, in just so far we, as a people, are being educated incompletely or wrongly.

It is all but unanimously agreed that such is the case. No more severe indictment of the present system has been published than in a paper read before the New York University Convocation in July, 1889, by Principal E. R. Payne, of Binghamton. "It has been stated that there are 8,000,000 children in the elementary schools of our country, 250,000 pupils in the secondary schools, and 60,000 students in the colleges. . . . The average age at which children enter academic grades cannot be far from fourteen; probably nearer fifteen. Up to that time they have devoted their time and attention mainly to arithmetic, geography, and grammar. . . . From these the great majority of children get all the systematic training which they ever receive. Is this enough? Could not the same amount of energy be spent to better advantage by curtailing and remodeling instruction in these studies and branching out in other directions? We are slaves to arithmetic, geography, and grammar, and it may cost a struggle to get free." "Upon leaving the grammar school," he continues, "children have not sufficient power of independent work; they lack interest and enthusiasm in study, and their school information does not extend in the most helpful directions. The ordinary German gymnasium boy of fourteen or fifteen has accomplished a great deal more intellectual work than his American contemporary. He probably knows at least as much about Latin as our boys of seventeen or eighteen. He has had some Greek and French. He has learned a great deal about the myths, legends, history, and prominent personages of his own country, together with its special geography; . . . he has studied geometry and algebra; . . . he has learned by heart more masterpieces of his native literature than our boy ever learns. If the boy be in the 'real school,' instead of a gymnasium, he has had considerable natural history, zoölogy, and botany, in place of the Greek, — above all, he has learned to apply himself. . . . A French boy only gives to arithmetic in the lycée one third of the time that our boys give to it, and he goes on to the higher mathematics well enough. Why should scholars be kept on arithmetic every day for six or eight years?" In regard to geography, he quotes Dr. E. E. White, of Cincinnati: "The time devoted to ordinary geography in the higher grades of elementary schools should be shortened, and one or two years given to an inspiring and broadening study of

geography as a science." After saying that technical grammar should not be taught, because from it one never learns either to speak or read, Principal Payne concludes: "The true course to pursue is to see to it that there is a better preparation for higher grades *at the same age as now*. What shall we use to fill up the time, if we gain any time by better teaching and less exclusive attention to the old standards? I answer without hesitation, elementary science." Principal Bunten, of Ulster Academy, followed in the same vein: "I believe that too much time is expended on certain parts of geography. It would be better if they were not required to learn the names of every little ditch in Europe or Africa. . . . Do not require them to master all these details; it is a mere effort of memory without any practical value. I believe that some elementary science should be taught in grammar schools." In regard to natural sciences, the American Society of Naturalists, at the Baltimore meeting, recommended:

"1. Instruction in natural sciences should commence in the lowest grades of the primary schools, and should continue throughout the curriculum.

"2. In the lower grades the instruction should be chiefly by means of object lessons; and the aim should be to awaken and guide the curiosity of the child in regard to natural phenomena, rather than to present systematized bodies of fact and doctrine."

In a memorable but rather optimistic address before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, some two years ago, President Dwight, of Yale, said: "Of natural sciences, I may venture to say that enough should be done in the earliest days to awaken the boy's powers of observation and his interest in this department of knowledge." In regard to the postponing of modern languages until the period of facility in acquiring had passed, he said: "It was a weary task for months or years. . . . Effort and precious time were hopelessly lost forever. The retrospect becomes only the more melancholy when we discover how needless the task was. The children of our households to-day may gain the same thing that we gained at five and twenty, and far more than we gained, *when they are ten or twelve*." After remarking upon the strange lack of appreciation of the value of the early school years, President Dwight concludes that "the ordinary boy of our educated families lost, in my judgment, under the old system of school education, from two to three years out of the seven that were allotted for his earlier studies." As the loss is entirely in the earlier years, he would doubtless not confine it to boys pre-

paring for college, though, considering the occasion, he had them exclusively in mind. President C. K. Adams, of Cornell University, said to the New York Convocation of July, 1888: "I have been interested in looking over the superintendent's report, with regard to the schools of the different cities and States. That report shows that the boys average a little more than fifteen years of age, that the girls are a little more than fifteen years and nine months of age, when they leave the grammar school. And what have they learned at the end of fifteen years? A little knowledge of reading, arithmetic, and geography, and have had (?) two terms of algebra. I am obliged to confess that they have accomplished what seems to be very small results compared with what I have seen in corresponding grades of schools in other countries."

Mr. F. A. Hill, head master of the Cambridge English High School, said in a recent paper: "The time has come to consider the wisdom of increasing the range and the grade of scholarship within the present limits of the grammar school. . . . The arithmetic course should be reduced to make room for algebra and geometry, — algebra through equations of the first degree, and geometry in a way to test the observing, inventive, and reasoning faculties, but with recognition of the fact that its principles can be grasped for practical purposes long before it is possible for the average pupil to give the formal and vigorous demonstrations of Euclid. Elementary science should have a place. There is something seriously defective in our teaching, if under it pupils do not gain in power to see and to think. Geography should be made an observational study to an increased extent. This can be effected with the aid of the portelumière, a darkened room, and stereopticon views. I hesitate to recommend an additional language for the grammar schools. Latin would hardly be tolerated. I fear it would be difficult, except in highly intelligent communities, to convince the public that French or German ought to be taken up in our grammar schools, although it is the practice abroad to begin a modern language very early."

The condition of too many grammar schools corresponds to that of the Quincy grammar schools under the old régime, as described by Mr. C. F. Adams: "It was found that the A and B grammar scholars throughout the town could parse and construe sentences, and point out the various parts of speech with great facility, yet when called upon to write an ordinary letter they were utterly unable to apply the rules and principles they had so painfully learned, or to form single sentences or to follow any rule of

composition." In reading, "the greater part of the scholars could merely stammer and bungle along, much as a better educated person does when reading a book in some language with which he is only imperfectly acquainted. In other words, it appeared, as the result of eight years' school-teaching, that the children, as a whole, could neither write with facility nor read fluently."

To express this indictment of the grammar schools along the lines of the discussion at Providence: Boys and girls after nine years' instruction leave school entirely, or enter the high school, trained in three subjects exclusively, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. In arithmetic, besides what President Walker considers the necessary training in addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and simple fractions, — they have spent years over puzzling, complicated, and unreal problems of all kinds. In grammar they, mere children, have studied definitions and terms abstract and metaphysical, to the last degree; they know nothing of good literature, and are without the power of correct expression. In geography they have memorized thousands of names, often mispronounced, and have no idea of the actual configuration of the earth or its physical constitution. They have passed the age when foreign languages are easily acquired, to remain in entire ignorance of them, or to learn them painfully afterwards, when they should be applying them. They go into life with no conception of modern science, their powers of observation untrained, and their interests unexcited. They have received a purely abstract training, at an age when abstractions are most foreign to mental processes. It follows that so unnatural a process must be long and tedious, — taking from two to three years of time unnecessarily. These fundamental subjects might be better taught in much less time, and the years gained employed upon subjects natural to the period, elementary science studied in the concrete, and languages according to the natural method.

In the discussion at Providence the objections to the proposed changes were seen to be chiefly of a practical kind, and their great weight was fully acknowledged. They group themselves under three general heads, relating to inability on the part of pupils, teachers, and tax-payers respectively. As regards the pupils: In the University Convocation of 1889, Principal J. E. Sherwood, of Albany, declared that the public-school pupils were so uncouth and rough, so lacking in will-power, that it took the whole grammar school period to tame them and "get rid of the dross." It is said that the process of education must be different for the children of

ignorant foreigners, or debauched and brutal parentage, from what it should be for those who come from comfortable New England homes. Certainly it should never be forgotten that the average mind is only to be trained by constant repetition, by a soaking process that must take time. It would seem, however, that the boy who had studied arithmetic four or five years would be ready at twelve to turn to elementary algebra, and to geometry at thirteen, or *vice versa*. Algebra illuminates arithmetic, as most of us remember, and geometry, with models and moulding, is objective enough for the dullest. Indeed, one can venture the prediction that it is just those who get along worst under the present literary system who would be most interested in the study of concrete things. But our educational system is plastic enough to allow of any modification of the proposed scheme in the interest of any particularly backward or difficult communities. This suggests a fundamental error of our present system. As far as it has any uniformity, it is a uniformity graded to the capacity of the dullest. This is wrong, a hardship to all who are thus made to walk the dullard's pace. We shall be obliged to have in our cities separate schools for those of slow and feeble intellects, — who are yet not idiots, — as they have abroad. The grading should be just rapid enough to stimulate the average boy and girl to do their best.

The real answer, after all, to this objection is that the proposed programme is in successful operation in the Ethical Society's Workingman's School in New York, and is practically that of the German and French schools; and it will not do for the American boy to confess an inferiority in brightness to his German or French contemporary. The truth is, that the American boy is not willing to work as hard as they, — at least over his books. As a school committee-man of long experience remarked the other day: "Parents are mightily afraid their children shall overwork, and they take the children's word for it too." Our school year is on the average about six weeks shorter than the German year, — a not unimportant fraction of the year. It is this willingness to be trained in school, and use of the best methods that makes out of the German boys the greatest scholars ever known, and the most successful traders of the commercial world.

It is objected further that the successful teaching of elementary science and of languages to children requires capacity in the teacher not now to be found. This is simply saying that we must have a higher grade of teachers, — not simply teachers better

trained, though this must follow. As Mr. C. W. Bardeen has said with much directness: "The principal deficiency of our school-work of to-day is brains; a good deal of brains gets into the teacher's profession, but comparatively little stays there." If the new grammar-school programme requires better teaching than we have now, the higher grade of teachers will be forthcoming to do the work, *provided* they are attracted to it by substantial emoluments. This means (1) expert and non-partisan supervision; (2) fixity of tenure, with promotion for merit; (3) a pension system, as in Germany; all these to make up for the always inadequate salary that the State can afford to pay its teachers. Is it said that this involves centralization of control? There is only one reply to this. If centralization is an indispensable condition of good schools, then let us have it.

We are now close on to the third objection, which was that the proposed grammar school system would cost more than the old. Probably it would, though the most expensive undertaking is the undertaking badly done. Moreover, many communities, for example, at Quincy, have found that efficient schools have cost less *per capita* than inefficient ones, and we are quite lavish with our public moneys in other ways. It would be interesting to figure the amount of money appropriated for public schools in our cities that, under our political ring methods, gets into the pockets of rascals, particularly in the construction department. There would, too, be some saving under the merit and pension system mentioned already.¹ Our popular control of schools, it would seem, obviates any danger from the side of expense. A community is sometimes taxed to death,—but no community ever taxes itself to death. The true point of resistance is not in the inability but in the unwillingness of a community to provide proper school facilities. It is upon this public opinion that the College Association hoped to operate in some small degree, in giving its memorandum to the press.

The relation of the proposed changes to the colleges may be alluded to, in conclusion. It ought to be evident that these changes make it easier for a grammar school graduate to get ready for college than under the present system. It is, now, almost out of the question for a boy without resources to span the

¹ The magnificent system of Prussian schools, from the elementary schools up through the university, costs but little more than half as much *per capita* of the population as that of New York State. (*Report of the New York State Department of Public Instruction*, by James Russell Parsons, Jr. 1891.)

gulf of three or four years between the grammar school and the college. At fifteen he is in no wise forwarded toward a college preparation. He is compelled to join the ranks of labor or business for which he may have no taste or qualifications. If, on the other hand, he has, at fifteen, had some algebra, geometry, and science, and the "*opportunity*" (note the word) "to study French or German or Latin, or any two of these languages from and after the age of ten years," he will already be within a year or two of college, and with the modern scholarships system, and readiness of every one to help an aspiring youth, will have no difficulty in securing a college education. This is in the line of true democracy. We want our colleges recruited from the brain and brawn of the land, not from the privileged few.

The Germans have a proverb, "*Wer die Schule hat, der hat die Zukunft des Volkes,*" which means, As are its schools, so is the nation. The last book of Aristotle's "*Politics*" is upon education, and he introduces it with the maxim, "No one will doubt that the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of youth, or that the neglect of education does harm to states." Each generation in America cannot continue to lose three or four years out of its life without comparative national retrogression, primarily in intellectual matters, then necessarily in practical affairs. A poorly educated people cannot compete with one better educated, for all supremacy is, after all, spiritual and intellectual rather than physical. It is beginning to be acknowledged that good teaching must be a profession, not a makeshift, that it is an art, perhaps of all arts the most difficult, and certainly of all arts the most important. This is evidenced by the very recent establishment of high-grade journals devoted to education, and by the foundation of schools and chairs of Pedagogy. We may be sure that the proposed reform of the grammar school programme will be eagerly discussed by experts, and it may be confidently predicted that it will be ultimately, if "*gradually,*" adopted, in principle, if not in detail.

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THE GREAT LOVE.

"He that loveth not, knoweth not God ; for God is love. Herein was the love of God manifested in (among) us, that God sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." — 1 JOHN iv. 8-10.

It is not possible to handle this transcendent passage concerning God without a deep sense of one's unfitness. Little headway can we make into the wide field of knowledge which it opens up to us. But it leads us in the right direction to the true knowledge of God. In it is the key to the understanding of God's being, character, and purpose. In it we are at the real A B C of permanent knowledge ; the theology of the future, of eternity. Before us lies the endless stretch, which contains — nay, as a whole, is without doubt — the revelation of glory ; even of the divine glory contained, in germ, in this rich word. So if we may get but the slightest idea of this great mystery of God, were it but a single hint, we are not doing vain work.

As ministers of the gospel, we do not speak so much of this mystery as we should. Why not? Among other reasons, because from every side one is still forbidden to speak in a true freedom of the spirit, on this transcendent revelation of God in Christ as a God of love. From the unbelieving part of mankind comes the cry, leave it alone, lest you come in conflict with the awful God of nature, or with godless nature, "red in tooth and claw." From the believing part of mankind comes the appeal, leave it alone, lest you come in conflict with God's decrees and holiness, encourage men with false hopes, and become involved in a denial of the eternal consequences of sin. It is not mere cowardice which, under such circumstances, leads one at times to suppress utterances which lie uppermost in one's soul, when the signs are patent that men are not yet able to bear certain truths. It is fear of endangering the glory of the truth itself, which must not be exposed unnecessarily to trampling feet. At the same time, why should we not confess that, if we knew more, we should find a larger boldness to speak more unreservedly of the deep things of God. These may, indeed, lie in outline clear enough to our own vision to fill us with unspeakable joy, and yet not sufficiently clear in detail to reproduce them so plainly that we can enable others to see them as we do. I, for one, often refrain from saying

more, because of a patient waiting for a better opportunity. Our school-term is very, very long, God be praised! He that believeth need not make haste.

Sometimes, however, occasions come which urge one to speak. Very recently I was singularly impressed with the importance of bearing this testimony concerning God. A friend of mine, whom many would probably call skeptical, — I do not judge him; I consider him serious in his doubts as I am in my beliefs, — said to me in an argument the other day: “Do you *love* God?” He put the emphasis on *love*. Many times has the question been put to me since early childhood. Often have I put it to myself. But always, as I now remember, with the emphasis on *you*. Other men love God, do you also? And I have long been able to answer sincerely, yes, I do. But my friend laid emphasis on *love*. And when, after a little reflection, I answered him yes, he repeated it: “Really *love* Him, as you do your wife and children?” The emphasis startled me a little. The question appeared more serious to me than it ever had before. Yet I could not but answer yes, and I enlarged somewhat on my answer, explaining how the object modifies the feeling without changing it as affection. I do not, indeed, love God as I love my wife, nor do I love her as I love my children, nor my children as I loved my mother; but I love each with a real love. It seemed inconceivable to my friend. He could not see that there was in God anything to appeal to love. He might admit in God things to admire, to fear, — power, wisdom, terror, — but could perceive neither tenderness nor affection, such as would make the weakest of his creatures trustful towards God, and make the Eternal Creator of all things a Being with whom the heart of a man can have a more satisfactory intercourse than the intellect.

This man represents a large class of persons. Earnest, intelligent, educated, with their attentions alive to the surroundings into which they have been born. With an appreciation of the demands for righteousness which the world presents in its manifold forms. With instincts for that which is right, and generous and helpful and saving. Burdened with the suffering patent wherever investigation leads them, a suffering as plain in the dim past as in the present. Convinced of the struggle between good and evil which has been going on beyond the memory of man. Troubled because of an apparent absence of God at the heart of the struggle. Obligated, therefore, to keep up a hope for ultimate good without God, or, at the best, with only the passive interest of God

in the fight between impersonal contending forces. I need only thus describe the situation in which such souls find themselves. I need not defend them, nor apologize for them. I could do neither, though I am sorry for them. If the God of Revelation were a reality to them, they would not be compelled to hope against hope, nor would they ever be driven to despair, as many of them are driven. I have lived long enough now to appreciate their difficulties, and I do not pretend that their objections taken from the visible universe can be answered. I feel the same difficulties, and cannot answer my own objections. I can only say to such souls when they ask me what I do with my objections: I subordinate and postpone them. The field whence they spring and which they may be said to cover is but a very small part of the whole. The material universe as compared with the spiritual is but an atom. Time, as compared with eternity, is but as a drop to the ocean. All the really great questions which trouble us men belong not to time, but to eternity, where we also belong. And God is greater than all.

But here we are at the very heart of the difficulty. Can the heart of an inquiring man find its way to God? Is he not doomed, as Huxley has recently put it, to wander in the mazes of an impenetrable forest, without the least idea of where he will come out? Now there is an instinct in man, to which long ago a prophet gave expression, that men by searching cannot find out God. Increase of knowledge of his handiwork will doubtless give larger knowledge of his methods and of some of his attributes; but unless men have trust in Him, they will not get at the secret of his being. "The secret of the Lord is only with those that fear him, that hope in his mercy." That was the great lesson twice taught at that representative mountain, Horeb, to the two representative prophets of the Old Testament dispensation, Moses and Elijah.

Somehow, then, before men can rise above their doubts and difficulties they must know God, — God as He is; God, as He himself, will help them surmount their difficulties. We cannot in this ascend from the less to the greater, we must descend from the greater to the less. As the Psalmist long ago said: "By thy light do we see light." And as Paul put it: "He that spared not his own Son, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things."

In all these cases the moral sense of the individual plays the large part, and constantly a larger part. These doubters among

us are not on a level with the Gentile world. Of what value may be the conceptions of an earnest heathen who follows the light within, we need not now ask. Some will rate them higher than others. But these doubters among us have been trained amid Christian influences. Their moral sense has been developed and quickened by the revelation of God in Christ, which has affected our world to a very large degree. What the conceptions of man concerning God, truth, righteousness, and mutual duties might be in an absolute state of nature, where no ray of divine grace has penetrated, no one knows. There is no way of finding out. We need not hesitate to receive as true the darkest descriptions of a world or of a man who has, as Paul puts it, "refused to have God in their knowledge." But the real state of the case is, that where sin has abounded, grace has already much more abounded. The law written in the heart covers the whole field, summed up in that one word, love. And that law is, certainly in the Christian world, illustrated and enforced as a beneficent law, in ten thousand forms, to enlighten the conscience and mould the heart.

The demand growing out of this influence, and boldly presented in our day by many serious minds, that the teaching about God which men bring, who are professed spokesmen on behalf of God, shall not conflict with the sense of righteousness thus developed, is no unreasonable demand. Only when one has lost faith in the world as the field of the kingdom, and in the universal presence of the Holy Spirit as preparing the world for Christ, and so has lost faith in men as the objects of the drawing power of the uplifted Christ, can he assume a position of antagonism or distrust to this demand. It is ominous when preachers of the gospel start out or are sent forth with the announcement that such a demand is unsafe and is to be resisted, or when they imply that the moral laws and responsibilities under which men live are anything else than the moral attributes and examples which God, as a moral Being, exhibits. When it is right and necessary to say that God lives and acts under law, it is also right and necessary to say that He, as a moral Being, lives and acts under precisely the same laws to which He subjects all moral creatures. To put it plainly : What would be wrong in us would not be right in God in similar circumstances. On no attribute is greater stress laid in Scripture than on righteousness, a righteousness which is in fullest harmony with love.

Since that incident, it has seemed to me more impressively plain that here is the crucial truth concerning God, and here also is the

great ignorance in man, — an ignorance which devastates the life, because it robs the affections of their proper object. More than ever do I feel that necessity is laid upon the ministers of God to testify concerning God that He is love. We may not be able to do it as we should. We may not be able to prevent men from making evil use of our words. We may not be able to have as complete faith in the doctrine, as a sufficient revelation concerning God, as we should have. Such considerations, however, must not prevent us from bearing the testimony which we find in the Revelation. It is not only a proper question: Is God lovable? That is, is God a Being whom men can love? But it is the first question concerning God from which is to be expected any radical influence upon the life of a sinful man. It is perfectly plain from the Scriptures that, until a man feels the claim of love, and freely responds to it, he is neither a being in whose companionship God can take delight, nor a being who can be willing to live on any proper terms with God. The strange part is that this simple truth is practically so much ignored when in the Scriptures it is so prominent. It seems simple to us now, yet it is very striking, that when the young ruler asked Jesus what was the greatest commandment in the law, the Lord should have said that, as far back as the giving of the law at Sinai, it had been announced that the one God of men claimed the love of men as his first right; and that this was man's first privilege, and so the real basis of intercourse between men and God. So it is very striking that, according to the Lord, the acknowledgment of that fact shows a man to be not far from the kingdom of God. It is, indeed, a fundamental truth. What is all knowledge of God worth which does not cover this point of how a human heart should feel towards God? Now, also, the interview of the Lord with Peter, after his resurrection, seems to me more significant than ever. I detect a stronger emphasis of the Lord on the word "love." I see now why Peter should fence with Christ about the proper term, and how the Lord should hold him to it, until Peter insists that he cannot as yet be committed to more than his own idea of affection. At that moment love was not yet perfected in him. In course of time he would love as he was loved. And clearer than ever is to me now the comprehensive character ascribed to love by Paul in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, as it covers the whole ground of spiritual requirements in man: "Now abideth faith, hope, and love, these three, and the greatest of these is love." A mere reminder of the claims thus expressed must im-

press us that we do not give due prominence to the demand for love under the gospel. We preach faith in God — very properly. We do not, however, always make it clear enough that this faith is only a means to an end ; that it is especially important as an aid to another demand to which it is subordinate. Faith is in order to love. Why must we have faith in God, except that we may be able to love Him? What are we to believe of God in the gospel except that He loves us, that thus we might have the eternal argument for love as the real bond between himself and us? Just as the Lord Jesus put it in his interview with Nicodemus, recorded in John iii.

We need not enlarge on that now. Nor is there necessity to follow the course which a doubting man will suggest, and first remove whatever from our human point of view may appear as evidence that there are in God rather the opposite attributes from love. So be it. Let it be that historically in human experience the revelation of the divine love stands last, coming after the revelation of power, wisdom, holiness, justice. Let it be that the evidence for love is the last to be completed in human history. Let it be that the appeal to the past is in favor of the view which makes of God rather an object of fear and dread, than of confidence and affection. Hence, for the present, let unbelief seem to have the better of the argument. If one truly believe in the love of God, he can afford to let the question settle itself as to how the past is to be worked harmoniously into the future, for he is sure that the love of God will be justified. This is the method of the gospel, it is the method of the apostles. The gospel is an announcement, a prophecy, a promise. It appeals solely to faith, and addresses hope. It does not answer the objections which either the fear of men or the providence of God, as it lies within our ken, suggests. Men are to believe it as a promise, in the face of the difficulties which no serious mind can ignore or undervalue: God so loved the world. He that believeth shall not perish because of the apparent dangers, but shall have eternal life. Thus also Paul, dwelling with tremendous effect on the vanity to which the creation has been subjected, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, simply says: "We received not again the spirit of bondage unto fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we say, Abba, Father!" The very adoption for which the whole creation waits. What a splendid passage he makes of it in the Epistle to the Romans. Starting in the lowest valley of our humiliation, where death reigns through sin, through

the dark clefts of the rugged mountains, where the terror of law, the condemnation of human inability, the mysteries of divine decrees, the gloom of unbelief, resistance, hardness cast in turn shade and chill, into the uplands of free grace, self-inspired love, and saving mercy, until he brings us on to the very summit of the Mount of God, where nothing obstructs the view, — where the sun shines in glory all the day from the cloudless sky, and the great peaks of God's redemptive revelations are all bathed in the splendor of light; the high place whence God alone is visible in the eternal silence more eloquent of goodness than all words; where a devout soul can only say in boundless thankfulness: "Of him, and through him, and to him are all things. To him be the glory forever, Amen." With what effect can the apostle then turn to men wondering at the infinite glory of goodness and appeal to them: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the *mercies* of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice," — an offering of love. Is God loveable? It can definitely be answered only there.

Such is also the essence of our passage from John, to whom it was given more formally to answer that question than to any other of the Lord's messengers. For he says, in so many words, in these verses, that until one has seen that in God which enables him to live with God on the basis of love, he does not understand God — has no real and adequate conception of who God is. Does this annul all revelations concerning God previous to this, God is love? Not at all. It only completes them. It is no contradiction of the revelation from Sinai, nor of the revelation through history, nor of the revelation in man, nor of the revelation in nature. It corrects them all where they are wrongly conceived of or interpreted. In a sense, it renders them all superfluous, for the history of the revelation that God is love includes all possible manifestations of God to men. So that he who has perceived the force of this word goes through the universe with the key that unlocks all the mysteries. At no point is any revelation of God final until it has reached the point indicated in this passage. All other revelations are preparatory to it, as all previous dispensations are preparatory to the dispensation of the kingdom of God.

For a most serious error would we make at this point if we in any wise conceived of the love of any creature to God as self-originated, and in that sense spontaneous, depending simply on the self-will of the creature. As who should say, since there are before me, as capable of love, in this universe, all objects to desire

and to possess within the embrace of my affections, so that I can call them my own, and find in them the satisfaction of delight, I choose the greatest and best of them, that is, God. That is the kind of false gospel which brings to nought the grace of God. It is a pity that it is, indeed, heard so much, for it discredits the greatest truth of God, and it is based on a radically false conception of love as a principle and a motive. In God love, as all other feelings, is absolutely original and free, for God is the only Being who moves in perfect liberty, being above the necessity of giving account of any of his doings. But in the creature love is a gift, communicated by a sweetly reasonable method, by the presentation of the lovable. Sometimes in the form of an attractive object, that which a spirit really can love, and so finds itself under a sweet obligation to love with its own full consent, or else in the form of an experience of love shown toward itself, enkindling love. In no case can it be forced, imposed by command as a simple duty. It is a part of certain life-relations. In all cases true love is reasonable, mutual, and free. In the relations between creatures such simple truths are easily acknowledged as of force. A simple obligation or promise to love does not assure affection. It cannot. No less true is this of the relations between men and God.

If men do not live with God on the basis of love, this does not argue, however, either that God is not lovable, or does not love them. John says, it simply proves that they do not know God. For God is not only lovable, but his essential character is love. Now if we could have a complete definition of that term, we could get at what God really is. But this we lack, and we can only approximate to its understanding. The essential idea in it, however, we can grasp. Love is the opposite of selfishness. It is the inward pressure to be what one is and to have what one possesses for the benefit of another. This, it is here said, God has in perfection. It does not exclude other attributes. Certainly not. Yet if, in a human way of speaking, there be any attribute which may be used as the comprehensive expression of God's innermost nature as a moral Being, living with an eternal purpose worthy of himself, then, according to the Scriptures, this is the attribute, and in this word is the secret of the universe. For certain purposes it may be profitable for us to think of God as solitary in the as yet uncreated universe: "The dread Supreme, in solemn silence dwelling by himself, in vast immensity." But it is a view never presented in the Scrip-

tures. They know not of the Lone God, though they lay great stress on Him as God alone. The essential idea of God as love precludes the conception of a God unable to exercise that first attribute. Hence as through the ages the revelation is unfolded in Scripture, we find in it more and more a casting back of all things into eternity, the proper world of God, forever above all limitations of time and space. He sees the end from the beginning. All things are always present before Him. Not only those which are, but those which were, and those which will be. To God they never begin to be, they always are as objects of a real interest. Hence Paul could say of Him, that He calleth things that are not as though they were. As also the Lord had said to Jeremiah: "Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee." Hence all things being forever in God's thoughts could eternally enter into his purpose, and toward them He could exercise his love. This is the doctrine which Paul especially unfolds in his Epistles, applying it to the Creation as well as to the Redemption (Eph. iii. 9-11; Col. i. 14-16), it becoming real in Christ, the Eternal Son of God—in whom all things were created as well as redeemed. Separate from whom, or outside of whom (χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, John i. 3), nothing became that was made. The relation of the Father and the Son is emphasized in Scripture, whenever the doctrine of the sonship is fully revealed, as preëminently a relation of love. That is the essential idea of the term found in John, the only begotten (John i. 14, 18). As we should say, the only son of his Father, upon whom the Father lavishes all the love which in a more numerous family might be considered divided, parceled out. To bring this out Paul uses the phrase, the Son of his love (Col. i. 13). That love, of which the Eternal Son is, if we may say so, the enduring, infinite symbol, is the world of God in which his own conscious life dwells. The repeated declaration of the Father, therefore, during the incarnation of the Son: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," is the Father's announcement of the character of his own life as men and angels are to hear it from himself. Dwelling to all created beings in a light unapproachable, this is the ultimate self-revelation of Deity, which only God may witness concerning God. Whatever creature does not perceive the truth of that self-revelation, be he man or angel, does not yet know God. He may know about God. But he does not know God. He has not got hold of the secret which

is so often hidden from the wise and prudent, but is revealed to the babes, even the good pleasure — the love — of the Father.

I am aware how far this view of God in Christ as an eternal manifestation lies beyond us at present. It cannot yet be offered as a common text-book to men who inquire after God. Least of all to those among men who have only eyes as yet for visible things and not at all for the invisible realities. But it is properly presented as a reason why men should suspend judgment upon God's character when they have only or know only the visible things from which to draw conclusions. Certainly, in a controversy about God, in which his essential goodness is doubted or denied, it is a legitimate argument to say to men, Here are lines along which the eternal Love as the essential element in the divine character and purpose may be established. This is without doubt the question which men should approach with the least prejudice. It may not be theirs as yet to have the reverent, deep insight which enabled Browning to put into the mouth of David such profound words as these : —

"I have gone the whole round of creation : I saw and I spoke :
I, a work of God's hand for the purpose, received in my brain
And pronounced on the rest of His handiwork — returned Him again
His creation's approval, or censure : I spake as I saw.
I report, as man may of God's work — all 's love, yet all 's law."

Still I say that every serious man must desire that to be the verdict, rather than that God is indifferent or eternally at war with his creation. It is a worthier conception in every way than that which cannot link the Infinite One with human hope, trust, and affection. It is in harmony with the view of the Psalmist, "The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. All thy works shall praise thee" (Ps. cxlv. 9, 10). Why should not every soul leave room for it, if it have not yet become a reality to him? Why should not a distracted man console himself with the thought that at some time this whole universe, which now breeds doubt for him because he is so ignorant and distrustful of God, will be to him a text-book of love, and will forever furnish him larger assurances of God as a God in whom it is good to "live, move, and have our being"?

In the mean time the brightest, most convincing chapter in God's whole library lies closest at hand. It is the chapter which begins with a manger and ends with a cross. "For in this especially was the love of God manifested in us, that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through

him." The brief statement opens up a boundless field, but as a comprehensive expression of the divine purpose in the incarnation, it is a most practical answer to the question whether God is lovable. Suppose the purpose of God is inscrutable in the creation, though this is always to be denied for God's sake and for man's sake as well; suppose the will of God in respect to his creature is unknown in the creature itself, — a thing which may be more safely admitted; suppose the bondage of death to which the creature despairingly feels himself subjected is well-founded, so far as any visible evidence is concerned; suppose then that the world ignorant of Christ has no feeling of relationship to God, and sees no such ground of hope, that it can lay hold of the future with any confidence or joy, — a thing cordially admitted: yet in Christ the purpose of God is plain, and equally the remedy for the universal evil and the ground for eternal hope and joy. Modern materialistic thought presses the question between death and life as the overshadowing question for the individual. Very properly. *It is the great question.* It has no other answer than that the atom cannot hope to escape in this universal vortex which seethes and whirls and grinds to powder with conscienceless force. When the worlds are doomed, what chance is there for man? So materialism chooses the side of death. But here, in the Incarnate Christ, God chooses the side of life, and it is set before us as the proof of God's love. It is an unanswerable demonstration. Who will gainsay it? For life is admittedly the effect of saving power when it triumphs amid scenes of death. On that most practical question, out of which come to-day the most serious objections to faith in God, because men are more than ever impressed with the grandeur of power and the strength of law, the answer given by the appearance of Christ is that "God willeth all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" — the real truth as God knows things. Why should not such a God confidently claim the love of his creature as a God who deserves love?

Grant us the historical truth of that one day on Calvary, as told in the simple story of the gospel writers, with all its incidents, and especially with its wonderful words from the cross, from "Father, forgive them" to "Father, into thy hands" — what human brain could have invented the crucifixion day! — and the testimony is irrefragable, that God is love.

When one can get hold of this essential idea, one can carry it out, and he will find it both applicable to all circumstances in

which need would appeal to love, and also corroborated by all human history read in the light of Christ revealed. John carries it out to some extent. The love of God was not called forth by the loveliness of man or by man's love, but the love of man was always called forth by the loveliness of God and his love. Love in some conception of the term is the strongest and most permanent passion of humanity. Yet history shows that the loss of the conviction of God's love may lead to the decay of love even in the most common and most natural forms — brotherly, filial, parental, conjugal. It is the perception of the love of God which has kept human love alive in the world, ennobled it, sanctified it, and made it fit for larger purposes than earthly. This in itself is a proof that human love is a gift from God and dependent on his influence. But John refers to more than this. Especially from his point of view was it impossible to ignore the influence of sin on the relations between God and man, on the human conceptions of God, and on the feelings of man toward God. It was seen everywhere and universally acknowledged, though often unintentionally, in the attitude which men took towards God, just as it is to-day. For there is no permanent response to God where his voice does not come to men through Christ. There is no harmony between men and God, no satisfaction in God, where men have not felt his love in the gift of his son. Now John says that in spite of this lack of love, nay, because of it, God manifested his love. For He manifested it in such manner that it effected a propitiation for our sins. Into the details of this it is not now necessary to go. The great truth is that Christ, as the effective antidote to those consequences of sin, which misconceived lead to a denial of the love or loveliness of God, is the main doctrine of the gospel. Freely may we say to an unbelieving world, that no conception of the work of Christ which detracts from it as a manifestation of the infinite love of God is just and true, whether that conception be furnished by friend or foe. "God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son" is the gospel in inspired form.

The Church of Christ should volunteer more and more heartily to put the gospel more simply in this shape. It is needed by the world which does not yet know God. It is demanded by the present honor of God as connected with the word of reconciliation. We often, and in a sense properly, inveigh against the pride of worldly-wise men, who set up their opinions against the declared word of God, following their logic at the expense of real truth,

and saving their consistency at the cost of hope and joy. We are liable to the same temptations, at the same expense. It is the mission of the church, as set by the ascending Lord, to preach the gospel to every creature — this gospel “that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses to them” (2 Cor. v. 19). We need not reconcile that gospel with theories or facts beyond our understanding, before we preach it in its fullness. We need not be too much concerned for our own consistency, or for the harmony of our convictions with those of our predecessors. The test of a true gospel is, after all, not whether there be no flaw in its reasoning, as it passes through the machinery of an ill-formed human mind, before it finds its way out of his lips; nor whether it is of so perfect shape that no human ingenuity can find fault with its symmetry; nor whether the possibility of finding difficulties and objections, either in the past or the future, has been obviated: but whether it does justice to a love which passeth knowledge, and opens up a view to a real new world in which righteousness shall dwell and love be triumphant. The test of the gospel is hope. “For we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen is not hope, for who hopeth for that which he seeth. But if we hope for that which we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.”

What are men, then, to do with their unsolvable problems? Leave them to the love of God, which is able to solve them. If they will give full scope to faith, they will find sometimes that the universal gospel of God's grace in Christ is a perfect theodicy. Let them give their attention to the beholding of God in the face of Jesus Christ, that they may know Him and learn to love Him. For “this is eternal life, to know God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.”

Christian Van Der Veen.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.

EDITORIAL.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS AS RELATED TO THAT OF THE APOSTLES.

THE church chiefly depends for its knowledge of Christianity upon two sources, the teaching of Jesus, and the teaching of his apostles.

It has other means of information, the Old Testament, and the record of its own enlarging life. The study of these is essential to complete knowledge of Christianity. The New Testament cannot be fully understood by a mind untaught in the Old Testament and in the history of the church. But these sources of knowledge are secondary to the two first mentioned. They do not lead to the heart and centre of the thing to be known. Indeed, the facts and principles upon which the intelligent use of them depends are contained in the New Testament, and they are therefore dependent upon it in a far deeper way than that in which it is dependent upon them. Their service extends only to expanding and illustrating the central and germinal ideas which the Christian Scriptures contain. The church must ever regard the teachings of Jesus and those of his apostles as the primal sources of all knowledge about the true religion; must always go back to these for an answer to the ever-recurring question, What is Christianity?

He who would use these two prime sources rightly has to ask which of them deserves precedence over the other as regards authority and value. Their mutual relation forces this question upon him. They are not contemporaneous. Nearly the lifetime of a generation separates them, (quite as much, indeed, if an average be struck), — a time crowded with the most momentous religious events. They are not coördinate. One source contains the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, the other those of his disciples, men who eagerly profess inferiority to their Master in knowledge as well as position. The themes with which they deal are not mutually exclusive. Each speaks from its own point of view of the true religion, the life which men may live in this world with and for God. The teaching is, in each case, greatly influenced as regards both form and substance by the historical conditions under which it was given, but in both cases it gives an answer to the fundamental question what right religion is.

Evidently, then, the student of Christianity has to find out the mutual relation of these two great sources of knowledge before using them. He cannot assume that they are coördinate and independent of each other without disregarding the plain facts of the case. One came from the Master, the other from the disciple; why shall not the one have the place belonging to the Master's utterances, the other that belonging to the disciple's? It may be said that between Jesus's speaking and the apostles' writing things took place which gave the teachings of the latter much of

its value. This is true; but it does not follow from this that their ideas are to be classed with those of their Master. They addressed different audiences, and spoke from different points of view. Jesus talked to Jews of a kingdom to be set up by Him. Paul wrote to Gentiles of a salvation which had been accomplished by Jesus. We have not to do here with two parts of a whole, but with two things that are diverse though akin, two conceptions of religion; and we who hold that the supreme Christian teaching lies in these two conceptions must ask which underlies and gives the measure to the other. Both are true; but as they are not independent, nor mutually exclusive, one must give authentication to the other and be its test.

To which belongs the higher, the supreme place?

There are some, of course, who believe that this question need not be asked; who see no better use of the teaching of Jesus and the apostolic teaching than that of breaking both into fragments and using those fragments in building a theological structure upon a frame supplied by philosophy. But this way of using Scripture is fast passing out of favor. Those who respect the integrity of inspired teaching have to ask which holds the higher place.

Some influential students of Christianity give the apostolic teaching the precedence. This necessarily follows, they think, from the fact that it is the first teaching given after Christianity was established in the world, and the first, therefore, which fully shows what it is. The death and resurrection of Jesus, and the Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit are, it is said, the facts which chiefly made the Christian religion. Before these events, Christianity did not exist. Our best ideas of it must be obtained from those who knew it in its beginnings, namely, the apostles. The teaching of the Master could not, in the nature of the case, deal with those great things, the chief Christian events, which had not come into being when He taught. It is, therefore, perfect as it is in form, and flawless in excellence, as religious truth secondary to that contained in the apostolic writings. God's ways with men could not be revealed to the Jews by even his Incarnate Son, speaking as a man to men, as they were afterwards shown to Jews and Gentiles by his Spirit speaking through the apostles. It follows, it is said, that the apostolic ideas are the ultimate source of Christian knowledge. They lead one deeper into the heart of Christianity than even those of Jesus, which belong to and illustrate an earlier stage of divine revelation.

This opinion we believe to be contradicted by the very authority to which it gives the highest place, — the teaching of the apostles. The estimate put by them upon Jesus Christ, an estimate warranted by what He said about himself, implies that his religious ideas are not secondary to their own, or those of any men, but on the contrary hold the supreme place. Jesus Christ was to the apostles, as He has been to the whole church, the perfect revelation of God; the divine image or counterpart,

as St. Paul has it ; the Word incarnate, as St. John says. True, it was, according to Paul, by the resurrection that He became the Son of God in power ; but his resurrection, in the apostle's thought, involved no change in his being, it was only the flowering out of his perfect manhood. He was the "Lord from heaven," and therefore He rose from the dead. Paul held that in the earthly state Jesus was sinless, and that what He said then, for example, his instruction as regards the sacredness of marriage, or his prediction concerning his second coming, or his command to observe the Lord's Supper, holds his church to eternal obligation of faith and obedience.

This apostolic teaching about Jesus implies, we believe, the perfection of his religious consciousness, and its supreme authority for his church. If his person were a perfect revelation of God, then his religious ideas must have been absolutely true ideas.

A man may be unconsciously a medium of divine revelation. Inanimate nature reveals God. The body and mind of the Hottentot carry a larger revelation of Him. A good man in the higher operations of his spirit makes a yet fuller disclosure of his Maker. But the revelation of God which the apostles attribute to Christ is of another kind : a full disclosure of his life in its outgoing towards man, coming from conscious intimacy with Him ; the reflection of his being from the depths of the intelligence and the heart. Certainly Jesus professed to give such a revelation when He said, "No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him." These words contain a claim to possess and to impart a correct knowledge of God. They do not mean that the revelation promised is made solely by teaching. Jesus doubtless felt that his life taught men what God is. But it is implied that the revelation of God made in the life is seen by the speaker, seen by him more clearly than any one else. If Jesus, by his acts and sufferings, showed men truths about God which He did not see himself, then the assertion that He had a knowledge of the Father corresponding to the Father's knowledge of Him, and giving Him exclusive qualification to reveal God to men, must have been a mistaken one. The apostles lead and represent the church in saying that it was not in any degree erroneous ; that Jesus Christ was all that He believed and claimed himself to be.

It need hardly be said that the moral perfection ascribed to Him by all his disciples implies the justice of his estimate of himself, and accordingly of his ideas about God. He could not have been ideally perfect if He had been self-deceived as to the accuracy of his knowledge of the Father. To attribute absolute truth to Jesus's religious ideas is to believe that they take precedence of those of all other men, his apostles included. The special illumination given to some of his disciples did not raise them to equality with Him as teachers of divine truth, for it did not bring them to a place so close to God as that which He occupied.

The question now presents itself, Have we in the teaching attributed to Jesus by the Gospels a correct presentation of his religious ideas? Do we find in them his thoughts about those religious truths which He regarded essential and permanent? It is well to restrict the inquiry to the first three Gospels, since the fourth is believed by many interpreters, we think with reason, to report such of Jesus's sayings as it selects for presentation somewhat freely. The older biographies of Jesus give a faithful report of so much of his teaching as was stored in the memory of his disciples. The discussion concerning the age of these writings, carried on during the last half century, gives these results: that they were written before all the apostles died; that the earliest writing contained in them came from the hand of an apostle; and that one of them was written by a companion and relative of another apostle. Criticism has not impugned their report of Jesus's teaching in any important feature. The discourses and sayings which this report presents, by their unique individuality of thought and expression, bear witness to their own genuineness. The inquiry which the church has been forced to make into the historic basis of its faith has furnished it with good reason for believing that it knows what its Master taught.

Did what He taught express his belief about the essential truths of religion? It professed to do so. He described a kingdom of God to be set up by himself. The Hebrew religion was to culminate in it. It was to overspread the earth, and to endure until the end of time. He described the relation to God which the members of that kingdom would enjoy, and the mutual tie uniting them. So He showed what God would do with men, and what they could be with Him, and what to each other. Such teaching deals with the fundamental verities, if there are any. It professes to give the teacher's thought as to what they are.

It is sometimes said that we are to make allowance in our estimate of Jesus's teaching for the fact that He condescended to the dull and sluggish minds of his hearers. This is true. Our recollection of his condescension should make us ready to believe that He omitted some truths which his hearers were not ready to receive; that He contented himself with suggesting others instead of explicitly teaching them. But it does not suggest to us that He consciously taught half-truths. Our reverence for Him should make us think that He could not do this. We can easily believe, for example, that the religious exclusiveness in which his people had been educated would prevent Him from expressly saying that the kingdom of God belonged to Gentiles, as such, equally with Jews. It was wiser, and as truthful, to stop with teaching the universality of the kingdom, leaving events to show the way in which its universality was to be reached.

But we cannot believe that Jesus would say anything about God or man or life or duty that He knew to be one-sided, in the expectation that

it would by and by be replaced by fuller teaching. He would not have said that the Heavenly Father loves and is kind both to the evil and the good, if He had believed that the statement must be qualified in order to be fully true.

We are, therefore, to receive his teaching of religious truths as setting forth the image of those truths lying in his mind. Such dignity and authority as belong to Him belong to this teaching. We cannot regard Him as the Lord and Master of the church, and yet think that the words He spoke on earth are in any sense antiquated or outgrown. We may believe that at the resurrection He laid aside certain limitations which the condescension of the Incarnation imposed. The change was not — if we may reverently speak thus — like that which the chrysalis undergoes when it bursts into the butterfly. The risen Christ had no essential element of personality which did not belong to the earthly Christ. The spiritual conceptions which He gave to his disciples by his Spirit are not truer than those which He had and expressed here, for these last carry the truth of his perfect life.

The teaching of Jesus is, then, the higher of the two chief sources of Christian knowledge. That of the apostles is ancillary to it, and should have a subordinate place in determining what Christianity is. The church should find its fundamental and regulative ideas of religion in the teaching of its Master. It should construe the later revelation given by the apostles by the earlier given by the Lord himself. It should interpret those great events in his earthly career which followed his ministry by that teaching which, in explaining the kingdom of God, explained the life of Him its Founder.

We do not, of course, call in question the doctrine of the apostolic inspiration. We hold with the church catholic, that the apostles had a teaching gift, which made their works unique among Christian writings for value and authority. But "one star differeth from another star in glory," and in the firmament of revelation there is but one "bright and morning star."

We do not wish to be understood to say or imply that the apostolic teaching needs to be corrected in any of its important features by the teaching of Jesus. The variance between the disciples and the Master which some have found, we do not find. All that is essential in Paul's doctrine of justification, that part of his teaching which is most original and distinguishing, has its roots in the teaching of Jesus.

But we claim that the apostolic teaching is only rightly understood by the church when studied in connection with and subordination to the teaching of the Master. It is sometimes said that this teaching was only the expansion of the apostolic preaching of Jesus of Nazareth as the crucified and risen Messiah. But this shows defective knowledge of this preaching. It was not a bare statement of the leading events of Christ's career. It was a presentation, a fresh and glowing presentation of Him ;

the repetition of incidents in his life in their minute detail, and the impartation of the religious truths which He taught. The tradition embodied in our Gospels was the material of which the apostolic sermons were composed. Even Paul made some use of this tradition in his preaching. The ideas about Christ and Christianity contained in the apostolic letters are those of men who taught first and largely in their Master's words, adding words of their own to meet objections, or give counsel or comfort or explanation, as the needs of their converts required. They did not think of trying to replace that supreme teaching of which their minds and hearts were full by their own. In forbidding divorce Paul said, "Not I command, but the Lord." In predicting the second coming of the Master he began: "We say unto you in the word of the Master."

The Christian Church has never given due honor to Christ's doctrine of the kingdom of God. It has called De Wette's characterization of that doctrine as the perishable husks of Christian truth rationalistic, but it has acted as if the characterization were just. It has begun in constructing its conception of religion with the antithesis of sin and grace, or divine sovereignty, or some other abstract notion, and has gone on to completion, using the varied materials at its command, passing over this teaching of its Master; even allowing the one small place at first reserved for it to be usurped by the apostolic doctrine of the church. The doctrine of the kingdom should have had the fundamental and shaping place given it in the teaching of Jesus. This is Christianity, the thing which the church desires to know. It should be studied as it lies mirrored in the perfect Mind. The knowledge contributed by the apostles and that given in the later life and thought of the church should be made tributary to the task of understanding this comprehensive fact and truth. Thus really edifying knowledge will be gained, knowledge of living truths and truths in harmonious relation.

To know Christianity, we must be really, as well as nominally, disciples of Christ.

THE THEOLOGICAL RESTIVENESS OF ULTRA-CONSERVATIVES.

THE recent entrance of an Episcopal rector of eastern Massachusetts into the Roman Catholic Church has excited rather more than passing interest on account of the very singular reason he gives for taking the step. He goes, not because he is wavering, but because he is steadfast in the faith. He goes, not to find an answer to doubts, for he has no doubts; and not to find a place of rest for his troubled soul, for his soul is not troubled in respect to doctrine or duty. He goes because those about him are departing from the faith once delivered to the saints. There is so much liberalism and rationalism in the church with which he has been connected, and, indeed, in all the Protestant churches, that, as he is entirely out of sympathy with such tendencies, he must part company with

those who are rapidly becoming unsound and dangerous, and enter a communion where, as he believes, all things continue as they were from the very beginning. Such is the account given by an ultra-conservative of his restiveness, and of his reasons for seeking more congenial ecclesiastical associations.

While the course pursued is singular, the restiveness is typical. The most restive party in the various denominations is the party whose orthodoxy, in its own opinion, has been kept whole and undefiled, and is above suspicion by others. It has been supposed that unrest is confined to the liberals, who have been thought of as tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, as struggling painfully in the break-up of their old faiths, as torn asunder by conflicting opinions; and the conservatives, especially the ultra-conservatives, have been thought of as standing in places of security, as congratulating themselves on their immunity from disturbance, as occupying the position which Lucretius thought so enviable, on the hill of truth, from which they could look with complacency on the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below. But, whatever unrest may accompany readjustment of one's beliefs in the light of increasing knowledge, there is also restiveness on the part of those who try to stand still while the world and the church are moving away from them. Indeed, signs are not wanting that the ultra-conservative party is at present more disturbed than any other. That party sympathizes with the complaints of the Cambridge rector concerning the rationalism of the church and clergy, and is as unhappy as he about it all. But, as nearly all of them hate Roman Catholicism as heartily as they hate liberalism, they have not his way of escape to a place of refuge where the ancient traditions are preserved unimpaired. It is not so long since these brethren were intimating that the advocates of a new theology should leave this or that denomination in which there was no room for them, but now, so rapidly do changes of sentiment occur in these last days, they are almost on the point of questioning whether there is a home for them in communions infected with rationalism, and have been actually known to take their turn in pleading for toleration of their opinions and methods. There need be no fear, however, of defection. They will remain with us, for their own good, and for the good of all, we may hope, if for no better reason, because there is no place of retreat occupied only by others like-minded with themselves.

The interest attaching to the state of mind of the ultra-conservatives pertains entirely to the causes of it, as indicating, by contrast, the character and direction of the stronger theological tendencies of the time. These causes are not far to seek.

One cause of restiveness is want of congeniality with living movements of thought in religion, philosophy, and science. The ultras are not, it is true, unaware of the reconstruction of opinion which has been going forward. They have enough knowledge of the change to know the new

thought when they see it. In fact, some of them are very keen in detecting the peculiar marks of liberalism. They perceive a flavor of rationalism before definite statements can be challenged. They are quick to catch the scent of heresy while as yet common Christians have no suspicion. They have even been so unfortunate, in some instances, as actually to be compared to hounds with highly trained sense of smell, sniffing the air and searching for the trail. But it is one thing to perceive that new opinions are different from the old, and quite another thing to understand the effects of enlarging knowledge and to feel the force of the current of life as it broadens and deepens its channel. The relation of ultra-conservatism to spiritual and progressive liberalism may be likened to the contact of two separate spheres, which only impinge on each other but do not interpenetrate. In a word, it may be said that the significance of the readjustment of beliefs is not understood by those who are merely restive in the midst of change. They do not see that the restatement of beliefs is the consequence of a more discriminating knowledge of the evolution of nature, of a more sympathetic insight into the complex relations of men in society, of a broader survey of the advances of history, and of a more real thought of the indwelling of God in nature, society, and history, guiding them, or rather shaping them all in the fulfillment of the perfect ideal of personal character and social life, according to the likeness and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The outcome is judged by itself apart from the growths from which it proceeds, and is therefore misjudged. Such failure to understand is due to certain limitations of mind, if we may venture so to characterize some of our brethren, to a want of sympathy or congeniality with the life of thought and the life of the world. They demand definiteness in religious beliefs. They complain of the vagueness of liberalism. Lack of precision is, indeed, the first sign of error, referred to above as the flavor or the scent of heresy, detected before the error can be specifically formulated and proved. Minds which can be satisfied only with exactness of statement, with literal definition, with one and only one expression of faith, cannot understand beliefs which are expressed in various and changing forms. The literalists usually mean well. But what they gain in precision they are likely to lose in depth, and they certainly lose in appreciation of that which is most full of life and power. What they are most conscious of in the new is its reactionary effect, in the disturbance of the old which always accompanies progress. Impact of mutually exclusive spheres produces rebound, and the stationary sphere is chiefly aware of the rebound, while the moving sphere is aware of its own progress, which is not arrested by obstacles.

The restiveness of ultra-conservatives may be traced to another cause, which, however, is a result of this lack of appreciation. Restiveness is an accompaniment of a purely defensive attitude. The old is engaged in defending itself. The defense is carried on in some quarters

with great vigor, not always unmingled with bitterness. But it is the energy of mere self-preservation. The old orthodoxy is becoming tired of making concessions. It has abandoned the outworks, one after another, and now lies intrenched in the central fortress, in which it proposes to remain, and to fight, if need be, to the death. It will be admitted that such figures of defensive warfare are very naturally employed to describe the attitude of the old theology. Now, a defensive attitude is a restless attitude. There is no peace, and small hope for it. It means discouragement. The aggressive force may work as hard and suffer as much, but it is expectant and confident. True enough, the ultra-conservatives give their support to missionary enterprises, and are not wanting in many good works, but they are not directing the movements of progress, they are not representatives of coming beliefs, they are not teaching the world as it needs to be taught, they are not adapting their gospel to the conditions of thought and life which are really, although perhaps ignorantly, desiring it. They know very well that no reaction is to be expected in their favor. They must even shut their own eyes to facts in order to maintain their literal constructions of some portions of the Bible. They must form hypotheses more and more ingenious and unreal to meet forcible objections. They may believe most earnestly that new views are wrong and dangerous, and yet they cannot but be aware that their own views can be maintained only by doing violence to stubborn facts on the one hand, and to the principles of correct Biblical interpretation on the other hand. If they were as sure of their own beliefs as they claim to be, they would await with patience the day when those beliefs will gain general acceptance. But they know that day is never coming. At the most, they will defend their opinions stoutly, yielding the ground inch by inch, but they will not venture forth boldly on the positive work of guiding religious opinion and the energy of the modern church in the modern world.

We have mentioned lack of congeniality with living movements as a cause of restiveness. This spirit really betrays lack of faith. There is solicitude amounting almost to alarm for the future. There is a distrust of honest scholarship, and of honest science, and of honest philosophy, and, indeed, of everything, be it fact or theory, which threatens outgrown opinions. The ultra-conservatives present the strange anomaly of pessimistic Christians. They have no faith in the future, no faith in the younger generation, no faith in their sincere fellow-men, and therefore no cheerful, steadfast faith in God, who works out his increasing purpose through honest seekers after truth and righteousness in the successive generations. When pessimism is replacing faith, hope, and love, there must certainly be restiveness.

There is really a kind of absurdity in the estimates our ultra-conservative brethren have of their own religious philosophy, and of what they are pleased to call rationalism. The new theology might be considered

a *renaissance* of the more simple and original type of Christian belief, and as therefore discarding that defective metaphysic or rationalism which has for some time appropriated the name of orthodoxy. It is preposterous for the old orthodoxy, which is based on a bad metaphysic, sneeringly to call the new theology rationalism. The most marked characteristic of the new theology is that it seeks to know the exact facts of the life of Christ and the teaching of the apostles, through an accurate knowledge of the literary sources, and thus to be built on a science of Biblical theology, using the books of the Bible in the light of their actual composition and structure. It rejects a rationalistic treatment of the Bible which frames a theory of inspiration or inerrancy independently of the facts, a theory to which the ultra-conservatives cling, as if it had been sent down from heaven. The new theology is nearly silent about sovereignty, election, preterition, and other details of the eternal counsels of God, preferring rather to emphasize the redemption of God in Christ, and the universality of its purpose. But the ultra-conservatives, as the discussion in Presbyterian circles shows, have been rationalistic to the last degree in accepting a scheme of theology which has for its central principles metaphysical notions concerning the attributes and corresponding purposes of God. The old orthodoxy has accepted a doctrine of sin and guilt based on purely rationalistic conceptions of the human constitution, on unreal distinctions between nature and person, on metaphysical refinements between natural and moral ability, while the new theology, ignoring all such rationalizing, prefers to bring the power of redemption close upon the present power of sin, and the promise of renewal to every man through the freedom which is regained in Jesus Christ and exercised in penitence and trust. The restiveness of the ultra-conservatives is due in large part to the fact that they have vitiated the simplicity of Christianity with a false and impossible metaphysic, with a rationalism of the most virulent type, since it dishonors God and degrades man, with a self-contradictory philosophy, such as that which led John Wesley to say to one of its representatives, "Your God is my devil."

It is not, of course, literally true that ultra-conservatives are stationary. They are part of the stream of life, and have some motion, like the shallow water near the banks of a river. There are no mediæval theologians to-day. Some of the opinions of the hyper-orthodox would have been considered heretical a few centuries ago. But ultra-conservatives are alike in all ages in one respect. They are always reactionary. While they are chained to the chariot of progress, and must go along with it, they are the drag and not the wheel, and are always trying to get under the wheel, uphill as well as down.

Certain vagaries of belief which prevail somewhat at the present time are the offspring of ultra-conservative theology. The belief that Christ will soon come in visible form to accomplish by almightiness what has not been accomplished by the moral forces of redemption is a belief based on

the supposed inerrancy of all parts of the Bible, and on a depressing view of the depravity of mankind. It is strong in its opinion that the doctrine of election is true, and that the elect are soon to reign with Christ on earth. The attraction of the Roman Catholic Church in this country and in England is chiefly due to its conservative theology, which tolerates no departures from the ancient creeds. We do not affirm that ultra-conservatism logically leads to literalism and stagnation, but it certainly is congenial to such affinities, as a scholarly and liberal theology is not.

During the first year of the publication of this "Review," an editorial appeared in our columns entitled "The Accountability of the Ultra-Conservatives," in which we complained, with much feeling, that those thus designated were taking advantage of a position of great influence to place progressive theology in an unfavorable light. They were then aggressive and somewhat defiant. It is a hopeful sign of the growing influence of what we believe to be a sound, scholarly, and Biblical theology, that ultra-conservatism now commands interest rather for its restiveness as the living movements of thought leave it behind, than for the harm it may be accountable for by reason of its strength.

COLONEL GARDINER TUFTS.

WHAT has most commended the Massachusetts Reformatory has been hardly so much the fact of its being one of the two most admirable of all existing institutions for the care of criminals, but — to those who knew the man — the fact that Colonel Gardiner Tufts was in charge. Prison reform, like every other kind of reform, depends less upon contrivances than upon men. The character of the men who are now giving themselves to work in penal institutions marks more strongly than anything else the progress that is making in the treatment of crime. It is not long since the warden of a state prison was elected to the presidency of a college, but declined in order to undertake the direction of a new reformatory-prison.

Colonel Tufts shared with Mr. Z. R. Brockway, of the Elmira Reformatory, the main influence in the development of the reformatory idea, which is practically an American growth. Assuming charge of the Concord institution at the beginning of the experiment there, he was able to introduce nearly all the important features of the Elmira system, and to add some valuable original contributions. It was always his effort, in the administration of the reformatory, to have a close and constant acquaintance with all of its detailed workings. Every officer and every prisoner was kept feeling a sense of nearness to him. In a remarkable degree Colonel Tufts brought to the management of a prison the power of a great-hearted and noble manhood. It was this which in turn gave him so keen a sense of the humanity of the prisoners under his control. It gave him a faith in the reformatory idea which no

criticism of particulars could at all disturb. With a strong idealism, he supported his methods simply upon the principle that they were designed to meet the needs of the "prisoner-man." He would with beautiful simplicity avow his reliance upon this lofty motive for guidance in every slight detail of his work.

Colonel Tufts went about among his prisoners almost as a father among his boys. At the various meetings carried on by the prisoners, — which were his own special contribution to reformatory methods, — he would usually appear toward the close, and by invitation of the chairman, give words of friendly encouragement and counsel which made the prisoners, in spite of themselves, feel that here was some one of whose sympathy they were sure. The subordinate officers were constantly distrusted by the suspicious criminal mind, but Colonel Tufts commanded respect. His feeling for the young men under his charge was no mere philosophic philanthropy. He loved them. When the time came for one to be released, Colonel Tufts would walk with him out of the door and along the road, telling him in an honest and open way that there was a fresh opportunity before him in the world, and then would leave him with something like a blessing.

Colonel Tufts had been continuously in the service of the State of Massachusetts for thirty years. As to the manner in which he did his work, — whether as the representative of the State at Washington during the war, or the superintendent successively of the reform school at Monson, and of the reformatory prison at Concord, — one could give it a high estimate for his insight to comprehend a situation, and his strength to meet it. But this is not uncommon. It is perfectly safe to say that this long record of official position is, for uprightness and devotion to duty, spotless. It is better than that. One who in these days is looking for some of that old quality in men in the public service, of a fine, knightly sentiment of loyalty to country, touched with the love of man and the worship of God, will find that the life of Colonel Gardiner Tufts was radiant with it.

We may well believe that with the increase of the social sense, we shall be appreciating much more highly those forms of work for the people of the lower social grades, which have until now been given but little honor. The change will largely come about through the men who shall undertake such work and shall show the possibilities that lie about it. It is a far greater thing to be a prison superintendent, since Colonel Tufts has been one, than it ever was before. And it is a sufficient reply to all the larger objections that are urged against the reformatory idea, that the reformatory must be only one main centre for meeting the problem of the young criminal; that not his treatment under confinement must be the less hopeful and sympathetic, but his treatment in society at large, the more; that men of a like mind and heart with Colonel Tufts must, under public approval and support, care not only for those whom the

law brands as criminals, but for all those whose depressing surroundings and whose lack of the opportunities of life are, from the beginning, filling with the thoughts and feelings of crime.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY — THE ANDOVER HOUSE ASSOCIATION.

THE outward aspect of Christianity changes with each generation. This is one proof of its vitality. It means that the new form or shape comes from the adjustment of its activities to the needs of the world. The great signs of Christianity remain unchanged, its spirit, its essential doctrine, the sacraments, the general order of the church. The principles of service also remain unchanged. The heart of the true church holds the place to which Christ assigned it. "The disciple is not above his master, the servant is not above his lord." But the immediate objects of Christian thought and solicitude change, and the specific methods and agencies through which these objects are reached.

The term Social Christianity has come into recent use to represent that phase of Christian service which the present social situation in most Christian communities demands, and also the character of the new methods and agencies which are being employed to meet it. No one can overlook the fact that the emphasis in practical Christianity falls to-day upon the overcrowded centres of Christendom, as two or more generations ago it fell upon the unevangelized world. The only cry in our time which compares in intensity with that which caught the ear of Carey and Mills is the cry from the Christian cities. There are times when the providence of God enforces the commands of the New Testament with a startling literalism. At the beginning of the century, the voice of providence, speaking through an opening world, said to the church, "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations." At the close of the century the voice of providence, speaking through the changed social conditions of the Christian peoples, is saying to the church, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor." The former command has not been withdrawn or made less urgent. The latter command has been added. Social Christianity represents the new duty which has been laid upon the church of loving one's neighbor. It is a very much greater duty than has as yet been acknowledged, partly because the neighbors of the church have mightily increased, and partly because loving one's neighbor means more than evangelizing him. We believe that the church is being aroused to the sense of the rapid increase of those to whom it owes neighborly care and consideration. But we believe that the church has not yet come to understand the nature and extent of its duty to those who have been brought near to it. We state, therefore, briefly what we conceive to be the principles of Social Christianity.

The first principle is that of personal identification through proper representatives of the church with those who need its help. This identi-

fication is best brought about by residence in the neighborhood to be reached. Work from without, however earnest, has its drawbacks. Residence gives more constant opportunities for knowledge and aid, and is in itself a constant influence. But resident work is greatly augmented if carried on through a group. One worker supports another. There is an enthusiasm from companionship in service. And the impression of an abundant use of personality is made upon the neighborhood. The Protestant Church has always been niggardly of men. Social Christianity requires a reform in this particular. Protestantism can never be a power among the masses until it is ready to diffuse its presence through all the neighborhoods of the cities. The group system, by which a number of men or women establish themselves at a given centre, and enter into personal relations with all within natural distance, is one form, and perhaps the best, of illustrating the large use of Christian personality.¹ And through the centre thus established the better life of the churches can naturally flow into the neglected neighborhoods. Persons of Christian purpose and culture, who really want to come into contact with their uncultured, poor, and suffering neighbors, can by this means have the opportunity of so doing. They can associate themselves as workers with those in residence. They can visit without intrusion. They can learn how to help others to help themselves. They can serve wisely, sympathetically, and therefore efficiently.

The second principle of Social Christianity is that Christianity shall be made to represent to the classes of barren and joyless life something of that which it represents to the average member of a Christian congregation. Christianity working through prosperous and cultured churches must work by a broad and varied ministry. It is a glaring inconsistency to offer to the destitute and estranged classes only one thing for which Christianity stands among those whose personal lives, homes, and work it has relieved, purified, and enriched. Let no one say that this is underestimating conversion. Christianity means that to the average Christian, plus a great many influences which control, educate, and refine. The inward life is continually reinforced, enlarged, and built up by helpful circumstances. Here is the moral power of the Christian home or school, of Christian companionship, of Christianized literature and art. Social Christianity acknowledges the fact that we "have need of all these things." It seeks to minister to the whole man, to every right and true instinct, and to all noble and generous desires. Its work is intensive as well as extensive. It asks how much can be brought to bear upon the individual in proper ways to make him larger, nobler, happier; not how little can be done and secure the final result in the saving of the soul. There is an insincerity in a great many so-called Christian "means," which the people detect and treat with a corresponding insincerity. If a

¹ See editorial in *The Nation* of December 17, 1891, on "The New Ministry to the Poor."

Christmas tree is spread to entrap a street boy into a Sunday-school, why should he not take the tree and "cut" the school. The whole thing is a game at which two can play. But if the thing done is worthy of doing for itself, and the boy so understands it, he will respond to it with a boy's heartiness and enthusiasm, a fact which has been abundantly proved by the success of boys' clubs. The spirit of Social Christianity gives sincerity to all the incidental and associated "means of grace" which the church employs, and adds its own comprehensive principle of making Christianity mean as much to every man as he is capable of receiving. It insists that Christian people shall share what Christianity really means to them.

The Andover House Association has been organized to carry out, in a modest but direct way, these principles of Social Christianity. The *appended documents* explain its origin and the proposed methods of its work. We will only add that its name represents the natural relation in which a theological seminary may put itself, through its practical and spiritual resources, to a city like Boston, and to neighboring communities like those in eastern Massachusetts. But the name covers an idea which invites the coöperation of those who have no personal interest in Andover Theological Seminary; and very many of these persons have generously responded to the purpose, and are members of the Association. The movement is undenominational, not inter-denominational. No effort is made to recognize or to ignore any denomination. The Association is open to all who believe in the idea as expressed in its articles. The Council is actually formed, by election of the Association, of persons from several of the religious communions.

The immediate work centres in Boston. The House is No. 6 Rolins Street, between Washington Street and Harrison Avenue, a few blocks south of Dover Street. The district or neighborhood includes the adjacent territory between Washington Street and Harrison Avenue, and along the piers toward the South Cove.

The Head of the House is Mr. Robert A. Woods, who, after graduating at Andover, spent a year in special investigation and work in London, and gave on his return a course of lectures at the Seminary, which have been recently published by Scribner under the title of "Social Movements in England." Several others from different sources will go into residence with him. The House will be open in January. The early work will be that of social analysis of the neighborhood, to ascertain its exact condition and all the resources and agencies which are already at hand. Then the work will be begun which the neighborhood seems to demand. The purpose is well defined, but there is no programme laid out. The aim will be adaptation to the wants and needs of the people.

Connected with the work at the House is that of the Extension Committee. It is hoped that work of a like nature may be instigated in other

adjacent communities, or that work already begun may be aided. The Association is intended to reach beyond the House in its plans, making that the centre of more general activities under the methods of Social Christianity.

The expenses of the House for the first year are to be met by membership fees. But as the work enlarges reliance must be placed upon the contributions of all who are interested in the objects of the Association. And an endowment fund for establishing the House and its work upon a permanent basis will be started at once. The financial interest of our friends in any part of the country is invited. Contributions for work or for the endowment fund may be sent to Colonel C. A. Hopkins, Treasurer, 95 Milk Street, Boston.

APPENDIX.

The following personal letter was sent out to bring together those who would naturally be interested in the establishment of an Andover House. A large number responded to the call, and at a subsequent meeting the Articles of Association were adopted, and members of the Council chosen: —

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, *October 9, 1891.*

MY DEAR SIR, — It has long been my desire, in common with many of the alumni and friends of the Seminary, to see the establishment in Boston of an Andover House, devoted to the special ends of Social Christianity; and I am assured that the object has commended itself to others, both ministers and laymen, who are not directly identified with Andover, but who generously recognize the fact that such a work falls within her province.

The time has now come when the Seminary is reasonably prepared to undertake the work which the proposed House would represent. For several years increasing attention has been given to the philosophical and practical study of the Social Economy, so far as it lies adjacent to the church. Scholarships have been provided for the investigation, in the field, of questions pertaining to the administration of charities, the treatment of crime and of criminals, the relation of workingmen and of labor organizations to corporations and the State, and kindred subjects. The Winkley Lectureship, the chief Lectureship of the Seminary, has been frequently assigned to topics in Sociology. Alumni Lectureships have been instituted for the same purpose, from which, as one result, two valuable books have been gained: "Modern Cities," by Mr. Loomis, and "English Social Movements" (in press — Scribners), by Mr. Woods. And within the last two years the department of Social Economics has been organized, and full courses of Lectures are now regularly given in the Seminary curriculum upon Social Structure, with special reference to the Family, the Social Evolution of Labor, Pauperism, and Crime. And it should be added, that much valuable aid is given by several of the other departments through the attention which is directed by them to social questions.

The Seminary is thus prepared to furnish, from year to year, an assured number of graduates equipped for the precise work which the Andover House would carry on. And it is peculiarly fortunate in being able, as the scheme

is inaugurated, to put at the head of the House Mr. Robert A. Woods, who, with this in view, spent a large part of last year in residence at Toynbee Hall.

The Andover House is designed to stand for the single idea of *resident* study and work in the neighborhood where it may be located, — a neighborhood of social destitution and want. The House will be the home where men who can devote the whole or part of each day to such study and work will live. Personal identification with the lives of those who need help is the characteristic of the movement : to establish personal connection at every possible point, to encourage, teach, organize for mutual support, bring classes together, create some real sense of brotherhood, and in every way work from *within* the community for its social development. The whole aim and motive is religious, but the method is educational rather than evangelistic. It is not a repetition of the work of the churches.

A second, though hardly secondary, object of the Andover House will be to create a centre, for those within reach, of social study, discussion, and organization. Arrangements will be made at the House for lectures and courses of lectures on social topics at such times as may suit the convenience of members of the Andover House Association, — probably on Mondays at twelve o'clock. These lectures will be accompanied by practical discussions, and a prominent feature will be the report of experiments which are being made by the members, or by others, in different communities, both city and country. It is not intended that social study shall be limited to city populations. The population of country towns is quite as much in need of careful social analysis as that of the city. It is also hoped that the Andover House in Boston may lead to the establishment of branches, or of independent social clubs, in the neighboring communities. Eastern Massachusetts, from its large and increasing number of trade and manufacturing towns, offers an unusual field for the successful application of the principles and interests of Social Christianity.

The Andover House Association will be a legal organization, capable of holding property and of directing its own affairs. Plans for the working of the organization will be submitted at the proposed meeting for acceptance or modification. Annual membership fees (to be determined by the members) will be supplemented by special contributions for the actual work attempted. It is expected that the cost of running the House for the first year will not exceed \$2,000, including \$800 for rental. The men who occupy the House will have their rent free, but will otherwise live at their own charges, or will be supported by fellowships provided for the purpose. And as the work at first proposed is personal rather than institutional, the expense will be relatively light.

This circular letter is sent primarily to the younger alumni of the Seminary, who are familiar with its present methods of social study, but it is also sent with equal heartiness to others who have been thought to be personally interested in the end set forth.

All who receive this letter, and sympathize with its purpose, are cordially asked to invite others to attend with them the first meeting for organization, which, by the kindness of Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, will be held in the Lecture Room or "Hall" of the Columbus Avenue Church, on Monday, October 19, at twelve o'clock.

I trust that as many as can find it convenient will be present at this meeting.

I am, very sincerely yours,

WM. J. TUCKER.

THE ANDOVER HOUSE ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called the Andover House Association.

ART. II. The objects of the Association shall be

(a) To establish and maintain a House in Boston as a residence for seminary and college graduates and others engaged in work for the social and moral elevation of the people in its vicinity.

(b) To bring into friendly and helpful relations with one another the people of the neighborhood in which the House is situated.

(c) To cooperate with churches, with charitable and labor organizations, and with other agencies acting for the improvement of social conditions.

(d) To serve as a medium between the different social elements of the city for bringing about a more intelligent and systematic understanding of their mutual obligations.

(e) To encourage efforts in other communities which may be similar in any degree, and to advance in general the cause of Social Christianity.

ART. III. The motive of this Association is distinctly religious, and its endeavor will be to express this motive in a way most suitable to the circumstances throughout all the work that it shall undertake.

ART. IV. The membership of this Association shall consist of persons in sympathy with the objects herein stated. Persons may be received into membership at any time, subject to the approval of the Council. Members shall contribute to the funds the sum of three dollars per year, the amount to be due on the first day of January of each year.

ART. V. The administration of the affairs of the Association shall rest with a Council composed of twelve members, to be elected by the Association, four to retire each year unless reëlected; together with a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Head of the House, to be elected each year by the Association, and the Professor of Pastoral Theology in Andover Theological Seminary, *ex officio*. The Council shall have the power of prescribing the by-laws and rules under which the work of the Association is carried on. It shall have the direction of all committees, and shall make an annual report of the whole work to the Association.

ART. VI. The Council shall choose from its own members two committees, the Finance Committee and the Executive. The Finance Committee shall have the care of the collection and expenditure of money. The Executive Committee shall lay out the plans of work, and shall provide for their fulfillment. Matters involving expense shall be subject to conference between the two committees, and both shall report to the Council. Other committees may be appointed at the will of the Council, unless otherwise ordered by the Association.

ART. VII. The Head of the House shall have the immediate superintendence of all the work of the House. Men offering themselves as residents of the House must be approved by the Council. They must be qualified for the work by previous training, and must offer themselves for not less than six months' actual service. They must specify the proportion of their time which they will be able to give to the work. Duly elected residents shall have their rooms in the House without charge.

ART. VIII. Besides residents, others, either men or women, may be enrolled as associate workers for such service as may be provided for them.

ART. IX. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in May or June, at the discretion of the Council. At this meeting full reports of the work shall be made. Special meetings of the Association may be held at the call of the Council. Twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum. The chairman of the Council shall preside at the meetings of the Association, or, in his absence, some one of their own number selected by the Council.

ART. X. Amendments may be made to these Articles by a two thirds majority of the members of the Association voting at any annual meeting. Notice of amendments must be filed with the Secretary at least one month in advance, to be transmitted by him to the members previous to the meeting.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

Chairman of Council.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM J. TUCKER, Andover.

Secretary.

MR. EDWARD H. CHANDLER, 144 Chandler Street, Boston.

Treasurer.

COLONEL C. A. HOPKINS, 95 Milk Street, Boston.

Head of the House.

MR. ROBERT A. WOODS, Andover.

Other Members of Council.

MR. C. W. BIRTWELL.

MR. H. H. PROCTOR.

REV. NEHEMIAH BOYNTON.

REV. W. D. ROBERTS.

REV. HOWARD A. BRIDGMAN.

REV. J. H. ROSS.

REV. C. A. DICKINSON.

MR. FRANCIS B. SEARS.

MR. WALTER B. MOSMAN.

REV. JOHN TUNIS.

REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

REV. WILLIAM E. WOLCOTT.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

PAUL'S RABBINIC EDUCATION.

HERO worship, common to all mankind, is not wholly absent in the Christian Church. Apocryphal Gospels tried to envelop Christ's cradle and childhood in a misty, mythical halo; apocryphal Apostolic Acts sought to supplement the meagre records we have of the first sacred college of Christendom. These are the products of the early centuries of our era; while the Middle Ages left us the legendary legacy of the "Acta Sanctorum." But even in modern times, when we would fain get along with as few miracles as are absolutely necessary for a supernatural religion, we are still inclined to look upon the first preachers of the gospel as prodigies. On the one hand, we like to talk of a band of illiterate, ignorant fishermen revolutionizing the world; on the other, we

extol Saul of Tarsus as the most learned and eloquent man of his times. Historical criticism has indeed done much to curb our claims to classic erudition for the Gentile apostle. We are beginning to be satisfied with Pauline doctrine, notwithstanding that his references to Greek poets are few, and probably picked up in the streets, rather than the schools, of cultured Tarsus. But it is yet generally maintained that he had enjoyed a thorough *Jewish* education; that, although a Hellenist by birth, he was a Talmudist by training. Even Renan, who is not over enthusiastic over the apostle's attainments, says, "It is in the Talmud . . . that the analogies of his ideas must be sought."¹ Some, less critical, would even make him a member of the Sanhedrim. But even if his youth² was against his obtaining a seat in the highest Jewish tribunal, — a privilege accorded only to *elders*, — it is still confidently claimed that he was at least an accomplished Rabbinit.

The principal texts upon which this claim rests are, in the first place, two passages in Acts (xxii. 3; xxvi. 5), in both of which the author represents Paul as referring to his early life spent at Jerusalem, and asserting to have been brought up in the strictest form of Pharisaism. In the first passage (Acts xxii. 3), there is the additional statement that he received this fanatical instruction "at the feet of Gamaliel." It is worthy of note that the explicit *name* of Paul's teacher occurs *only* here; whereas we might expect it in his defense before Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 5), and also in Acts xxiii. 6, where he tries to win over the Pharisees by exclaiming, "I am a Pharisee, son of a Pharisee," etc. Surely no recommendation could be stronger to such men than the claim to be a disciple of the illustrious and universally honored Gamaliel. It might equally be expected that Paul would mention it in Philippians iii. 5, where he enumerates *all* his early Jewish advantages. This brings us, in the second place, to the two passages in Paul's own writings (Gal. i. 13 sq.; Phil. iii. 5), where the apostle emphasizes the thorough and extraordinary change of his life, from a zealous persecutor to an earnest promulgator of the new faith.

Since the Epistles are, from a critical point of view, more valuable than the Acts on questions relating to Paul himself, we will examine the last two passages first. They read as follows: "For ye have heard of my manner of life in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and made havock of it: and I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers." (Gal. i. 13 sq.) And in Philippians (iii. 5), Paul tries to show that if anybody has reason "to have confidence in the flesh," *he* has "yet more: circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; as touching zeal, persecuting the church," etc. Now, all that is said here is that he was extremely devoted to Judaism. In Galatians he does not even mention the word Pharisee: he simply surpassed others, of his age and race, in "*being more zealous*" for the *national traditions*. For notice, he does not say, "the tradition of *the* (τῶν) fathers," — which might, perhaps, have been construed as referring technically to the מסורה הַקְּבוּלָה — but "of *my* (μὴν) fathers," which means simply my *progenitors*. In Philippians he claims indeed to be a Pharisee; but it refers exclusively to his *mode of life*, — his piety and zeal, — *not* to his

¹ *Les Apôtres*, x.² Acts vii. 58.

education. This is also what Paul is reported by the writer of Acts to have emphasized in his famous defense before King Agrippa: "My manner of life know all the Jews . . . how that after the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee." Hausrath expresses it exactly, when he says: "The prejudices of the Pharisaic home surrounded his cradle; his Judaism grew like the mustard tree in the Gospel, and intolerance, fanaticism, national hatred and pride, and other passions built their nests among its branches."

It is only in Acts xxii. 3, as alluded to before, that his connection with Gamaliel is mentioned; and it is significant to notice that, if we only leave out the few words, "at the feet of Gamaliel," this passage also is perfectly consonant with the statements everywhere else: all he says is, "I am a Jew (born in Tarsus, but brought up here), instructed (not in the law of the Fathers, but) according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God, even as ye all are this day." The emphasis being clearly on the fact that he was as good a Jew as any of them. Surely it would be absurd to suppose that the entire crowd that heard him were learned Pharisees, doctors of the law!

Right here let me mention two facts which, though often overlooked by critics, are of prime importance, not merely to a fair consideration of the subject in hand, but also to the understanding of scores of other New Testament passages, namely:—

1. The Pharisees were a party, not a sect or school, and the most popular party at that. As Josephus expresses it: "The Pharisees have the multitude on their side."¹

2. The party as such was liberal, as it was democratic; but a small sect within the party (called zealots, *הַזֵּלֹתִים* — a sort of Know-Nothings), and as a rule recruited not from the cultured class, though, of course, not wanting some great leaders — was bigoted, fanatical, and "exceedingly zealous" for Judaism. This will be elaborately shown later on.

Now these two statements suggest two questions concerning Paul: (a) Was he a learned Pharisee, or simply one of the "multitude" belonging to the party? (b) Was he a liberal, or average, Pharisee; or did he belong to the Zealots?

Before attempting to answer these questions, we must mention some *a priori* considerations, corroborating the general opinion that Paul was an educated Hebrew. These may be briefly stated as follows: (1) Paul was a thinker, in many respects very profound, original, and independent; hence, if he was a Pharisee at all, he must have been a thinking Pharisee — a scholar; (2) he was also an author, which would naturally place him among the *Literati* of his day and nation; (3) he was, moreover, well versed in the Old Testament, which was the special characteristic of the Rabbins.²

¹ Antt. XIII. x. 6; cf. also XVIII. i. 3: "On account of their doctrines, they (the Pharisees) are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatever they (the people) do about divine worship, prayers and sacrifices, they perform them according to their (Pharisees') instructions;" again (XIII. x. 5): "These (Pharisees) have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king or the high priest, they are presently believed." See also XIII. xvi. 1: "Alexandra (wife of Alex. Janneus, who ruled after him) . . . put all things into their (Pharisees') power."

² So Josephus: "They (Pharisees) are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country." (*Vita*, 38.)

Another line of argument, pursued by critics, is what may be termed the *internal evidence*, afforded by the Epistles. It is claimed quite generally that in style and thought Paul resembles the Talmudic writers, and that he acquired these "at the feet of Gamaliel." Thus, for instance, De Pressensé says, "Saul of Tarsus embraced the teachings of his illustrious master with characteristic earnestness and ardor. . . . At the feet of Gamaliel, he became practiced in those skillful dialectics which were the pride of the Rabbinic schools."¹ This writer, it may be remarked, believes also in Paul's "*familiarity* with the Greek poets," quoting the celebrated *three* passages. The more judicious and cautious Meyer puts it as follows: "His (Paul's) epistles exhibit, in the mode in which they unfold their teaching, a *more or less* distinct Rabbinico-didactic impress."²

At this stage of our discussion, we must enter to some extent into details, even at the risk of becoming somewhat *technical*, since the value of the argument can only be appreciated by an actual examination of some of the passages in Paul's writings which remind us more or less forcibly of the Talmud. We will examine these passages, for the sake of convenience, under two main heads:—

I. *General traits of style*, common to Paul and the Rabbins. Here we notice

(a) Paul's use of *allegory* in interpreting the Old Testament, as seen in (1) Hagar and Sarah standing for the two covenants (Gal. iv. 22–31); (2) the threshing ox representing human laborers (1 Cor. ix. 9 sq.);³ (3) Moses' veil typifying the Jewish system (2 Cor. iii. 13–18). It is hardly possible or necessary to quote examples of allegorizing in the Rabbinic literature: any one consulting the *Midrash* on the Song of Songs alone, will find more allegory than any sober mind can hold.

(b) Paul's fondness of *paronomasia*, or play on words, for a very exhaustive and well classified list of which we would refer the reader to Canon Farrar's "Life of St. Paul."⁴ The following aphorisms from the Talmud contain in the *original* words, sounding alike, but of entirely different meanings: (These words are indicated in the *translation* here by *italics*) (1) "If one is a *sportsman*, he cannot be a *scribe*" (Avod. Zara, 12); (2) "either *friendship*, or *death*" (Ta'anith, 23); (3) "woe is me because of my *passion* and my *creator* [being in antagonism]" (Berach., 58); (4) "a man betrays his character in three things: in his *purse*, in his *cup*, in his *anger*" (Erub., 65; Yoma, 22). Literally hundreds of such cases might be quoted; but these few specimens illustrate the point.

(c) Paul's arbitrary use of Old Testament texts, interpreting them without any regard to their *historic connection*, is apparent even to a casual reader, and the examples are too numerous to be mentioned here. Whether this trait is also borrowed from the Rabbins, as is claimed, will be discussed later. I will give, however, a specimen of Talmudic exegesis which has some points of similarity to passages in the Pauline

¹ *Early Years of the Christian Church*, Bk. I. c. 3, § 1.

² *Commentary on Rom.*, Introduction, § 1.

³ The use made in the Talmud (Bava Mezia, 88) of the same Old Testament text (Deut. xxv. 4) cannot be called an *allegory*. It is an argument *a minore ad majus*, as will be shown further on. Yet there can hardly be any doubt that the apostle got the *basis* of his statement from a current Rabbinic interpretation; using it, however, with characteristic freedom.

⁴ Vol. I., *Excursus*, II. pp. 628 sqq.

Epistles. In *Bava Bathra* (10 b), we have the following interpretation (or *misinterpretation*, rather) of Proverbs xiv. 34. The text is best rendered as follows: "Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Now, R. Eleazar says: "Righteousness exalts a nation (that means *Israel*); but the goodness of (other) nations is sin (being due to their self-exaltation)." The arbitrary assumption that the first word for nation refers to *Jew*, and the second to *Gentile*, reminds us of Rom. ix. 24-26 (where Hos. ii. 23 is similarly interpreted to refer partly to Gentiles and partly to Jews); while the mistranslation,¹ and the strange interpolation of the text to make a point recall the passage in Rom. x. 6-8 (treating Deut. xxx. 12 *sq.* in like manner).

II. *Specific statements* and thoughts, found in the Epistles, which were the product of the *Haggadists*. Not to dwell on 2 Tim. iii. 8, where Paul speaks of two Egyptian magicians by name, *Jannes and Jambres*, which must have been a current tradition of his day, though I do not recollect it to be in the *Midrashim*; and to pass such remote references as 2 Cor. xii. 2, "a third heaven," and Eph. iv. 10, "far above all the heavens," which seem to imply the Rabbinic division of seven heavens; and not to lay too much stress on Eph. ii. 14, "Christ is our peace," although the Messiah is often called שלום in the Talmud;² — we turn to more substantial and direct references. Such are

(a) 1 Cor. x. 4 speaks of the "rock in the wilderness that followed Israel." To my mind, there can be no doubt that Paul had in mind the *Midrash*, incorporated even in Onkelos' Version,³ that the rock rolled along behind the camp, as a constant supply of water.⁴

(b) In 1 Cor. xv. 52, where the general resurrection is associated with the *last trump*, and in 1 Thes. iv. 16, where, in addition to the *trumpet*, we have also the *Archangel* descending from heaven with God, we cannot fail to find the recurrent presentation of the Talmud that God, or the *Archangel* Michael, will blow the trumpet seven times, the *last* of which will be the signal for the *dead to rise*.

(c) Gal. iii. 19 evidently refers to the tradition of *angels* handing down the law at Sinai.

(d) Satan is often termed "the prince of the power of the air,"⁵ which is again a very common designation of the *Aggadoth*.

(e) 2 Cor. ii. 16 is almost a verbatim translation of a common saying among the Rabbins as regards the Law, "If a man is pure, it becomes for him a medicine of life; but if he is not pure, it becomes for him a medicine of death."

(f) The somewhat obscure passage of 1 Cor. xi. 10, a woman ought to have authority (= a veil) on her head, because of the angels, probably contains references to the Rabbinic statements (1) that "hair (uncovered) is very immodest in a woman;" (2) that "angels brood over places of prayer;" and (3) that "angels are apt to fall in love with the daughters of man."⁶

¹ It is not *strictly* mistranslated: the words *may* mean that; but it is an utter disregard of the *parallelism*; nor is a *Wisdom* author likely to draw any such *national* distinctions.

² Cf. Meyer, *in loco*, where he shows that the Rabbinic use is *not* the same.

³ Num. xxi. 19, in *Targum*.

⁴ Meyer does not admit this; but the words in the text are meaningless, if the tradition is not referred to.

⁵ Cf., for example, Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12 *et alia*.

⁶ Cf. Gen. vi. 2, and *Rashi*.

To sum up, then, all the arguments that can be advanced in favor of Paul's Rabbinic education, we have (1) the fact that he was a literary man; (2) the general similarity in the style of Paul and the Rabbins; (3) particular thoughts and ideas which only come from the Talmudic literature. I have worked out all these lines of argument with greater care and in fuller detail than any critic has ever done before, because I am perfectly willing to concede that such parallels of thought and expression do indicate a direct dependence between the great apostle and the teachings of the Pharisaic scholars of his day. But do they in the least necessitate the supposition that he *himself* was such a scholar? Does any one claim such learning for the visionary son of Zebedee? Still the Apocalypse contains by far more Rabbinic conceptions than all of Paul's letters put together. Nobody looks for such an education in the Alexandrian author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and yet there is to be found more Rabbinism in it than in any Pauline Epistle of equal length. In an unpublished article on "Jesus and the Pharisees," I have pointed out numerous parallelisms, very often *verbal*, between Christ's sayings and those of eminent Rabbis of his time; still the unanimous verdict of critics is that the Son of Man attended no Rabbinical Colleges, and I am persuaded they are right. It will be seen, therefore, that the above arguments would place Saul of Tarsus on the same level as, and not higher than, any other New Testament writer; and that the claim advanced in favor of a thorough Talmudic training in his case rests ultimately and exclusively on the *single* statement in Acts (xxii. 3). Once question the correctness of Luke's words that Saul was instructed "at the feet of Gamaliel," and no one would or could find any greater display of Rabbinic lore in the tent-maker of Tarsus than in the fishermen of Galilee.

The question now arises, Do we have any good grounds for doubting the authenticity of Luke's remark? I will name the following five:¹—

(1) It occurs only *once* in Acts, and *nowhere* in the Epistles. This has already been noticed; but let me emphasize its significance: if Paul could truly claim to have been a disciple of Gamaliel, he would never have omitted it, whenever he referred to his past life. No statement could establish his former Judaism and Pharisaism more firmly than this; no better passport of orthodoxy could be produced in any country where Judaism was at all known.

(2) Paul is nowhere mentioned in the Talmud, whereas Peter, James, and John are. Now, if the Rabbins found it desirable to discuss questions of theology with these untutored Galilean heretics,² surely they would not pass unnoticed such a renegade as Saul, if they knew anything about him. The fact must be that in Jerusalem he was very obscure, while out of it he never came in contact or conflict with the *Schoolmen*.

(3) Saul got his letters of recommendation to Damascus from the *High-Priest*. Why not from Gamaliel, who was the President of the Sanhedrim, and the Prince (נָשִׂיא) of Israel? This becomes stranger still, when we remember that the high-priest at this time (37–42 A. D.) was Theophilus, son of Hanan, who was an *unlawful* usurper, from the Jewish point of view, since he received the office from the Roman General Vitellius, who deprived the *hereditary* and rightful priest to make

¹ The first and last of these were noticed by critics, Hausrath and Renan.

² They are invariably called מְרִינִים (= heretics).

room for his favorite.¹ That Theophilus was disliked by the Jews can be seen from the fact that he was deposed again as soon as Agrippa received the kingdom.² Surely such a man would be an object of holy disgust to a "Pharisee of the Pharisees." Besides, the authority of the high-priest outside of Jerusalem amounted almost to nothing;³ while Gamaliel, we are told, exercised jurisdiction wherever Jews were found,⁴ and held the supreme authority of the Sanhedrim more effectively than any other president before or after him.⁵ An illustrious pupil of *his* would certainly not go to an illegitimate, despised high-priest for letters to the Synagogue at Damascus.

(4) Paul's use of Old Testament quotations, one of the strongest proofs used by critics to establish his connection with Rabbinism, shows the very opposite when closely considered :

(a) Mostly Paul quotes from the *Septuagint*, which found currency only among the *Hellenists*, but was treated with contempt almost by the Hebrews. All quotations in the Talmud are from the Hebrew text.

(b) Whenever he differs from the LXX., he seems to cite some Targumic paraphrase which he heard in the Synagogue readings. Now, the first thing that any Rabbinic scholar learned was to quote the Old Testament with scrupulous accuracy, since the whole point of a novel interpretation often turned on a *single letter*.

(c) Paul utterly disregards the *natural* sense of a passage when he has a point to make ; while it was a settled canon of hermeneutics with the Talmudists that "no scripture passes out of its plain meaning."⁶ Whatever extravagant notion they got out of the text, or put into it, they always recognized it as a *secondary* interpretation, or mere inference, holding that the word of God had a simple sense, intended for all, and a deeper significance, which only the learned could discern. Take as a single instance the passage already referred to in Deut. xxv. 4, and note the essential difference in its treatment between the Rabbins and Paul. It reads, "Thou shalt not muzzle an ox while he thresheth." Now, the Talmud (Bava Mezia, 88) says very appropriately, If God has compassion for a brute, how much more ought we to treat a human laborer kindly.⁷ In other words, there is no attempt made to deny that the *text* refers to an ox, and nothing else ; but *inferentially*, *a fortiori*, the principle is extended to human beings. But how is it with Paul ? He totally denies that the text ever meant an ox at all. He says in 1 Cor. ix. 9 *sq.*, "Doth God take care for oxen ? Or saith he it *altogether* for our sakes ? For our sakes, *no doubt*, this is written."

(5) Saul of Tarsus could never have been a disciple of Gamaliel, and at the same time so extremely intolerant. Gamaliel was calm, considerate, liberal ; Saul was the very opposite. Attempts have been made to efface the difficulty in two ways : —

¹ Jos., *Antt.* XVIII. v. 3.

² *Ibid.*, XIX. vi. 2.

³ The Jews of the *Diaspora* cared little, if anything, for the Temple and Priesthood at Jerusalem. In Egypt they even built a temple of their own, as is well known.

⁴ Sanhed., *Tosiphta*, c. 11 ; *Jerus.*, Sanhed. 18 a.

⁵ *Mishna*, Edujoth, VII. 7 ; Sanhed. II. 6.

⁶ מִקְרָא יוֹצֵא מִדֵּי פְשׁוּן *repeatedly* appealed to in the Talmud.

⁷ Cf. the words of Jesus, as given in Matt. vi. 26, "Are ye not much better than they ?"

(a) Gamaliel was *not* tolerant. Of course, this necessitates a perversion of the natural impression left by the account given of him in Acts v. 34-39. But even if this passage could be explained away, *all* that we know of this distinguished Jewish Rabbi points unequivocally to largeness of mind and heart. Scholarly in his habits, refined in taste, cultured in Greek letters and thought—a study bitterly denounced by the narrow Zealots—such was Gamaliel. He was not too strict in the observance of the Sabbath,¹ a point zealously guarded by the extreme Judaistic party, as can be seen from the fact that most of the attacks made on our Lord were because of his laxity in observing the Sabbath. He treated with equal liberality and tenderness all the poor, suffering, or dead, whether heathen or Hebrew.² Truly remarks the distinguished Dr. Ginsburg, "This (liberality) contrasts very strikingly with the conduct of Christians towards Jews, and towards each other, even at the present day."³ Surely Saul's "breathing threatening and slaughter" was not derived from the atmosphere of Gamaliel's school-room.

(b) The second expedient resorted to is that "Gamaliel I., like his grandfather Hillel, held the somewhat *anomalous* position of a liberal Pharisee."⁴ In other words, while Gamaliel was liberal enough *personally* and privately, the teachings of his school and party were bigoted. If this could be established, the difficulty would indeed disappear: since Saul would be no exception to the many other disciples of the "House of Hillel." But the liberality of this school is proverbial. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the origin and progress of Pharisaism, its schools and sects, its teachings and tenets, its plans and purposes. Suffice it here to state that the popular notions about the narrowness, intolerance, and fanaticism of the Pharisees are due either to the malicious misrepresentations of anti-Semites, like Eisenmenger, Stöcker & Co., or to the innocent ignorance of those who accept them. The following well-known facts speak for themselves:⁵ (1) Shamai, a colleague of Hillel, dissatisfied with the latter's liberality on questions of doctrine, organized a stricter school; but the Talmud declares that "in all cases where the two schools disagreed, the opinion of 'Hillel's House' became a law," giving as a reason "because the Hillelites were so meek and impartial as always to state the opinion of their opponents first." The *party* indorsed the *liberal* school. (2) The most numerous, and those who subsequently proved the most illustrious, scholars flocked to the lecture-rooms of the House of Hillel. Theological students then, as now, did not care for *ultra-orthodoxy*. (3) When the liberal Gamaliel died, the Talmud declares that everybody said mournfully, "the glory of the Law ceased," etc.⁶ Canon Farrar strangely enough uses this as showing that Gamaliel was, after all, a *rigid zealot* of the Law.⁷ Evidently the learned Canon forgot his other statement, quoted above, that Gamaliel was *anomalously* liberal. Why not rather interpret this

¹ Erubin, 45 a.

² Gittin, 59 b, 61-63; *Ib.*, *Jer.*, V.

³ Kitto's *Cycl.*, v. v. Gamaliel.

⁴ Farrar, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 44.

⁵ The most convenient place where *Christian* scholars may find considerable information on Rabbinic schools is, perhaps, the article on "Education," by Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, in Kitto's *Cyclop. of Biblical Literature*. Any one examining closely the copious references to the original Rabbinic literature will find the statements here made amply illustrated and well sustained.

⁶ Mishna, Sota, IX. 15; Sota (*Gemara*), 49 a.

⁷ *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 111-114, and *Excursus*, V., where he tries to answer Hausrath on the point under consideration.

tribute paid to Gamaliel as showing the *general* liberality of the Pharisaic party? (4) For sixteen successive generations (B. C. 30 – A. D. 415), the Presidency of the Sanhedrim was held by members of Hillel's family, perpetuating his liberal ideas. Gamaliel I. was the *third* President of this illustrious line. And when we remember that the Pharisees had complete control of the elections, we can see which way their influence as a body was exerted. No; Gamaliel as well as his school and party were liberal; and Saul, if he ever belonged to the disciples of this gentle and impartial teacher, would be an "anomaly" indeed.

In view of the foregoing discussion, the only conclusion attainable is that Saul was indeed a Pharisee, and an *extreme*¹ one at that, but that he never had anything to do with Gamaliel, or with any of the higher educational institutions of his day. This seems to cover all the facts: his early training in a Pharisaic family in Tarsus made him acquainted with the Bible, — the study of which was begun at five years of age, — but, owing to his Hellenistic environments, he read it mostly in the Septuagint. When yet a young man, he went to Jerusalem — as it was the yearning of every pious Jew to see the Holy City, and, if possible, to live and die in it; and here, owing to his fiery temper and strong religious nature, he associated mostly with the *Zealots*. Of course, he attended Synagogue very regularly, and there heard the Old Testament read in the Hebrew, and also the Targumic translation and paraphrase. There, too, he often heard some *Haggadist*, expounding and expanding the Scriptures by Midrashic ideas and interpolations. When Christianity began to assert itself as independent of Judaism, Saul, good Zealot that he was, felt that he "must do many things contrary to Jesus of Nazareth." Accordingly, when Stephen, the first bold proclaimer of this doctrine, was to be executed, Saul was sure to be present, and to express his uncalled-for opinion in favor of the extermination of such heretics. Nay, he even decided to ally himself with the *Sadducees* in persecuting the sect, since Christianity was more deeply hated by the haughty, aristocratic, and semi-materialistic followers of Zadok, because of the greater disparity of doctrine between themselves and the despised Nazarenes.² The high-priest, the Sadducean leader, was only too glad to enlist in his services such a fiery, active, and zealous young man as Saul of Tarsus, and he gave him letters of recommendation to the Synagogue at Damascus. The rest of the story is well known: he had no occasion to present these letters, for the "great light" which entered his soul while on the road changed his heart and made him the Apostle to the Gentiles.

There remains only to consider two objections: —

I. If the above conclusion is correct, how about the plain statement in Acts xxii. 3, that Paul *was* educated "at the feet of Gamaliel"? Our answer is that Luke, being a *Gentile* who knew almost nothing of the tenets of the Pharisees, and less about the distinction between being brought up in the *practices* and in the *learning* of the Pharisaic schools, could very easily make the mistake. He heard, of course, that Paul spent many of his early years at Jerusalem, and that *there* he received his fanatical ideas which made him a "Pharisee of the Pharisees." Now,

¹ This is the natural meaning of "Pharisee of Pharisees."

² In my article on "Jesus and the Pharisees," I have shown that it was always the *Sadducees* and high-priest who took the initiative against Christ. (Cf. also Acts v. 34 *sqq.*; xv. 5; xxi. 20; xxiii. 9 *sqq.*, which favor Renan's remark (*Paul*, III.) that "the Pharisees became almost reconciled to the disciples of Jesus.")

what more natural than for him to inquire — faithful historian that he was — about the *leader* of the Pharisaic party of that day. He easily learned that it was Gamaliel; and to make his narrative more vivid, and, as he thought, more accurate, he inserted the words “at the feet of Gamaliel” in Paul’s statement of fact that he was brought up a Pharisee in the city of Jerusalem. It is in vain for Hausrath to try to invalidate the *general* truthfulness of the narrative of the Acts on such slight mistakes as these; but it is equally in vain for Canon Farrar to attempt a defense of the accuracy of such insignificant details. We cannot suppose for a moment that Luke wrote down Paul’s *words* on the spot, or that he intended to give us a verbatim report of them. Let us frankly admit that there *are* some differences and even slight discrepancies between Luke’s history and that obtained from the Epistles — differences due to the peculiar viewpoint of the writer, and not very essential to the religious teachings of the New Testament.

II. If Paul had no connection with *any* schools of learning, Greek or Jewish, where, then, *did* he obtain his education? We reply, —

(a) He did not have any too much education: his style shows more of an impulsive individuality than of systematic schooling. He is more intuitive than logical, more imaginative than philosophical.

(b) He must have been naturally gifted and very observant. He certainly had a keen insight into human nature, a sound judgment on the affairs of life, and a deep devotion to principle. Such traits of character have compensated many a great soul for the lack of technical training, notably so in the characters of the New Testament.

(c) His meditations in Arabia were an education. It was on the mountain slopes of Bethlehem that David received his poetic genius; it was in the wild deserts of Northern Israel that Elijah was trained to enthroned and dethrone monarchs, to organize Prophetic schools, to fight single-handed the numerous prophets of Baal. Why could not the three years of spiritual seclusion and thought make a Paul?

(d) Some allowance must also be made for special inspiration, for direct spiritual enlightenment from on high. I believe that men of such extraordinary experience as Paul’s, and called upon to do such a wonderful work in life as his, will grow — *must* grow — in knowledge as well as in grace. It was the vision of the risen Christ, the transfiguration of his own soul, and the crying needs of a world steeped in idolatry, sin, and degradation, that made him earnest and eloquent.

The view, therefore, advanced in this brief article does not in the least diminish the real greatness of Paul, nor does it dim the brightness of his glorious soul. And while it may — I hope it will — modify our views as to the apostle’s attainments, it does not touch his character. In fact, although the problem is chiefly of interest to Biblical students, it is primarily a *literary* question. The soundness of his doctrine remains as unimpaired as if he spent his whole life at the feet of Gamaliel; and his practical exhortations are just as useful as if he knew every Rabbinic legend and fancy. All that we contend is that Saul of Tarsus was a Bunyan, not a Milton; that his literary productions — of eternal value as they are — should be viewed as the overflow of a full, burning heart, rather than the labored achievement of a cool, cultivated, and methodical mind.

Samuel Weyler.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT IDEA.

It becomes more and more clear that the plan of the university settlements is going to be very widely adopted as a means of improving social conditions. Two new settlements are just reported from London, — one to be undertaken as a women's branch of the Mansfield House; the other under the support of the Nonconformists at Cambridge University, to establish itself in one of the needy districts of South London. Putting together all the university settlements and college missions in London, they now number about thirty. It is not difficult to see how that with the gradual increase in effectiveness which appears certain to come, this movement will have a marked influence on the future of the metropolis.

On this side of the water, the college women, who have made such a fair beginning in New York, are now preparing to begin work before long in other cities, — all of the settlements to be under the one general association. These women's settlements are, I am inclined to think, about the finest exhibitions we have of the meaning and value of the higher education of women. They indicate the possibility of the last social extremes coming into a relation with each other which shall, in a measure at least, include the different elements that go to make up life. They give even more hope than the men's settlements do, that the distracted fabric of society may after all be bound together. A university settlement has succeeded the old Neighborhood Guild in New York. A university settlement is soon to be established in Chicago, in addition to the Hull House, which carries on some valuable educational and social work in line with that of the settlements. The Andover House inaugurates its work with the beginning of the new year.

The beginning of the university settlement movement was very largely in sentiment. It was natural that it should have been. It touched the imagination as well as the moral sense. It did not have at the start a complete programme of methods. It began, as in fact all movements have begun which have worked for the improvement of the race. For this it was criticised with that sort of pharisaic cynicism which finds its easy opportunity under such circumstances.

But by this time, in London at least, unsympathetic criticism finds its argument taken away. The interest in the settlements, which at first, no doubt, often ran from sentiment into sentimentalism, has in the main resulted in intelligent and constructive action. There will, of course, be discussion as to the details by which the plan shall work itself out. But experience in London has definitely established the main principles for which the settlements stand.

The settlements express the fact that the problems of poverty in great cities can be met only through the best efforts of the best trained men and women. They do not, as some seem to think, represent a mere dramatic exhibition of the devotion young persons may have caught from life in college or university. The university stands very clearly for the many-sidedness of human powers. It stands, with almost equal distinctness, as things are now, for that isolation from the great body of men and women, which means the loss of the practical sense. A transplant of university life into the midst of masses of people is an attempt to im-

part what the university has in abundance, and to regain what it has lost.

So far as the specific work of university settlements is concerned, they stand for the fact that social evils cannot be overcome merely by theory, by legislation, by preaching, or by any single line of religious or humanitarian effort; but that they must be met by persons, who shall become fully qualified, in ample number, combining in close and constant work, on a basis of sympathy, and with careful discrimination, toward bringing to the poor, by whatever means may seem most useful, a mission of all the elements of the better life. The difference between the product of existence in Oxford and the product of existence in Whitechapel represents in so far the failure of Christian civilization: in the one place it overreaches itself, in the other it falls far behind. It is a failure which nothing less than Christian civilization in its fullness and strength can make good.

The vitality of society does not penetrate sufficiently into the extremities of the social organism. The means of social life must be reorganized and, so far as need is, reconstituted. The weakened social nerve-centres must be reinforced. The influences which make society civilized, and keep it so, must be brought to them under some specially favoring circumstances. The failure of some one kind of influence — as, for instance, of more distinctively religious effort — is not to be taken as presaging the failure of the rest, or even the final failure of that one. The simple necessity is, according to the nature of things, that the depressed classes are to be lifted by coming to them with all that tends in any way to make men what they are designed to be; by meeting them according to their needs, supplying their more conscious needs, and thus leading them into a consciousness of needs higher and nobler.

Perhaps the most indispensable element, to begin with, is that of a refined and sympathetic social intercourse. The lack of this, which is so common as to have its importance hardly thought of among the more favored classes of society, is a source of great harm among the less favored. Workers among the poor find the high scarcity value that mere friendliness has. Hence the need of organizing neighborhoods and districts for this purpose in working-class sections of cities. This also shows how important it is that those who are able to be leaders should be the neighbors of those who are to be helped in this way, committed to the same local interests, and open to that easy approach on the part of the people which comes from familiar acquaintance.

It is out of such a beginning that university settlement work, or any other kind of work taking suggestions from it, must begin. Other features one might imagine omitted, and yet some good results gained. With such a beginning, it is open to have the settlement develop into a large establishment verging upon the condition of being an institution, but it is to be hoped never passing over into an institution. This is the plan of Toynbee Hall, without a formal religious basis, and of the Oxford House, having a religious basis. Or it may remain smaller, working more intensely within a smaller range, and with fewer outward features, after the manner of the neighborhood guilds.

The university settlements stand for a larger expenditure of force than has formerly gone into social work. They introduce a high type of worker and use costly means. There is every reason to believe that this will prove the wise plan. It is beginning to be found that there is no

short and easy way to the solution of social problems. The coming stages of progress are going to demand all the best energies that society can command. There is every reason to believe that the future will bring one of its best blessings in showing this greater demand to be a greater opportunity, until all the vast resources for social improvement, in the way of cultivated intellectual, æsthetic, and moral powers, which now are often wasted, or worse than wasted, shall be turned into channels where they shall make for a higher type of society.

Robert A. Woods.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

HAND-COMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT. Bearbeitet von Professor D. H. J. HOLTZMANN in Strassburg, Geh. Kirchenrath Professor D. R. A. LIPSICUS in Jena, Lic. P. W. SCHMIEDL in Jena, Prediger Lic. H. v. SODEN in Berlin. Vierter Band. Erste Abtheilung. JOHANNEISCHES EVANGELIUM. Bearbeitet von HOLTZMANN. 8vo, pp. viii, 206. Freiburg i. B.: Akademisches Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1890.

This commentary, the first volume of which was noticed in the "Andover Review," vol. xiii. 466, is now happily completed, and some account of its general plan and distinctive features will be in place here. The projectors of the "Hand-Commentar" believe — and their conviction will be shared by all who are acquainted with the literature — that, notwithstanding the large and constantly increasing number of commentaries on the New Testament and the excellence of many of them, there is none which exactly meets the needs of the large class of theological students, ministers, and others, who, without being New Testament scholars by profession, desire to avail themselves of the results of the best exegetical scholarship. For their use the existing commentaries are too bulky, too costly, and — worse still — too wasteful of the time of those who have to consult them. As a consequence, few theological students are able during their course to work through the whole New Testament, or even the greater part of it, and when once fairly in the work of the ministry they, in too many cases, give up all attempt at connected exegetical study. One chief cause of this state of things is that the interpretation of the text is buried in the history of interpretation; that with fatal conscientiousness all the aberrations of exegesis are recorded and refuted, opinions which have hardly even an historical interest are preserved from deserved oblivion, and the votes of the long array of commentators scrupulously registered. Second only to this is the accumulation of philological, historical, and archæological learning having no necessary connection with the interpretation of the passage in hand, and sometimes quite irrelevant. And back of both of these is a method which makes the commentary consist of an accumulation of glosses on words, phrases, and constructions, or on historical or doctrinal statements, rather than an elucidation of the writer's meaning by the reproduction of his train of thought, of the association of his ideas. I should not deny that the glossarial method has a legitimate place and use; but it is entirely out of place in a commentary which is meant to be not a quarry for lexicographers and grammarians, but a working tool in the hands of students and busy men. The

best examples of the kind of commentary of which we have been speaking are the best illustrations of this fact.

The difficulty, not to say impossibility, of using apparatus of this sort has led to the creation, especially in England and America, of a multitude of so-called "practical" commentaries, which are for the most part entirely unpractical, because exegetically worthless; the student consults them in vain where he needs them most.

The "Hand-Commentar" is, first of all, a purely critical and exegetical commentary; its aim is to help the student to understand the New Testament, not to save him the trouble of making his own sermons. It gives no history of exegesis, no mass of names and opinions; grammatical, lexical, and Biblico-theological notes are strictly subordinated to the ends of interpretation; textual criticism is kept within the narrowest limits. It gives in concise but clear and readable form a continuous comment which represents the present state of the interpretation of the New Testament — its results, and its problems. It is one of the conspicuous excellences of the work that it deals so frankly and so fairly with the open questions both of criticism and of exegesis. The authors of the commentary represent the critical school of German New Testament scholars; but without denying that standpoint, their aim has been to produce a work of such an objective character that its acceptableness and usefulness should not be limited by lines of schools or parties, and it is right to say that this difficult aim has been in a great measure attained.

The commentary fills four volumes. The first contains the Synoptic Gospels (on the synopsis of the Gospels) and the Acts, by Holtzmann; the second, the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians, by Schmiedel, and Galatians, Romans, and Philippians, by Lipsius; the third, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, and the Pastoral Epistles, by Schmiedel, and Hebrews, Peter, James, and Jude, by v. Soden; the fourth, the Gospel and Epistles of John, and the Revelation, by Holtzmann. The typography is peculiarly clear; and no pains has been spared in the arrangement, and in analyses, indexes, etc., to facilitate both reading and reference. The price, equivalent to about \$7.00 for the whole work, is remarkably low.

With the exception of the Apocalypse, Professor Holtzmann's commentary on the Johannine writings, which forms the fourth volume of the series, is, like that on the Synoptic Gospels, the fruit of his courses of lectures at the university during the last thirty years, and represents his mature and well-considered opinions. His present position in the Johannine question, as he tells us in the Preface, was not reached at once nor easily. Constrained to give up the apostolic authorship of the Gospel and Epistles, — which he had never held with entire confidence, — he tried in succession the more important mediating hypotheses, until, nearly twenty years ago, he came substantially to the views embodied in this commentary. Subsequent studies, in which the exegetical and the historical results confirmed each other, have strengthened his conviction that the solution of the problem lies in this way.

In the Introduction the nature of the critical, exegetical, and historical problems presented by the gospel is set forth with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired. The fourth Gospel differs from the Synoptics not only in important historical points, such as the day of Jesus's death, but in its entire material, and still more in its essential character. It is a theological gospel, a "doctrinal treatise in the form of a gospel"

(Pfleiderer). The works of Jesus — the *σημεία* — are symbols with a profound significance, so that the miracle has a distinctive stamp, his words have a deeper meaning than at first appears; instead of the emphasis upon fulfilled prediction, we have a subtle typology. And in the teaching of the gospel is reflected much of the inner and outer history of the church of the first century. The development of its Christology and the antagonism which it encountered, especially from the Jewish side, are carried back into the life of Christ himself. This is the peculiar character of the controversy with the Jews in the gospel. The Prologue to the gospel, the doctrine of the Logos, confirms the impression of the nature and end of the gospel which we gain from its contents. It justifies us in regarding it, as Chastaud has said, less as a new history of Jesus, than as "a philosophy of the history of the Redeemer." The intimate relation of the Logos philosophy to the whole content and character of the gospel, especially in its universality — mission of Christianity to the *κόσμος* — is properly emphasized. All this would long since have been universally recognized, on purely exegetical grounds, if the church had not, from at least the latter part of the second century, always regarded the gospel as a legacy of the Apostle John. From an apostle, and above all from this apostle, we should expect a representation of the life of Jesus which, as compared with the Synoptics, had more distinctly the impress of reality, of historical character. On the contrary, the gospel which bears his name, as we have seen, is preëminently ideal and doctrinal. This antinomy, which is now universally recognized, constitutes the Johannean problem.

Passing from this general statement of the question, Holtzmann considers the circumstances under which the gospel was written. In regard to the date of the gospel, he repeats a striking sentence from his "Einleitung:" "From our point of view we may fairly say that the earlier we are able to put the fourth Gospel in the development of the early Christian literature, the more comprehensible the enigma of its origin becomes." But we cannot push the date back into the apostolic age, if the Synoptic tradition began to deposit compact results only after 70 A.D., and the process did not come to an end before the beginning of the second century. The internal evidence points to Asia Minor as the region in which the gospel originated; but Holtzmann fully recognizes also the Palestinian local color, the familiarity with the scenes and surroundings of Jesus's ministry. All indications point to a Jewish Christian of Hellenistic descent and training as the author.

The third division of the Introduction deals with the historical character of the gospel, its plan and division, the marks of unhistorical character, its value as a historical source.

This Introduction adds strength to the impression which I have gained from the recent literature on both sides of this most vexed question, that real progress is making. I shall not say toward a solution of the Johannean problem which shall command the assent of the great body of scholars, but at least toward a statement of the problem that shall be just to all the factors which make its singular complexity. It will be a great gain if we cannot agree, that we should at least be agreed about what we differ.

I have spoken at such length of the Introduction, that I must deal very briefly with the commentary. Its distinguishing feature, and one in which it marks a long step in advance, is the practical recognition of the peculiar problem which the allegorical, typical, symbolical elements

in the gospel present to the interpreter, who is everywhere challenged to discover the meaning *under* the act or word. In many places where commentators have disputed whether the writer meant this or that, the true answer is, he meant both. In this there is a temptation to find subtleties where none exist; and it is the best tribute to the sobriety and uniform good sense of Holtzmann's exegesis that he escapes this peril.

A few misprints, especially in Hebrew words, have fallen under my eye; in general the printing is very correct. On page 25, l. 10, for *Imperativus* read *Infinitivus*; p. 61, l. 12, the noun יִצְרֵן is found, unless I am mistaken, only in late rabbinical Hebrew.

George F. Moore.

4DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN KANONS. Historisch-kritische Untersuchung von Dr. G. WILDEBOER, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Groningen. 8vo, pp. xii, 164. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1891.

This is a revised German edition of the author's "Het Outstaan van den Kanon des Ouden Verbonds," Groningen, 1889. In its original form it deserved the high commendations it received on all hands; and we are glad to see it made accessible, through this translation, to a wider circle of readers, not only on the Continent, but in England and America. The importance of the subject both from the critical and the theological point of view need not be dwelt upon. As the author truly says, only a clear insight into the way in which the books of the Old Testament were brought together can give us a firm basis for a just conception of the Bible. And in spite of—or perhaps I should rather say because of—the extensive literature upon the subject, there was need of a fresh comprehensive critical investigation of the whole question. This Professor Wildeboer has given us in the work before us.

After describing the threefold division of the Jewish Canon, and indicating the preliminary inferences which we are justified in drawing from these facts, he examines with exhaustive thoroughness the testimony of the Old Testament, the Greek writings of the Jews (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus), the Talmud, and other later Jewish works, the notices of the Jewish Canon in the Church Fathers. He then discusses in a very instructive way the important question of the idea of canonicity in the Jewish schools, and, consequently, the criteria by which books—especially those of late date—were received into the Canon or excluded from it.

Proceeding from the critical to the constructive part of his task, the history of the collection of the books of the Old Testament, he sets forth its three stages, the canonization of the Law, of the Prophets, and of the "Hagiographa." The canonization of the Law was the work of Ezra, who in 444 B. C. got the Book of the Law of Moses which Yahwe had commanded Israel formally adopted by the Assembly of the people (Neh. viii.—x.). The canonization of the Prophets (including the Prophetic Histories) was the work of Jerusalem scribes, and must have been accomplished by 200 B. C., since Jesus the son of Sirach attests its completeness, and since the book of Daniel (cir. 165 B. C.) did not find a place in it. For the third Canon, the "Hagiographa," we have no absolutely certain *terminus ad quem* before the reduction of the Mishna, about 200 A. D. Josephus and 4 Ezra show, indeed, that the number of the Old Testament books was substantially fixed a century

earlier, but apparently only by prevailing opinion. In the second century the canonicity of several of these books was sharply challenged, and it was not until after the time of R. Akiba († 135 A. D.) that the question was formally and finally settled by the schools.

A concluding paragraph exhibits in summary review the process by which the Jewish Canon was formed, and discusses the relation of the Christian theologian to it. The Christian Church can accept, in the main, the Hebrew Canon, "not because of what the scribes meant to give, but of what they actually handed down." But a Christian delimitation of the Canon would exclude Esther and the Song of Songs. On the other hand, there is no reason why it should adopt any of the so-called Apocrypha. Even Sirach, compared with Proverbs, is devoid of all originality.

It is encouraging to note an approach to agreement among Old Testament as well as among New Testament scholars of all schools in regard to the formation of the Canon; and it is not without interest to observe that those among them who are ordinarily ranked among the conservatives on this point seem not disinclined to go beyond the other side; as one may see in Weiss' New Testament Introduction, or in this book of Professor Wildeboer's. But the differences are here no longer of much moment. All can now assent to the words of Loescher († 1749) which have often been quoted:—

Canon non uno, quod dicunt, actu ab hominibus, sed paulatim a Deo, animorum temporumque rectore, productus est. And in the Old Testament the disagreement as to the date at which this process ceased is more formal than real.

In conclusion, let me say that this book should be studied by all who want to reach "a firm basis for a just conception of the Bible."

George F. Moore.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ETHICS. By CLARK J. MURRAY, LL. D., F. R. S. C., Professor of Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. 8vo, pp. 407. Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske & Co. 1891.

A good text-book in ethics supplies a much felt want at the present day. This want Professor Murray has tried to meet. But in estimating the extent to which he has succeeded, we are not to forget the limitations which he imposed upon himself at the outset. He remarks that introductions to ethics are commonly employed to present "a philosophic discussion of the ultimate conceptions which lie at the foundation of the science." His own deviation, at least to some extent, from this usage is indicated in the observation that he intends "to introduce to the science those who are as yet unfamiliar with its fundamental concepts, except in so far as these are implied in all our ordinary thoughts about human life." This remark should determine the expectations of every one who sees the title. In dealing with his subject after the manner of his purpose, the author, at least in a portion of the book, has admirably succeeded in the succinctness and compactness of his analysis. This is mainly true of the chapters on "The Moral Consciousness" and "The Supreme Law of Duty." Part II. on "The Classification of Moral Obligations" is equally concise and systematic, but will appear so general as to take on less of the interest than concrete questions of ethics are supposed to excite. It deals with men's duties in the most general way

possible, — no doubt as fully as a text of the kind would permit, and yet not fully enough to give the work all the merits that it is desirable it should possess.

There is a great weakness in the first few chapters which treat of the physical and psychical nature of man. Those who already understand the subject in its main features, and who know what the object can be in discussing the constitution of man, will at once perceive what the author is aiming at in these chapters. But a young student will not be so ready or so fortunate. He requires first to know why it is necessary to enter into the questions about man's nature, physical or psychical, before he can appreciate the references to heredity and various influences affecting character. This discussion should have been preceded by a careful analysis of the ethical problem and its concepts, and by the proof of what man's physical nature and the forces of heredity do to influence his conduct. As it is, the student is not warned of what the bearings of heredity upon the problem are. Man's physical nature and heredity may avail to limit his freedom or his responsibility, but we are not prepared for this understanding of the case by anything that the author has done, and hence it is likely that the student will fail to appreciate what is said and done in these first chapters. It would have been more to the point to have defined very carefully the conditions of moral action, and then the mind would have been prepared for understanding the meaning and relevancy of the facts of heredity. In regard to other portions of the work it can be said that it is less open to criticism. The treatment of "the moral consciousness" presents a very good outline of the phenomena connected with it, and it does not detract from it that the discussion is somewhat elementary. On the question of the freedom of the will, there is a failure to see that determinism is not always or necessarily allied with fatalism or materialism. Kant's position was deterministic, and there may be a subjective determinism which, so far from being identical with necessarianism, is indispensable to freedom. There is an opportunity here to appropriate the very language of the determinist in behalf of the opposite doctrine, and to get the advantage of admitting the idea that volition is determined and yet not unfree, since the determining cause is the subject, and not an event which is only an occasion. This view of the case, however, is passed over by the author.

The chapter on "The Supreme Law of Duty" classifies all theories of ethics as either "epicurean" or "stoical." This we think quite misleading, because it is likely to prejudice the mind with the historical associations connected with those theories. Popular writers have so generally fixed the common conceptions of those terms, and also created a system of antipathy against one and sympathy for the other, that these feelings will at once be transferred to any theory so named to-day. Historical classifications in philosophy seldom avoid invidious reflections.

The classification of social duties into determinate and indeterminate is very apt, and will prove useful to the science, whether it be regarded as new or old. The fact is that the discussion of ethical theories has been rendered very confusing, because of the failure to recognize the difference between the different kinds of virtue that may be comprehended under justice and benevolence. The latter being indeterminate provides a distinct place for a class of meritorious acts that are not universally or absolutely, but only conditionally obligatory.

J. H. Hyslop.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOSEPH HARDY NEESIMA. By ARTHUR SHERBURNE HARDY. Pp. vi, 350. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1891. \$2.00.

Professor Hardy's "Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima" will give great satisfaction to the many friends of that noble man. The author's literary instinct was not at fault when he judged that "no pen could reveal the personality of the man, or tell the story of his life, so effectively as his own;" and he must be a dull reader indeed who, as he rises from the perusal of this book, cannot say with the author, "The reading of his letters and journal made upon me a deep impression."

To the intimate friends and associates of Neesima these pages will perhaps reveal no new trait of character, but they certainly render more clear and vivid the already recognized characteristics of that remarkable man. The fuller account of his early life, written in 1885, which appears on pp. 13-45, is the freshest portion of the book, and is interesting not only as a remarkably graphic picture of life in the yashiki of a daimyō, but also as showing that the good fortune, the touch of the Unseen Hand, — to use his own favorite expression, — so manifest in the later stages of his life, was not absent in his earliest years. Like Paul and Jeremiah, he was called from his mother's womb and before. It is true the family were the vassals of a dissolute prince, but in other respects his surroundings must have been unusual. He is a favorite and a frequent visitor at the home of a childless "elder man," one of the daimyō's councillors. "Staying there towards evening I often slept on his lap and was carried home in his arms. When I began to draw some pictures I used to take them to show to him, and he was really delighted to see the progress I made. . . . He often took me with him when he went out to worship his ancestors or his guardian gods. I was really attached to him, because he loved me as if I were his own son. He was a good horseman and expert in shooting arrows. Moreover, he was a man of some character. He often rebuked his prince for his extreme arbitrariness and sent for his excessive drinking. So the prince felt uncomfortable and also him off to his castle town, Annoka. . . . I wept bitterly when I took my last farewell. He was somewhat affected, but manfully concealed it, and showed me an affectionate and touching smile. His last word to me was, 'Good-by, Shimeta! be a good boy'" (p. 20).

His grandfather, too, must have been a noble and lovable man. "One day I was naughty and refused to make an errand for my mother, and when she gave me a scolding I returned her an improper word. My grandfather heard it, came directly after me, and caught me without saying a word, rolled me up in a night coverlet, and shut me up in a closet. After an hour's confinement I was released from the punishment, which was, I believe, the first one I ever received from my grandfather. I thought he was too severe for a trifling offense, and went into a corner of the parlor to weep. After a while he came to me and urged me gently that I must no longer weep. Then he told me a story of the bamboo-shoot, in a most tender and affectionate manner I ever heard before. It was told in a native poem which means as follows: 'If I do not care for it, I would never use my rod for shaking the snow off from the down-bent branch of a young bamboo-shoot.' Then he asked, 'Do you understand its meaning, my dear?' and explained its meaning himself: 'You are young yet, and just as tender as a bamboo-shoot. If your evil inclinations spoil you, as a slight pressure of snow might easily

break down the tender shoot, how sad I should be, my dear. Do you suppose I am unkind to you by thus punishing you?' I remained speechless then, but I understood full well what he meant, and what kind intention he had for correcting me" (pp. 17, 18). The picture of the family gathering at the feast prepared by his grandfather in honor of his final departure from home (p. 33) is as beautiful as it is true to Japanese life. In Japan, tea and *saké* form a part of every feast; only the cup of parting, especially when there is slight hope of meeting again, is of water, and drunk by all the assembled guests from the same cup. In this case, as it passed from lip to lip, "every one who was present wept, and none raised up their faces except myself and my grandfather. He skillfully concealed his tears and appeared unusually cheerful: and I kept myself very brave. When the dinner was over my grandfather said to me: 'My dear child, your future will be like seeking a pleasure on a mountain of full blossoms. Go your way without fear.' This unexpected parting from his lips gave me a full courage to start from home like a man."

The means which he had for gratifying his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and his improvement of them were unusual from the very first. When he left Japan "his knowledge of the Chinese classics was extensive: he was an expert penman and a natural artist. He had mastered in Dutch the elements of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and navigation, and acquired the rudiments of physics and astronomy. His note-books on the former subjects are almost treatises. He rewrites in his own language every demonstration, and solves innumerable problems and exercises" (p. 46).

His patriotic love for his people and his sorrow over their corruption are marked. The new truth he seeks is for them quite as much as for himself: "The ambition of the people was completely crushed down. Many samurai had almost forgotten how to use their swords. Coats of mail were stored in warehouses as curiosities, and were useless from decay. In fact the people had become cowardly, corrupt, and effeminate. Licentiousness prevailed almost universally. Truly some reformation was needed." "What struck me most was the corrupt condition of the people. I thought then, a material progress will prove itself useless so long as their morals are in such a deplorable state. Japan needs a moral reformation more than mere material progress, and my purpose was more strengthened to visit a foreign land" (pp. 21-34). Such statements as these enable us to understand the surprise and grief (p. 92) which he felt at the indifference of American students to the Christianization of their country. "I felt so sorry for their coldness in their heart, and disinterest for the church of Christ and for the welfare of their own country. All heathens look at America as the centre of the Christian light. If the centre of the light has not much intenseness, how could it light those who are lying in the remote dark corners? My dear friend, let us pray earnestly for those Christians who live for themselves and not for Christ."

Mr. Neesima was not only a patriot and a Christian, he was ever a most courteous gentleman. Doubtless one cause of this may be traced to the fact which he apprises us of in the statement: "I was sent to a school of etiquette, to learn to make the most profound bows, most graceful manners and movements, etc., in a company of noblemen. I believe I spent more than a year in acquiring the old-fashioned politeness, although I was not aware at the time of its benefit."

The story of the voyage to America with the unexampled kindness of captain and crew, the "boundless love and untiring interest" manifested in his temporal and spiritual welfare by Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, and his experience as a student at Andover and Amherst, Professor Hardy allows him to tell in his own simple and unaffected language. Nothing in the life of Neesima was more remarkable than the way in which he not only made friends everywhere, but always touched every one whom he met at his best point, emphasizing and developing it, and so giving more than he received.

Writing to Mrs. Hardy for her consent to join the church, he makes this confession of faith and vow:—

"Now I believe Jesus Christ is the Son of God who died for our sins and we shall be saved through Him. I love Jesus more than anything else. I cast whole self to Him, and try to do right before his sight. This is my vow. I will go back to Japan to turn the people to Jesus from Devil. I determined myself to Jesus so fast that nothing can separate my love from Him. My flesh is weaker than my spirit; therefore I wish to join church, and to unite in Christ, that I may grow more Christlike, and I may do great good to my nation for his name's sake."

His whole subsequent life shows how sincere he was in this vow. "A plow was on my hands" always. Invited by Minister Mori to give his aid to the Japanese embassy which visited this country in 1872, he consented only on the conditions that his Christian faith and his freedom from obligations to the government should be recognized. Believing that there was the idea of worship involved in the almost prostrate bow which Japanese officials expect from their inferiors, he declined to make it to the members of the embassy. The following delicious account of his first meeting with Mr. Tanaka, the commissioner of education, with whom he afterward visited the colleges and universities of America and Europe, well shows his sturdy faith, his humor, and his adroitness. "When he (Mr. Tanaka) noticed me standing erect (after all the others had bowed) he asked Mr. Mori whether the corner-stander was Mr. Neesima. When he ascertained that it was, he stepped forward from his seat, shook my hand, and made a most graceful and dignified bow to me, asking me to be a kind friend to him. He bowed himself 60° from the perpendicular. So I made like bow in return. . . . When the meeting was dismissed, the other Japanese students made 30° bow from the perpendicular to the commissioner without shaking his hand. But he came to me and asked where I reside, and asked me to call on him privately. He then shook my hand and made 70° bow to me, wishing me for the improvement of my health. I could not help laughing within my heart that a behind or corner-stander was so honored by him" (p. 121).

His letters bring out clearly the great advantage to him in his future work of this connection with the embassy.

Of his return to Japan, his warm reception by his fellow-countrymen and the mission, his ceaseless labors for the evangelization of Japan, the laying of the foundations of the Doshisha school and its development into a university, and his death at Oisō with the map of Japan spread out before him that he might encourage his brethren in the work of evangelization, there is no space, perhaps no need, to write. It is the portion of his life most open and familiar to the public.

Upon this part of the book I wish, however, to make two remarks.

First, the cursory reader is liable to infer a less cordial relation between him and the missionaries than really existed. He never for a moment lost the confidence of the mission, and Professor Hardy's remark, "The personal friendship between Mr. Neesima and his colleagues of the Kyoto station was very strong," might well have been extended to the mission at large. Mr. Neesima himself writes to the prudential committee (p. 279): "The success your missionaries have had is largely due to their readiness to accept our participation in the work. Though they are Americans in citizenship, they are Japanese in heart. They stand affectionately by us and with us, and most of us appreciate this more and more." My second remark is, that Mr. Neesima in some of his letters fails to give the mission the credit it deserves for the early formed purpose to establish, not simply a "training-school," but a college. In a paper which now lies before me, sent out from the Boston Mission Rooms in 1876, the year after the Doshisha was established, there is the statement of "an earnest and eloquent appeal" made by the Japan Mission — before the founding of the Doshisha, if I am not mistaken — "for \$100,000 to establish a college in that country." In this paper the mission is quoted as saying: "We ask for the immediate endowment and equipment of a Christian college in Japan. The need is immediate. There is no time to wait. There never was a time in Japan so full of promise and yet so full of danger, and each day of delay makes the promise less, and the danger greater." The Board was not able to respond to this appeal, and so the growth of the college was slower than both Mr. Neesima and the mission desired.

The book closes with several warm tributes to Mr. Neesima's character and work from prominent Japanese of different beliefs.

There are more typographical errors than are usually found in books from this press, chiefly though not entirely confined to Japanese names: Page 211, *Miyagama* for *Miyagawa*; p. 213, *Wakanoma* for *Wakano-ura*; 219, Wild River for Wild Rover; 221, *Fukuchigama* for *Fukuchiyama*; 223, *Tōkōy* for *Tōkyō*. The author is not uniform in his transliteration of Japanese names.

M. L. Gordon.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. The Crisis in Morals. An Examination of Rational Ethics in the Light of Modern Science. By James Thompson Birby, Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Leipzig. Pp. vii, 315. 1891. \$1.00.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. The Expositor's Bible. Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M. A., LL. D., Editor of the Expositor. The Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. Pp. xiii, 424.

Holt & Co., New York. Handbook of Psychology, Feeling, and Will. By James Mark Baldwin, M. A., Ph. D., Professor in University of Toronto, author of "Handbook of Psychology, Senses, and Intellect." Pp. xi, 394. 1891.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston. The Use and Abuse of Money. By W. Cunningham, D. D., Vicar of Great St. Mary's and University Lecturer, Cambridge. Pp. viii, 219. 1891. \$1.00. — The Philosophy of the Beautiful. Being Outlines of the History of Æsthetics. By William Knight, Professor of Philosophy in the University

of St. Andrews. Pp. xv, 288. 1891. \$1.00. — *Elsket, and Other Stories.* By Thomas Nelson Page. Pp. 208. 1891. \$1.00. — *The Boy Settlers. A Story of Early Times in Kansas.* By Noah Brooks. Pp. 252. 1891. \$1.25. — *A New Mexico David, and Other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest.* By Charles F. Lummis. Pp. 217. 1891. \$1.25. — *The Fine Arts.* By G. Baldwin Brown, sometime Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Pp. xii, 321. 1891. \$1.00. — *The High-Top Sweeting, and Other Poems.* By Elizabeth Akers. Pp. vii, 142. 1891. \$1.25. — *English Colonization and Empire.* By Alfred Caldecott, M. A. (Camb. and Lond.), Fellow and Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge, sometime University Extension Lecturer under the Cambridge Syndicate. Pp. viii, 277. 1891. \$1.00. — *Across Russia, from the Baltic to the Danube.* By Charles Augustus Stoddard. Pp. ix, 258. 1891. \$1.50. — *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* By S. R. Driver, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford. Pp. xviii, 520. 1891. \$2.50. — *Nature and Man in America.* By N. S. Shaler, Professor of Geology in Harvard University. Pp. ix, 283. \$1.50. — *The Incarnation of the Son of God. Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1891.* By Charles Gore, M. A., Principal of Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Pp. xxi, 295. \$1.50. — *Essays on English Literature.* By Edmund Scherer. Translated by George Saintsbury. Pp. x, 309. — *Lyra Heroica. A Book of Verse for Boys.* Selected and arranged by William Ernest Henley. Pp. xvii, 364. \$1.25. — *The Tests of Various Kinds of Truth. Being a Treatise of Applied Logic.* By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., D. L., ex-President of Princeton College, N. J. Pp. vii, 132. \$1.00. — *On the Border with Crook.* By John G. Bourke, Captain Third Cavalry, U. S. A. Pp. xiii, 491. \$3.50. — *Stories for Boys.* By Richard Harding Davis. Illustrated. Pp. 204. \$1.00. — *Patrick Henry. Life, Correspondence, and Speeches.* By William Wirt Henry. With Portrait. Vol. I. Pp. xx, 622. — *University Extension Manuals.* Edited by Professor Knight. *English Colonization and Empire.* By Alfred Caldecott, M. A. (Camb. and Lond.), Fellow and Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge, Sometime University Extension Lecturer under the Cambridge Syndicate. Pp. viii, 277. 1891. \$1.00. — *Marie Antoinette and the Downfall of Royalty.* By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. With Portrait. Pp. vi, 401. 1891. \$1.25. — *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon. The Story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors Resident at the Court of Henry VIII.* *In usum Laicorum.* By J. A. Froude. Being a Supplementary volume to the author's *History of England.* Pp. xi, 476. 1891. \$2.50. — *Ocean Steamships. A Popular Account of their Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances.* By F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N., J. D. J. Kelley, U. S. N., Ridgely Hunt, U. S. N., John H. Gould, William H. Rideing, A. E. Seaton, With ninety-six Illustrations. Pp. xv, 298. 1891. \$3.00. — *Among the Camps; or, Young People's Stories of the War.* By Thomas Nelson Page. Illustrated. Pp. 163. 1891. \$1.50. — *Japonica.* By Sir Edwin Arnold, M. A., K. C. I. E., C. S. I., author of "The Light of Asia." With Illustrations by Robert Blum. Pp. 128. 1891. \$3.00. — *English Social Movements.* By Robert Archer Woods, Lecturer at Andover Seminary, and Head of the Andover House, in Boston. Pp. vii, 277. 1891. \$1.50. — *A History of the French Revolution.* By H. Morse Stephens, Balliol College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Vol. II. Pp. xv, 561. 1891. \$2.50. — *Children's Stories in English Literature from Shakespeare to Tennyson.* By Henrietta Christian Wright. Pp. vi, 454. 1891. \$1.25. — *Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth.* By a Layman. Second Edition Revised. Pp. xi, 496. 1891. \$1.50.

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the World for Christ. By Rev. David R. Breed, D. D. With Maps, Charts, and Illustrations. Pp. vii, 388. 1891.

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Cambridge, England, at the University Press. Pitt Press Series. Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, L' Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas. With Introduction, Notes, and Indexes. By A. Wilson Verity, M. A., Sometime Scholar of Trinity College. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. xlix, 172.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago. Sermons on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1892. By the Monday Club. Seventeenth Series. Pp. 404. \$1.25.

Gospel of Christ Print, Grafton. The Structure of the Bible. A Proof of the Verbal Inspiration of Scripture. By Ivan Panin. Pp. xxiii, 204. 1891-2.

Willey & Co., Springfield. Africa and America. Addresses and Discourses. By Alex. Crummell, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Washington, D. C., author of "Future of Africa," etc. Pp. vii, 466. 1891.

The New York State Reformatory Press, Elmira, N. Y. Papers in Penology. Second Series. Compiled by the Editor of "The Summary." Pp. iii, 148. 1891. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained, without cost, upon application to the General Superintendent.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. Fellowship with Christ, and other Discourses delivered on Special Occasions. By R. W. Dale, LL. D., Birmingham. Pp. viii, 368. 1892. \$1.75. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston.

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The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. The Divine Enterprise of Missions. A Series of Lectures delivered at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, upon the "Graves" Foundation, in the months of January and February, 1891. By Arthur T. Pierson. Pp. 333, 16mo. \$1.25.

From Methodist Book Concern. Hunt & Eaton, New York. Boston Homilies. Short Sermons on the International Sunday-school Lessons for 1892. By Members of the Alpha Chapter of the Convocation of Boston University. Second Series. Pp. 427. 1891. \$1.25. — A Winter in India and Malaysia among the Methodist Missions. By Rev. M. V. B. Knox, Ph. D., D. D. With an Introduction by Bishop John F. Hurst, D. D., LL. D. Pp. 308. 1891. \$1.20. For sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. — Bible Miracles and Modern Thought. By Prof. L. T. Townsend, D. D. Pp. 48. 1891. Paper, 15 cents. For sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. — Fact and Fiction in Holy Writ ; or Book and World Wonders. By Rev. J. Hendrickson McCarty, M. D., D. D., author of "Two Thousand Miles through the Heart of Mexico," "Inside the Gates," "The Black Horse and Carryall," etc. Pp. 348. 1891. \$1.00. — The Story of Sodom. A Biblical Episode. By W. C. Kitchin. Illustrated by W. P. Snyder. Pp. 285. 1891. \$1.50. — Faith, Hope, Love, and Duty. By Daniel Wise, D. D., author of "Path of Life," "Pleasant Pathways," etc. Pp. 315. 1891. \$1.00. — The Oldest Drama in the World : The Book of

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Longmans, Green & Co., New York. **General View of the Political History of Europe.** By Ernest Lavisse, Professor at the Sorbonne. Translated with the author's sanction, by Charles Gross, Ph. D., Instructor in History, Howard University. Pp. xi, 188. 1891. \$1.25. For sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. — **Problems of Christianity and Skepticism. Lessons from Twenty Years' Experience in the Field of Christian Evidence.** By the Rev. Alex. Harrison, B. D., Vicar of Lightcliffe Evidential Mission of the Church Parochial Mission Society. Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society. Pp. ix, 340. 1891. \$2.25.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. **The New York Obelisk, Cleopatra's Needle.** With a Preliminary Sketch of the History, Erection, Uses, and Signification of Obelisks. By Charles E. Moldenke, A. M., Ph. D. Pp. viii, 202. 1891. \$2.00.

Fleming H. Revell Company, New York and Chicago. **Temptation.** A Talk to Young Men. By James Stalker, D. D., author of "Life of Christ," etc. Pp. 31. 20 cents. — **The Dew of thy Youth.** A Message to Endeavorers. By Rev. J. R. Miller, D. D. Pp. 29. 20 cents.

Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, Springfield, Ohio. **The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come.** Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. By John Bunyan. New Illustrated Edition. Pp. xviii, 296.

Review and Herald Publishing Co., Battle Creek, Michigan ; Chicago, Illinois. **The Two Republics of Rome and the United States of America.** By Alonso T. Jones. Pp. 895. 1891.

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Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung Nachfolger, Stuttgart. **Geschichte der Evangelischen Gottesdienstordnung in Badischen Ländern zugleich ein Beitrag zum Liturgischen Studium von Heinrich Bassermann, Doktor und Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg.** Pp. vi, 259. 1891.

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The Creed of the Old South,

by Professor Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, of South Carolina, the Confederate Army, and Johns Hopkins University, in the January Atlantic, will be followed by

The Border State Men of the Civil War,

by Professor Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, of Kentucky, the Union Army, and Harvard University, in the February Atlantic.

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VOLUME XVII.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER

FEBRUARY, 1892

CONTENTS

1. ETHNIC RELIGION IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY. *Professor Ge*
2. OUR ETHICAL RESOURCES. *President Hyde*
3. THE DUTY OF SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY TO THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY.
(aided by permission.) *Professor Pfeiderer*
4. THE FIGURES OF HOMER. *Miss Julia H. Cavern*
5. "RENEGADE" AS EDUCATOR. *H. C. Bieruth, Ph.D.*
6. "LIFE IN HIMSELF": A MEDITATION ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESU
Frederick Tucker
7. NOTES
8. EDITORIAL
DO COMMON SCHOOLS EDUCATE?—PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS
IN MEMORIAM. ABRAHAM KUHNEN.—PAUL ANTON DE LAGARDE
THE APOLOGETIC ELECTION IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
9. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.
Windy—The Crisis in Morals, 215.—Things to Come, 215.—Spencer's Ju
102 Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics, 216.—Cheyne's The Origin and
Comments of the Psalter, 216.—Buhl's Kanon und Text des Alten Testam
—Smith's Labor and Life of the People, 221.—Henty's Held Fast fo
—Henty's A Dash for Khartoum, 223.—Earle's The Sabbath in P
224.

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The Atlantic Monthly, begun after due deliberation and not from impulse, has maintained the high character it attained at the start, and content with that, as it well might be, has never betrayed the irresolution and confusion that lead to and follow uncertainties and experiments. Of no other of our magazines can we say truly that, knowing what it was, we know what it is and what it will be. Its editors have always understood the intention of its original projector and founder, and, sympathizing therewith, have devoted their energies to developing it in its integrity. — New York Mail and Express.

The Creed of the Old South.

By BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, of South Carolina; a soldier in the Confederate army; now a Professor in Johns Hopkins University.

PUBLISHED IN THE JANUARY ATLANTIC.

The Border State Men of the Civil War.

By NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE SHALER, of Kentucky; a soldier in the Union army; now a Professor in Harvard University.

PUBLISHED IN THE ATLANTIC FOR FEBRUARY.

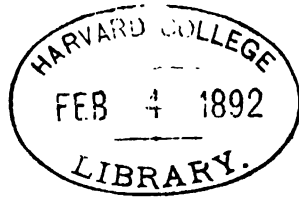
Why the Men of '61 fought for the Union.

By Major General JACOB DOLSON COX, of Ohio; a soldier in the Union army; afterward Governor of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; now Dean of the Law School of the Cincinnati College.

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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. XVII.—FEBRUARY, 1892.—No. XCVIII.

ETHNIC RELIGION IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

SEVERAL theses drawn from Christology are proposed, to which I shall silently accord the force of axiomatic truth in the discussion of this theme.

1. The fact of the incarnation of the Son of God in the person of Jesus of Nazareth presupposes that in human nature, as fashioned by the creative Word, there is a positive fitness for such divine union. This fitness for union with God has been disorganized, perverted, and weakened by sin, but it has not become extinct. It lives, and produces fruit after its kind in all men, however debased.

2. The Christian religion is the fellowship of love in Jesus Christ with God. Jesus, the incarnate Son, is the perfect ideal of his own religion. Men are in the final sense religious who by the Holy Spirit become the members of himself, and by faith live his life of love to God and man.

3. The fellowship with God created by Jesus Christ in his kingdom presupposes an original relation and an original fellowship of love between God and man, a living fellowship which enters fundamentally into the divine idea of normal manhood. The Son of God is the prototype of man; man is formed in God's image. This fellowship survived the introduction of sin, and conditions the grotesque rites of pagan worship.

4. Christ declares himself to be the light of the world. Light shines in two directions: backward as well as forward. He illumines the first Adam. He illumines the religion of Eden. Christ pours a flood of light on the religious life of our apostate race.

In as far as we know the incarnate Son we may get insight into the life of the religions of the world, and interpret the relations which these religions sustain to Christianity.

Under the guidance of these general truths of revelation I endeavor to study the relation of ethnic religion to the Christian religion.

I.

All religion embraces *two terms*: God and man. Both terms are by the idea affirmed at the same time; not man to the exclusion of God, not God to the exclusion of man. In a sound doctrine of religion God is the first term. No God no religion. The first term is necessarily related to the second term. No man no religion. Both terms, God and man, are essential. If the existence of God and his ethico-vital relation to man be not presupposed and duly asserted, or if the divine imageship of man, though fallen and sinful, and his vital kinship with God, be denied, in either case the nature of pagan religion is fatally wronged.

Therefore we have to deny that religion originates in man alone, or that the religious life is exclusively human life, just as on the other hand we have to deny that religion originates in God alone, or that the religious life is exclusively divine life. Religion involves a reciprocal relation, — the spiritual relation of God to man, and the spiritual relation of man to God. God anticipates man as his child, his heir and companion. Man postulates God as his Father, his portion, and his friend. So in the religious life, God's relation to man involves man's relation to God, and man's relation to God involves God's relation to man. The two things are inseparable forms of the same ethico-spiritual connection.

In the idea of natural religion God and man are, however, not merely terms. Each term is also a *factor*. God is active toward man and in him. Man is active toward God. Moreover, each is active toward the other, not in some one quality only of his existence, but in the totality of personal life. God as *God* is active toward man. Man as *man* is responsively active toward God.

Of God it does not suffice to say that He reveals his will and exercises his authority. Nor of man does it suffice to say that he is a subject of the divine government. Divine authority and human obedience are elements of religious life; but sovereign authority is not the equivalent of God, nor is man's accountability to law the equivalent of humanity. Religion involves an interaction, not only between the will of the personal Creator and the

will of the personal creature, but reciprocal activity between the being of God and the being of man.

Nor, on the other hand, is the reciprocal interaction between God and man only intellectual. Of God it does not suffice to say that He manifests the truth concerning himself, truth which men receive and hold; nor of man, does it suffice to say that he perceives the truth of God, seen by the light of nature or by the light in his soul. Divine truth and human knowledge enter into religion; but the vital interaction between God and the natural man is deeper and more comprehensive than intuitive perceptions of spiritual truth.

Contemplated on the divine side, religion embraces God's life of love. The Godhead goes forth from himself toward man, and is active in sympathy with him and on his behalf, — a truth indicated by the parable of the shepherd going after the one lost sheep wandering in the wilderness. Contemplated on the human side, religion embraces, not man's will, nor his intelligence, in distinction from his selfhood, not his soul in distinction from the body, nor his feelings in distinction from his understanding, but including all parts of his organization, it takes in manhood from the centre to the circumference of his individual and social existence.

Religion implies God, the personal Creator, with his infinite resources and prerogatives. Religion implies man, the personal creature, with his divine aptitudes and unfathomable needs. Between these two terms there is constant giving and constant receiving. God not only upholds, — He is also ever imparting spiritual vitality. God seeks man. A fallen world is the object of his love; and his love is not satisfied but by the possession of his prodigal son. Says Zwingli: "Deus distrahi amat; possideri gaudet." Man in turn feels after God. Whether conscious of it or not, the instincts of his soul are ever reaching out after the heavenly good that God is bestowing, thus illustrating the profound words of Augustine: "Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te."

The constant interaction between God and man, between infinite Spirit and finite spirit, may justly be styled a *communion*. God, the author of man, lives a life of love in communion with man; and man, the prodigal son, lives a spiritual life in communion with God. This proposition expresses the radical conception of ethnic religion.

The doctrine that ethnic religion is a divine-human communion

does not involve a denial either of the utter depravity of our fallen race, or of God's displeasure with sin. The communion between infinite Spirit and finite spirit, as it lies before us in actual history, is a caricature of its ideal, being distorted by the mighty, all-pervasive forces of moral evil and physical evil. But the caricature cannot be understood, except as, guided by the reflected light of Christianity, we study pagan beliefs and pagan cults in relation to such a presupposition. To adopt the terminology of natural science, the doctrine of a divine-human communion might be called a working hypothesis. But it is more than an hypothesis. Both the direct teaching and the metaphysical hints of Scripture sustain the idea of a sub-conscious communion between the Creator-Spirit and the creature-spirit, — an interaction between fontal Life and derived life energizing the soul before the dawn of consciousness.

In the beginning of human history we find this fact recorded : "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; and man became a living soul." Living soul the first man became by an inbreathing from the bosom of divine Life. This primal act was not a transient event ; nor may we think of it only as repeated at successive points of time at the instant of the beginning of the embryo of each individual. Rather is the primal inbreathing to be understood as the beginning of constant communication of spiritual animation from the transcendent Author to our race, including all its members. What as to his spiritual essence the first man was in his primæval state, that as to spiritual essence the human race continues to be from age to age, notwithstanding the fact that "by one man sin entered into the world." The conditions of man's beginning are conditions of man's continuance. Humanity is not self-sufficient either as to the body or the soul ; but is upheld by a twofold divine action, — by the agency of an external environment, and by an immanent presence. If outward natural conditions were to fail, man's earthly existence would collapse ; so if the original spiritual conditions were to fail, his religious and ethical life would wither and perish.

The words of Genesis are echoed by pagan insight. In his work, "*De natura Deorum*," Cicero says : "*Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fecit.*"¹ Such language is certainly not to be understood from the standpoint of Christian revelation. Nevertheless, coming from a pagan philosopher,

¹ Book II. 66.

the sentiment is a remarkable intuitive response to the declaration of Genesis. It is an unconscious testimony to what the Greek Fathers called the λόγος σπερματικός, or to the Logos of the Evangelist John, the Light that shineth in the darkness of heathenism.¹ The sentiment of Cicero that no man was ever great without a divine inbreathing, is not peculiar to him. Kindred beliefs are found among Roman authors and among Greek authors, not to speak of the traditions of other nations. Ovid says: —

“Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo.”

Sentiments like these rest on the basal truth of which there is among heathen nations a well-nigh universal intuition, that men are begotten originally by and have descended from the gods, or, to translate a mythological notion into Bible phrase, that “Adam was the son of God.” Widely as the philosophy and poetry of paganism differ from Bible teaching, both move on the *spiritual* plane of human life, both evince the mysterious force of the imperishable bond of fellowship between God and man, witnessing, each in its own measure, to a continuous impartation of spiritual vitality from the heart of God to the hearts of men.

II.

If we concede the principle that throughout heathendom there is an uninterrupted sub-conscious intercommunion between divine Spirit and human spirit no less than that the heathen have felt heavenly aspirations and are consciously making efforts to enjoy fellowship with the divine realm, we may with some profit study the question respecting the relations which the natural religious life sustains to Christianity.

I propose to consider the question in *three* propositions, the first of which is this: *That the natural religious life of mankind is the requisite presupposition and, on the human side, the positive basis of the kingdom of God.* The Christian religion presumes the universal prevalence of natural religion.

The self-manifestation of God in Jesus of Nazareth, who took upon Him of the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary,² implies that in human nature there is spiritual kinship with God, and therefore a capability of free response to the gracious humiliation of God in the person of his Son. In the kinship of human personality with divine personality lies the possibility of Abraham, an elect man, called by Jehovah to be the progenitor of an

¹ John i. 5, 9.

² *Heidelberg Catechism*, 35.

elect nation ; a nation designed to live and develop, distinct from all other nations, in the higher fellowship of the Messianic covenant with God. In this vital kinship, purified, strengthened, and matured by the discipline of the Abrahamic covenant, lies also the human possibility of the incarnate Mediator, the Word made flesh. The fact of a divine-human Person is a mystery congenial, on the one hand, to the infinite being of God, and, on the other hand, congenial to the finite constitution of man. His unique birth and sinless history are no less truly the assertion and perfection of latent possibilities of human nature than the realization of divine Life in human life.

In our times the religious life of pagan nations has, in point of quality, the same kinship with God that was disclosed by the Chaldean patriarch, though by reason of wicked deeds persisted in contrary to conscience, it may in some families and some nations be much less in degree. Ethnic life has, from age to age, as the great world-religions testify, retained its divine affinities. Hence the sense of a connection, I may even say of an indissoluble connection, with the divine realm does not perish. Whilst among some peoples this divine sense may be feeble and dull, in others it is quick and vigorous, deep and energetic. This spiritual vitality, this undying kinship, renders the heathen of our time receptive toward the approach of God in his incarnate Son. They possess a degree of genuine fitness for the life and salvation imparted by the gospel, and their genuine fitness shows itself whenever by the living teacher the gospel is proclaimed. The divine image is accessible to the touch of Jesus Christ.

It may accordingly be said that ethnic religious life answers to the Christian religion as wax to the seal, or as fertile soil to good seed, or as the structure of the eye matches the light of the sun. The old religious life, though falsified by sin, is correlative to the new life. The former is the condition of the adaptedness of the latter. The possibility of salvation by grace means the correspondence of the deeper instincts of the natural heart to the great redemption. The "natural man" is at issue with himself. The soul as governed by the law of sin is averse to Christianity, but by virtue of its original divine kinship the soul is in living sympathy with Christianity.

If it were otherwise, our race would be hopeless. If otherwise, the gospel would not be the power of God unto salvation, for this power can take effect only in them that believe, or are capable of believing. If there had been no presence of the preincar-

nate Son of God in human nature and human personality, there would have been no fullness of time, and in consequence no sending forth of the Son to be born of a woman.¹ If in the hearts of the heathen there were no divine fitness to be saved from the dominion and curse of apostasy; if there were no positive aspirations after a fellowship with God better than what world-religions beget; if the prodigal son had no lingering faith in the fatherliness of his father, no memory of his father's house, where there is bread enough and to spare; if there were no truth whatever in the words of Tertullian, "*Anima Christiana naturaliter est*," then there would be no points of contact between depraved humanity and Christian truth; and the redemption wrought out by the mediatorial work of Christ would be inappropriate and alien.

My *second* proposition is, *that ethnic religions are a preparation for the gospel*. The natural religious life renders the heathen adequate to its benedictions, and begets a demand for the true Mediator.

The general effect of the observance of the rites of pagan religion is, under one aspect, negative. Its pious devotees have a profound sense of need. They may tenaciously cling to a system of belief to which they have been brought up; for them it is, compared with other cults, the most congenial mode of worship; yet the gods whom they honor do not satisfy their spiritual desires. They have wants which no superstitions satisfy; fears which no offerings silence; pangs of remorse which no asceticism allays; doubts which no oracle, no myths, no Socratic wisdom can solve. Doubting, fearing, sometimes despairing, yet always sighing for a good which they have never possessed, numbers, like the wise men from the East, look for the star of promise. "The wisest of the heathen," says Canon Farrar, "never definitely grasped the doctrine of immortality. They never quite got rid of a haunting dread that perhaps, after all, they might be nothing better than insignificant and unheeded atoms, swept hither and thither in the mighty eddies of an unseen, impersonal, mysterious agency."²

But it is not enough to say that ethnic religions intensify the sense of spiritual need. Their function is *positive*, no less than negative; for the roots of every religion are imbedded in heavenly soil. All contain some spiritual truth. They perpetuate spiritual ideas. They support divine worship. They inspire and sustain moral and heroic deeds.

It may be safely affirmed that the divine beliefs cherished by

¹ Gal. iv. 3-5.

² *Seekers after God*, p. 211.

ethnic religions have *fundamental* significance. I merely name some of them: The existence of a God; the dependence of men on God for earthly and spiritual benefits; the obligation of worship; the idea of right and wrong; the consciousness of individual shortcomings and social disorders; the requirement of holiness; the necessity of reconciliation with God by means of bloody sacrifices; and the prospect of rewards and punishments after death. Among the more debased nations these beliefs are very obscure and indefinite; but in the history of the more highly developed peoples they come prominently to view.

Each of these beliefs infolds an element of truth. No one of them, it must be freely conceded, is a truth under the form in which by the pagan mind it is conceived; nevertheless in each belief there is some spiritual good,—a woof of divine origin woven into the warp of religious and ethical life. This divine vitality forms the requisite groundwork on which the gospel may build. It is the capability of the new education, the heavenly discipline which Christianity brings. No belief, no rite as this obtains in any ethnic religion, has, as James Freeman Clarke assumes, been transferred and adopted by Christianity, nor is it approved by Christianity. The kingdom of God is not a mechanical combination of things new and things old. Throughout it is original, a self-constructed organism evolved from its own principle, the incarnate Son of God. Every element of truth common to the religions of the world and to the religion founded by Christ is as a part of Christian faith and Christian worship distinct and peculiar, since all Christian facts and Christian ordinances derive their meaning and virtue from their organic connection with his unique personality. His person and life being unique, the vitality of every Christian fact is unique, and the contents of every form of valid doctrine are unique. Yet the kind of truth held by the natural religious consciousness, however obscurely seen, however grotesque the form of expression in myth or ceremonial, is nigh of kin to Christian truth. So far forth as heathen life is intoned by the godlikeness of the human soul it is congenial to the Christian life. A truth as affirmed by heathenism, though shadowy and inadequate, qualifies the heathen for the perception, even if indistinct, and for the appreciation, though partial, of its complemental kindred truth as revealed by God in Christ and proclaimed by the gospel. That which is cardinal and new in Christianity matches the genius of natural religious life, supplies its deficiencies, and fulfills its unsatisfied desires.

When a pagan people yield to the apprehending grace of Jesus Christ, the elements of spiritual truth underlying their gross superstitions and idolatrous worship become the natural beginning of a regenerate life and a pure faith. It is important to emphasize a principle which theology has not unfrequently overlooked. Pagan beliefs, especially as prevalent among the stronger and more civilized nations, though in form false and unworthy, are, as to their essence, in positive sympathy with Christian belief. Pagan belief has an eye for that which is divine, spiritual, heavenly. Says Paul: "That which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God manifested it to them."¹ So far forth a false belief may be positively good and right. The paradox does not kill the proposition. Myths and cults become stepping-stones by which devout and earnest heathen ascend from a lower to a higher plane, from the service of an ineffectual ceremonial to the inspiring worship of the triune God, from the realm of darkness to the realm of light.

My third proposition on the relation of natural religion to Christianity is, *that the one is the unconscious prophecy of the other*. Ideas crystallized into myths typify facts of Messianic revelation. Ruling tendencies in the history of heathen worship foreshadow fundamental elements of Christian worship.

Every great religion is an effort of man, moved by divine in-breathing, to effect intimate union and blissful communion with God. This effort, as seen along the principal lines of history, has, as Dr. Dorner has stated it,² two leading phases. Either religious life endeavors to bring God into man, and thus bring about an incarnation, or endeavors to lift man up into God, and thus apotheosize humanity. The effort is futile. The original divine-human fellowship is not revived. Much less can heathen yearning, or heathen thought, or heathen endeavor, or heathen asceticism, or all united, attain to the ideal divine human fellowship constituted in the person of the God-man, the blessings of which are enjoyed by the members of his kingdom. This failure of heathen efforts is keenly felt by the more advanced heathen nations. Their best aspirations, their most faithful services, do no more than intensify the cravings of the soul. Of the experience of the Christian, Dorner says: "Bei jedem Gang zum Brunnen Gottes wird der Durst gestillt, jeder Trunk erweckt den Durst nach vollerer Aneignung." If we use this imagery to describe the experience of the heathen, we shall have to say, each draught from the fountain of the gods increases their burning thirst.

¹ Rom. i. 19.

² *Doctrine on the Person of Christ.*

The sense of disappointment, faint in some, in others profound and keen, is universally prevalent. Like Plato and Epictetus, their hearts are burdened and depressed.

These persistent efforts have solemn significance. What do they mean? What do they declare? The only answer is, that such continuous and mighty efforts of the heathen show an inner imperishable demand for the mystery which their efforts seek in vain to produce, — a demand for union between divine life and human life. An undying instinct, fed from an unseen fountain in the divine soil of humanity, announces man's deepest need and his chief mission. It points towards the central fact of Messianic revelation, the fulfillment of pagan aspirations and Jewish prophecies. It points to the advent of the incarnate Son, who is the ideal union of God and man perfectly realized. A divine-human Mediator is as precisely adjusted to natural religious instincts and to the intimations of mythology as Jesus of Nazareth answers to the historic types and ceremonial figures of the Old Testament.

Every great world-religion also has a definite character relatively to moral evil. It is an effort to make peace between heaven and earth. The pagan mind has definite perceptions of divine displeasure, and some sense of the bitterness of self-condemnation, — two aspects of a contra-ideal moral condition, a condition begetting continual unrest. Hence the animal sacrifices so common among the heathen; hence, also, the numerous instances of human sacrifices. A strong desire to kill the bodily appetites and cleanse the soul from stains of impurity moves men to invent the most painful practices of asceticism. Silver and gold and precious stones are freely given to adorn idol temples. No pious pagan approaches the altar with an empty hand. Like the chosen patriarchs of old, he brings an offering for the sin of his soul.

But as under the Jewish dispensation the blood of bulls and of goats could not take away sin, so in heathendom bloody sacrifices and costly offerings do not "purge the conscience from dead works." The sense of ill-desert remains, and the longings of the soul after peace and hope renew their strength. Says Horace, of the victim of remorse: "Not even for an hour can you bear to be alone, nor can you advantageously apply your leisure time, but you endeavor, a fugitive and a wanderer, to escape from yourself, now vainly seeking to banish remorse by wine, and now by sleep; but the gloomy companion presses on you, and pursues you as you fly."

This universal sense of wrong, and these ineffectual efforts to establish judicial peace, are to the Christian matters of instructive study. Ethnic desires to propitiate the favor of the gods declare

the judicial demands of our apostate race. The confused sense of guilt announces the need of an atonement. The conscience and the reason call for wisdom other than the wisdom of the Greek. From all the prominent nations of the world, and through all ages, may be heard a voice bearing witness to the necessity of the redemption from sin and death which the Christ has accomplished. The tremendous fact that the God-man offers himself on the cross a sacrifice for sin is a response to the instincts, and satisfies the agonizing desires of natural religious life. Every blood-stained altar of the Gentile world adumbrates the one final altar erected on Calvary. Every animal, every human being, slain in sacrifice, is an enigma prophetic of the one sin-atonement Victim.

These two things, first, the yearning after an ideal communion between God and man, and, second, the sense of the necessity of judicial peace, are the two leading features characterizing the unconscious prophecies of paganism. The one may be more prominent in one cult than in another, but neither is altogether wanting in any great system. The fulfillment of this twofold prophecy in one Person, and in one personal history, is the fundamental and distinguishing truth of the mediatorship of our Lord.

If, guided by the light of Messianic revelation, we compare subordinate features of world religions with subordinate facts of the Christian religion, we shall see that nearly all the characteristic mysteries of the kingdom of God are anticipated by the shadowy counterparts of paganism. A philosophical construction of religious and ethical phenomena shows that Gentile, no less than Jewish history calls for and looks forward to the advent of Truth, the divine-human Truth, which Jesus Christ is and declares.

The strongest evidence for the truth of Christianity is Christianity itself, its unique genius, the ideal human life of its Founder, as portrayed by the books of the New Testament, and the extraordinary transforming spiritual energy which distinguishes its organization and its history.

Next to the genius of Christianity, the evidence above all others forcible to sound thought is the prophecy and the prayer of the human soul embodied in the mythology and worship of world-religions. The singular phenomena of the abnormal spiritual life of heathendom demonstrate that the *supernatural* qualities of the religion of Christ are as truly rational as its human elements.

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OUR ETHICAL RESOURCES.

THAT "conduct is three fourths of life;" that character is the best legacy that we can leave our boys and girls; that righteousness is the glory of a nation; that virtue is the test of religion, — these are propositions which receive our immediate and unanimous assent.

Such are our theories. What is our practice? Throughout the hamlets and villages and towns and cities of this enlightened Christian land, not one boy in ten grows up without suffering serious injury from one or more of the gross forms of vice. Not one girl in ten is brought up free from the more subtle, but no less serious, vices of idleness, vanity, selfishness, and insincerity. Not one family in ten is without its skeleton in the closet, placed there directly or indirectly by open or secret immorality. There is not one man in ten into whose life the vices of himself or of others have not brought ruin and wretchedness; not one woman in ten to whom either her own fault or another's has not brought tragedy and tears.

These things ought not so to be. They need not be. The moral life is a hundred-fold more attractive than the immoral, if only it can be presented at the right time, by the right person, and in the right way. Nine times out of ten, however, these advantages of presentation are on the side of vice. Virtue is presented on Sunday morning in church; vice is presented on a week-day evening on the street. Virtue is presented by a stranger; vice by a companion. Virtue is presented in a lecture or sermon or lesson-leaf, that bids us "go." Vice is presented in an example, and an invitation that says "come." Vice is the weakest, most repulsive thing in the world. Its only resources are falsehoods and delusions. These, however, it works for all they are worth. The resources of virtue are infinite and inexhaustible. But they are in great measure undeveloped and unused.

Accordingly, it is worth while for us to call to mind our ethical resources, and to see what forces there are at our disposal which we can bring to bear upon our boys and girls to help them become the strong-souled men and noble-hearted women we would have them be.

The first in order of time of our ethical resources is discipline. Our Puritan Fathers believed in this resource with all their heart,

and in home and school, and church and state, they worked it with all their might. It brought forth, if not the sweetest and most symmetrical, at all events the sturdiest and strongest type of men and women the world has ever seen. Undoubtedly they overworked this resource; and employed it out of proportion to the other means of moral improvement. By way of reaction there is a tendency to abandon this resource altogether. The rod and the ferule are giving way to candy and the deportment card as motives to do right. The parent is becoming the playmate rather than the governor of the child; the teacher is becoming the amuser rather than the master of the scholar.

This change is in the main an immense improvement. Still, if carried on to the extent of omitting the element of discipline altogether, it is a serious and fatal mistake.

The function of discipline is to anticipate and avert the penalties of nature. It is moral vaccination, and inflicts a mild form of evil to protect the child against a greater one. Punishment is the truest kindness to the naughty child. It should always be administered as an unwelcome but merciful necessity; and the child should be made to see that the parent or teacher so regards it. Punishment so inflicted will always win the child to you, and, in the long run, increase his respect and love for you. He learns that this hostility to what is bad in him is only the negative side of your love for what is good in him. Punishment inflicted in any other spirit, or for any other end, is brutal, and brutalizes both punisher and punished.

Discipline thus rightly administered is an indispensable factor in a child's moral development. The child cannot see the real reason why in many cases he should do right rather than wrong. He cannot see the harm of leaving his face unwashed, and shirking the work that he is set to do. The infinite shame and sorrow that slovenliness and shirking would bring, if allowed to become habits, is beyond his power to comprehend. The fact that these things are associated every time with immediate bodily or mental pains and privations he does very quickly comprehend; and so, long before he could appreciate the importance of neatness of appearance and thoroughness of work, he forms the habit of keeping his face clean and doing his work well; and these virtues are once for all assured.

Let us by all means avoid the brutal and revengeful features that have done so much to discredit punishment in the eyes of the present generation. At the same time let us remember that to

spare the rod in some form or other is to spoil the child. Let us remember that we are partners in every wrong word and deed of a child committed to our charge which we suffer to go without severe rebuke and effective punishment. Let us be to him, both in appreciation of all that is good and in the sternness of our antagonism to everything bad in him, faithful representatives of that inflexible moral order of the world which he will so soon have to face.

This leads us to our second ethical resource, which is personal influence. Discipline is negative. It can correct faults; but it cannot inspire enthusiasm for excellence. The negative virtue, which abstains from doing wrong for fear of punishment, or from mere force of habit, is an unfruitful and uncertain thing. As the author of "*Ecce Homo*" tells us, "No heart is pure that is not passionate; and no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic." Real passion and enthusiasm for virtue can only come through admiration and affection for a person in whom virtue is embodied. Such a personal mediator between the moral order, on the one hand, and the child's heart, on the other, every parent and teacher is called to be. A child can be made to respect law and to fear penalty by force; but that passionate devotion to ideal excellence which alone insures to virtue the greatest purity and strength, love only can command. "For father's sake;" "to please mother;" "because teacher wishes it;" "to be like him whom I admire," — these motives are to morality what "for Christ's sake," and "in his name" are to religion. The attraction of a personal ideal, high above us in attainment, yet close down to us in sympathy with our struggle, — this is the dynamic which breaks asunder the strongest bonds of vicious tendency and habit, and lifts the soul to loftiest heights of virtuous endeavor.

There is a time in the development of every boy when the mind is as sensitive and true to what is best to do and be as the magnetic needle to the pole. Secure his confidence then; find out what form of the life problem he is wrestling with then; show him the steps that he must take to win the ideal of manhood that is then struggling for his recognition; put his feet on the right track then; and he will go right ever after, and acknowledge his lasting obligation to your friendship and advice.

This time of ripeness and mellowness in a child is often as brief as the same stage in a pear. Approach him too early with moral counsel and his heart is as hard as a stone. Approach him after the period of mellow ripeness has passed, and you find, not hard-

ness and indifference any more, but what is worse, the rot of conceit, and affectation, and hypocrisy. The tact and discernment to see just when a child is ripe for a particular line of moral influence is the fine art of moral education and influence.

In a thorough and systematic way, the parent, pastor, teacher, and friend of a boy must study his temperament, tastes, heredity, home environment, aptitudes, interests, and enthusiasms. He must know that some lines of approach are hopeless before he blunders into trying them, and so loses all opportunity of approach forever. He must learn the art of helping the boy to gain some object which the boy himself already values, before trying to induce him to pursue new objects whose attraction he has not yet felt. You must first suffer the child to lead you in paths of his own choosing if you will have him follow you in paths which you commend. The man who will help boys to become men must become in sympathy a boy.

This power of personal influence through sympathy was as conspicuously absent as the use of discipline was present, in the Puritan régime. An incident which happened in a Puritan household fifty years ago is typical of the whole attitude of the Puritan. A boy was puzzling himself to no purpose over a lesson in the catechism, with its accompanying proof-texts. At length he ventured to look up and say, "Father, what does this text mean?" "Hold your gabble, and study your Bible," was the stern and sharp reply. Is it any wonder that this father never had the confidence of his child, and in after life was powerless to impress upon him a devotion to his own severe ideals? The power to come near to a child; to see life as he sees it; to feel things as he feels them; to share his hopes and fears and joys and pains; and so to impart along the unresisting lines of unconscious sympathy our principles and our ideals, — this is the second ethical resource, for the wise and faithful use of which every parent, pastor, and teacher is responsible.

The third ethical resource is institutions. First among these stand the family. The regularly ordered life; the subordination of the individual to the whole; the necessity of having goods and interests in common, are all most powerful object-lessons in unselfishness, and duty, and consideration for others. It is almost impossible for a boy or girl brought up in a boarding-house, or a great "establishment," where there is little work for the child to do, and that little is done for him, to be thoroughly unselfish and considerate. The maintenance of the family in its simplicity and

permanence and purity is the greatest safeguard of sound morals. The breaking up of the home is the breaking down of character. The divorce of parents is the destruction of children. The aggregation of immense numbers in large cities must inevitably mean the increase of vice, so long as such aggregation makes home life impossible or unattractive. The home is the natural nursery of virtue. The most that other institutions can do is to continue and supplement the work there begun.

The next institution is the school. Here, too, there are duties to be done, rights to be respected, common interests to be pursued. Apart from any direct moral instruction the school can do a great deal to form the characters of its pupils.

By enforcing promptness, system, and order, in meeting the requirements of the school, the teacher can impress these virtues upon the pupil's mind and will. By insisting that each scholar shall do his very best in everything he undertakes; by refusing to accept slovenly, half-way, inaccurate work, the teacher can enforce habits of neatness and thoroughness. By awakening a regard for the good order and good name of the school, and giving some measure of responsibility for these things into the student's hands, the teacher may do much to cultivate the sense of loyalty, which is the cardinal social virtue.

The community and the state are institutions which mightily affect the morality of their citizens.

First, the laws enacted by the state, and enforced by its penalties, are a great moral power. If a thing is wrong, it is a great advantage to have it pronounced such and punished as such by the state. The state, as an ethical teacher, is often clumsy, and blundering, and ineffectual, and indiscriminating; but law does rough work in its rough way, and so prepares the soil for better influences to follow.

Compulsory obedience to law, however, is the lowest form in which the state exerts its ethical influence. The second and higher form of its ethical influence lies in the opportunity it affords for unselfish devotion to the common good. That morality is a poor, sickly, shriveled, almost contemptible thing, which is content with simply keeping its own soul spotless, and abstaining from positive acts of moral turpitude.

It is the very essence of morality to rise above the petty interests of the merely individual life, and live for larger objects and comprehensive aims. Now the state is the organized embodiment of the common good; and in unselfish devotion to the public wel-

fare there is presented a field for the exercise of this higher strain of virtue. To defend the common interest and the public good against the attacks of foreign foes or interested classes here at home; to proclaim the truth when error is popular and prevalent; to take office when it costs time and money, and brings in return only antagonism and anxiety,—this is a form of moral training which it is not well for any citizen of a republic to be without. It is the best field for the cultivation of courage, and independence, and disinterestedness that the conditions of modern life afford. To shirk these obligations is nothing less than treason. The man who lets politics alone in the conditions of to-day is the man who would drop his gun and run from the field of battle if he were living in a military, rather than an industrial age. Heroism the world over is nothing but the willing acceptance of difficulty and danger for unselfish ends. The pretense that the particular kind of difficulty which our age presents does not suit our taste and sensibility is a very shallow excuse for shirking it. If a man will neglect his political duties, let him not say that politics is too low for him, or that he is too good for that.. Let him say outright that he is lazy, and cowardly, and supremely selfish. Then we can respect his truthfulness, if nothing else.

These are the three great institutions which make for morality: the family, the school, and the state. To them we owe more than all other agencies combined.

The fourth ethical resource is literature, science, and art. Vice always takes the form of a one-sided development; giving to a single appetite or passion an exaggerated importance and an undue indulgence. Hence, whatever promotes the broadening and balance of the whole nature, to that extent promotes morality. Besides giving a career for interest and action, and thus withdrawing from vice large portions of one's strength and energy, literature and art present in the most attractive and effective way moral lessons and moral ideas.

A public library is a powerful centre of moral influence in a town or city. We are formed by the ideals we hold before our minds. Books are stereotyped ideals of conduct and character. There are possibilities in the public library which we have not begun to develop. The librarian of the future will not be merely a custodian and distributor of books. The librarian must be the interpreter and introducer of books. He must be the confidential friend and intellectual guardian of the reading public. He must

find out the reader's line of intellectual interest, and lead him on from one height to another of intellectual taste and appreciation just as fast as he is able to advance. In our colleges this is understood to be the librarian's chief business. The time is not far distant when the public librarian will be called upon to exercise this function everywhere. Already in Worcester, Mass., and in a few other cities, one can see how a librarian, possessing this power of intellectual stimulus and leadership, has impressed himself on the intellectual and moral standards of a whole community. Where it is not possible to employ a librarian competent to do this work, a great deal may be done by the citizens themselves. In Brunswick we have a course of informal talks, or lectures, in which half a dozen citizens take up lines of reading and study in which they are interested; show the riches of the library in that line; and point out what are the best books, and in what way and in what order they can best be read.

In like manner an enthusiasm for music and painting, if it be real and genuine, can do much to elevate the moral tone of a community, simply by the expulsive power which good things have to drive out base things. Literature and science and art are not in themselves morality; but they are powerful aids to that elevation of mind, that purity of heart, and that discipline of will without which morality cannot maintain a lasting hold upon the soul of man.

The fifth resource of ethical development is philosophy. There is nothing so fascinating to young persons as thinking and talking about what is the wisest and best thing for them to do. Now this is philosophy in its very essence. Go to a boy or girl with a ready-made scheme of the universe and try to impose that upon him, either by authority or argument, and he will instantly bristle with as many objections as a porcupine has quills. But that is not philosophy. That is dogmatism.

It is useless to attempt to give young people cut and dried specimens and verbal descriptions of duty and virtue. You must start with the concrete facts of every-day experience; arouse an interest in the practical problems which these objects present; point out the duty and the temptation to which these objects give rise; show them the reasonableness of virtue and the absurdity of vice; and make plain the certain rewards that accompany the one and the swift and sure penalty that follows the other.

Now this is not a very difficult thing to do, if only you have a good outline and clear ideas in your own mind. The general out-

line drawn by Aristotle is as good as any ; and when you once get hold of it, it works itself. His outline, with a little adaptation to modern ways of thinking, is substantially as follows : —

We are surrounded by objects, such as food, drink, clothes, houses, money, time, space, danger, animals, men, friends, family, society, and the state. Each object may be used so as to promote our permanent and harmonious well-being ; or it may be so used as to gratify a partial and fleeting aspect of ourselves. The former use of an object is our duty with reference to it ; the latter use of an object is the temptation which it brings. Thus every object begets its duty and its temptation. The habit of doing one's duty and making objects contribute their part to the well-being of the permanent and total self is virtue.

Virtue is thus based on natural objects, and consists in so using the raw material of nature as to make it tributary to the highest self-development. Just so much use of a given object as best promotes the complete and harmonious life of the man is the virtue with reference to that object.

Now it is possible to miss this mark of making the given object best promote our total well-being in either of two ways ; by excess, or by defect. We may make too much of a given object ; and thus develop one side of our nature out of proportion to the rest, and to the injury of the total man. Or we may make too little of a given object, and thus dwarf one side of our nature to the injury of the whole man. Vice in each case is essentially the missing of the mark of a rounded development of the total man. The fact that this mark may be missed on either side divides vices into two great classes : vices of defect, and vices of excess.

Since virtue is the using natural and spiritual objects in such a way as to make them contribute their part to the fullest self-development, it follows that virtue cannot fail to bring with it its own reward. A virtuous life is a life in which each natural object is so used, and each faculty of our nature so developed, that there is the greatest efficiency of each faculty of our nature which is consistent with a like maximum of efficiency in every other. The desirableness of such a life is as self-evident as is the desirableness of power, harmony, or life itself. Vice, on the contrary, brings with it obstruction, interference, discord, strife, inefficiency, death ; and is its own penalty.

Furthermore, each virtue brings its reward in terms of the object with which the virtue has to do, and each vice the same. Virtue in a given line insures its appropriate reward, but only

in indirect ways does it insure rewards in other lines. Industry brings wealth, but not of necessity affection; and fidelity to friends brings affection, but not of necessity wealth. Drunkenness brings disease, but not necessarily hard-heartedness; while cruelty brings hard-heartedness, but not disease.

The sixth and last ethical resource of which I shall speak is religion. Religion is the perfect circle of which the moral virtues are the constituent arcs. Religion gathers up the fragments of life into their unity, and presents all duties as the applications of the one all-inclusive will of God. Religion teaches man to act in the consciousness that there is an all-seeing eye, too pure to behold iniquity, at all times reading our thoughts, discerning our motives, judging our deeds, and meting out to us our exact deserts. Just because religion does penetrate so deep into the heart of man, it finds room for penitence and forgiveness. Human society, and ethics, which is its representative, cannot go behind the returns as they are declared in deeds. God, who sees the heart, and religion, which is his representative, takes the will, if it be real and genuine, for the deed, at each moment of our lives. Spite of our falls, if we maintain toward Him an attitude of penitence and trust, we have the perpetual assurance of his forgiveness and his favor.

Thus religion, while it declares with all the strictness and severity of ethics the immutability and majesty of moral law, still appeals to faith and hope and love with the power of a gracious personality, as mere ethics can never do. Religion clothes the details of every-day life with infinite and eternal significance, and at the same time reaches out to us a helping hand, and throws around us an arm of sympathy in the time of our deepest need and guilt. Religion is more than law and reason; it is life and love.

Hence our interest in morality alone, if nothing else, should prompt us to cultivate religion in our own lives, and to promote it in the lives of others. It forbids all attempt to tear down our neighbor's religious faith, even though his faith be very different from our own. For moral purposes, the faith in which a man has been brought up, supported as it is by the strongest and tenderest ties of early association, is the most valuable faith a man can hold. A faith to which a man is converted late in life, by intellectual arguments, will hardly acquire that grip upon his conscience, and control over his habitual ways of thinking and acting, which belongs to the faith he drank in with his mother's milk, and

whose traditions he received from her lips. Changes of religious faith are frequently a necessity; and we have a right as well as a duty to set forth the attractions of our own form of religious faith. Outright assaults upon other forms of faith, which are sincerely and devoutly held by our fellow-citizens and neighbors, can accomplish little good to religion, and are a serious injury to morality. Both Protestant and Catholic, both orthodox and liberal forms of religious faith are contributing volumes of ethical influence to the community to-day which we could ill afford to be without. Let us be thankful for it all.

Such are our ethical resources: the constraint of discipline; the encouragement of personal sympathy; the moulding influence of institutions; the attraction of literary and æsthetic ideals; the insight of philosophy; and the reverence of religion. These resources, if faithfully developed and wisely applied, are ample to insure uprightness and integrity. It is because they are suffered to lie undeveloped and unapplied that vice works such havoc in the midst of us, claims such numbers of our sons and daughters for its prey. Bring to bear in all their united strength these ethical resources on the sensitive consciences of our boys and girls, and not one in a hundred will fail to respond, or will go far astray.

The difficulty, of course, is in the wise and timely presentation. That is the duty which, as parents and teachers, as citizens and Christians, rests on us all. If this inventory of our resources shall help to make us more diligent in this business, more on the watch for opportunity, more grateful to the Author of our moral nature, and more hopeful for our fellow-men, it will have done its work.

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BRUNSWICK, MAINE.

THE DUTY OF SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY TO THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY.

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THE strained relation which at present exists between the Church and Scientific Theology, and which is frequently made manifest in pastoral conferences and ecclesiastical gatherings by

votes of distrust against academical teachers of theology, is unquestionably an abnormal state of affairs, and one for each equally unfortunate and fatal. The students' confidence in the theological professors becomes disturbed, and the consequences are far-reaching; then, too, the Church, in declaring that she holds Scientific Theology under suspicion, thereby severs the bond which unites her to the thought of the time, and condemns herself to an isolation which is destructive of her highest spiritual life. If we ask for the ground of this unhappy condition of affairs, we shall be obliged to seek for it, as it seems to me, in the imperfect understanding of the *historical right* of Scientific Theology, and of the *duty* of this theology under the present circumstances.

I.

The right of Scientific Theology in the Protestant Church stands or falls with the right of Protestantism itself. It is the legitimate heir of the Reformation, the protector of those principles peculiar to Protestantism, and the leader in the work, begun by the Reformers, but by no means finished, in the sixteenth century, of purifying the Church from the darkness and disfigurement of its faith and life.

The Reformation, it is true, did not spring out of scientific theology; it did not have its origin in the questionings of the intellect, but in the needs of the *conscience* and in *its* longing after reconciliation with God and freedom from sin and guilt. Because Luther recognized in the gospel of Jesus Christ the power of God which is able to meet this need, — which is able to comfort and restore the conscience and renew the life, — he made individual faith in this well-proven power of God in the gospel the centre of his Christianity; the doctrine of justification by faith alone thus came to be the core of his teaching. In the conscience, also, that inner bond between God and man, Luther discovered the touchstone by which religious truth is to be tested, by which its genuineness, its divine origin and its divine power, may be proven. He rested the pivot of his faith upon the religious truth of this doctrine because his conscience had experienced its healing power; and he thereby restored religion and morality to their true relationship to each other, which for each is of the utmost importance. Religion was no longer, as in Catholicism, in the far-away world of ecclesiastical mysteries and incomprehensible dogmas, but it became a practical affair, an inner life-experience of the moral man and of his conscience.

The ethical man is at the same time the thinking man; the experiences of the conscience, conditioned as they are by the thoughts which have gone before, lay down in turn laws and limits for the thinking of the future. The experience which Luther had had in his own conscience of the powerlessness, on the one side, of ecclesiastical forms and ordinances, and of the powerfulness, on the other side, of the gospel of Christ as given to us in the Holy Scriptures, made his thought free from its previous bondage to ecclesiastical authority, and gave him the impulse to a free testing of ecclesiastical tradition. Whatever did not correspond to the Word of God in the Scriptures, he set aside as human error, although it might have the greatest apparent authority; and, indeed, upon the Biblical writings themselves he applied his test, in so far as to distinguish between more and less valuable testimony, and he accepted only that as Apostolic which breathed the Spirit of Christ.

Although Luther did not start out under the impulse of scientific criticism, yet he was gradually led, through the natural consequence of his religious and moral experience, to make use of scientific criticism, in order to establish for the thinking mind the fundamental right to test that which has been given it, and to carry on independent investigation. The right of scientific criticism, without which the Church of the Reformation could never have arisen, should not be questioned within that Church itself.

The consequences of her principles, however, were not realized by the Reformation. The Church remained standing half within Catholicism, or fell back again into it, for reasons which lay partly in the outward condition of affairs and partly in the want of clearness on the part of the Reformers themselves as to the natural trend of their new thoughts.

Men rightly placed the pure Word of God in the Scriptures over against the human word of ecclesiastical tradition; but then they overlooked, in the heat of the contest against Catholics and fanatics, this fact, that the Word of God is not entirely synonymous with all the words of the Bible, which itself was written by men. They confounded the historical *testimony* for divine Revelation with that *Revelation*, and the human and ever imperfect expression of divine truth with the pure and absolute divine truth; and thus they came to a deification of the letter of Scripture, which accorded rather with the legalistic spirit of Judaism than with the free spirit of the gospel. Thus was the free research of

the religious spirit again put in bondage to an outward authority, which often became quite as stringent as that of the traditions of the old Church. It was accordingly not possible to arrive at an unprejudiced understanding of the Biblical Writers, or to comprehend the unfolding process of the Biblical Religion. Hence it came to pass that men read *into* the Scriptures a great deal of ecclesiastical teaching foreign to them; they did not come to an understanding of the Scriptures in themselves, but looked at them through the spectacles of ecclesiastical dogma. And especially those dogmas which are not directly connected with the doctrine of Justification (such as that of the Trinity, of the Creation of the world in six days, of Angels and Evil Spirits, of the Fall and Original Sin, of the Two Natures of Christ, of Substitutional Sacrifice and Predestination) were taken, in part, without modification over into the Protestant Church, and, in part, they were farther developed in the direction of the old Church doctrines and the teaching of the Scholastics; so that the incomprehensibility of these dogmas was made still greater. Then, again, in regard to the doctrine of the Sacraments, although these were reduced to two, the magical representation of their efficacy was not wholly set aside, notwithstanding this harmonized so little with the fundamental thought of "Justification by Faith." In addition to all this, the *freedom of the conscience*, which Luther had emphasized so strongly as against the priestly domination of the Catholic Church, was, in practice, again restricted within the Protestant Church; and, indeed, almost denied under the stringent doctrinal discipline which the dogmatic formulas of the new Church imposed upon the faith of its members, just as the Catholic Church had hitherto done. And, finally, if we take into consideration the fanatical hatred which existed among the various Protestant churches and between the various theological parties and cliques, we are compelled to acknowledge that that chief virtue, love, which Paul placed above faith, was rarely exercised among those who were so sure that they were the true followers of the Christ.

We spoke in the beginning of the great, new principle of the Reformation; of the close union and interdependence of religion and morality which tends to intensify and spiritualize religion; but it must now be confessed that this principle was so imperfectly carried out that one could say that it is a question left for the future to really take this principle and apply it to the Churches' life and thought. Inasmuch as the Protestant Church and Protestant theology only partially realized their *central principle* in

the beginning, it is necessary that we should carry forward their work and find new assurances of its truth and power.

Such inward assurance and cleansing power began to manifest itself toward the end of the seventeenth century, at the time of the highest triumph of orthodoxy. The Spener Pietism, in the midst of the quarrels of the theologians over "pure doctrine," became deeply impressed with the much neglected moral side of Christianity, and again restored the heart in matters of faith to its rightful supremacy over reason. It was like the quickening breath of spring, sweeping over the desolate and unfruitful fields of orthodox ecclesiasticism, and heralding a new life. True, it was warmth, rather than light, which this pietism brought; its tender heart-life shrank from clear and concise thinking, and it became, not indeed fruitless, but inconsequential for Protestant theology.

The opposite error was made by the "Aufklaerung" (the Rational, Free-thinking Age), which soon succeeded pietism, and was at first in close alliance with the latter; for it completely undermined and destroyed the crumbling foundations of the orthodox theology. The historical right of the well-meaning "Aufklaerung" cannot be denied in the progress and development of theology. As in pietism the conscientious earnestness of the Reformation was again awakened, so in the "Aufklaerung" there was an earnest striving of the thinking mind to know the truth; and the right of individual investigation and judgment, as in the beginning of the Reformation, was clearly asserted, although the right was again soon suppressed. It is, indeed, true that the "Aufklaerung" was guided by the one-sided interest of the understanding, and accordingly failed to recognize the reality and rights of faith, and the needs of pious hearts. But one should not forget that the theologians of the "Aufklaerung" shared this error with the orthodox party, to whom religion was the sum total of their dogmas, the product of their strife over correct dogmatic statement. The "Aufklaerung," moreover, was also superior to orthodoxy in this, that it had far more appreciation of the practical side of religion, of the inward impulse therein toward the general welfare. But its ethical ideal was as little pure as its religious insight was deep; neither scarcely rose above the level of a narrow-minded doctrine of "Happiness," which satisfied neither the demands of the conscience nor the claims of the intellect.

Such an age had need of a new master in Christ, who, through

the earnestness of the moral law, should lead it to a deeper self-consciousness, and thereby to a deeper consciousness of Christian truth. And such a Moses and Elias appeared in Kant. He called back the generation, given over to an emotional philosophy, again to self-consciousness, and taught the utilitarians, who made the value of virtue to depend upon its utility, the holiness of duty, and its absolute claims upon them. Virtue he declared to be independent of mere inclination ; but, although it commands our obedience, it gives us the inward assurance of its own worth, and makes us citizens of a higher, supersensible world. Truly was it a hard lesson, but it worked like a Chalybean bath upon the slumbering consciences of men. There went a cold draught through this morality of the "categorical imperative," and this religion "within the limits of pure reason," but it was the cool morning breeze, which betokened a sunnier day.

In bringing this new day into the spiritual life of our people, various causes were conspiring. Since Rousseau had appeared as the champion of the heart and its natural feelings as against the tyranny of the understanding and the false culture of the times, there had been an echo of this unaccustomed tone in the souls of the best men of the day. Men like Herder, Goethe, Jacobi, Hamann, Lavater, Novalis, and Schleiermacher lifted up a protest against cold intellectualism, and demanded for the heart and the imagination the right of the free enjoyment of their feelings, desires, and aspirations. Above the narrow conceptions and paltry utility of the "Aufklaerung," men's souls were lifted to ideas and ideals of eternal worth, although these were yet hazy in form. Thus was Romanticism born out of the tempest and distress of these heaven-storming geniuses, — Romanticism, the apotheosis of the feeling heart and the over-wrought imagination. In their disregard of the understanding, in their proud contempt of their own times, and in their return to the Middle Ages, the Romantics created much confusion, and yet wrought much good. It was like a thunder-storm in spring, which destroys the well-ordered garden beds, but fructifies the ground and causes the seeds to sprout. To guide these rushing waters over the barren fields of the theology of that time, and thereby to cause them to be fruitful once more, was the work of Herder and Schleiermacher. Both restored the feelings, which Kant had despised and abandoned, again upon the throne in the domain of religion. They declared the real essence of religion to consist in that piety of heart which is able to break through the bounds of the temporal

and commune with the eternal ; while they conceived intellectual formulas and dogmas to be but the product of the more fundamental fact of the feelings. And revelation, inspiration, and miracles are accordingly but expressions for those inner experiences of the pious soul, which every pious person can and may have when he is rightly wrought upon by the divine in nature and history, or in his own life. Within our hearts, in fact, we have the key to the understanding of those things which are testified to in the Scriptures, and from which ecclesiastical theologians have deduced their miraculous, supernatural dogmas. All strife about these things is thereby done away with, when it is recognized that the subject-matter of religion is not outward occurrences in the material world, but veritable occurrences in the spiritual world.

This was a thought of great fruitfulness, since it thereby became apparent that the real essence of religion, obscured as it has been by the dogmatic strife of the churches, has its foundation in human nature ; thus did religion again acquire its right and its inherent worth, as against mere knowing and doing. And yet this advance had great defects, partly in consequence of its exaggerated revulsion against the "Aufklaerung," and partly on account of the strong individuality common to all such movements. While the "Aufklaerung" and the Kantian philosophy had made religion the servant and, in fact, the slave of morality, now it was to have no connection therewith, but was to consist in the contemplative æsthetical life of the soul. Accordingly religion was made wholly a personal matter, and it was robbed of all social significance, and of its power to establish and maintain a brotherhood life. Schleiermacher, it is true, corrected in part this defect of his romantic period in his teaching concerning faith ; inasmuch as he strove to reconcile his doctrine of the pious feelings with the common belief of the Christian Church. But thought in general, from the beginning of our century, turned from the individual to the historic whole. Herder, in his profound ideas concerning the philosophy of history, had already prepared the way for Hegel. The core of this philosophy, by which it has wrought such wonders in the science and theology of our century, lay in its philosophy of history, in its considering historical life in the light of the eternal, divine Reason, which can only realize its manifold purpose in the unfolding process of human history. Every people, every age, every epoch in art and science, every religion and church also has its especial part to play in the realization of the common, rational purpose of humanity. Every phase of history

has its *rationale*, since it is the means to the realization of the rational purpose of the world.

These are the two great characteristics by which the spirit of the nineteenth century is distinguished from that of the eighteenth, and by which also a new path was indicated to theology. On the one hand, an appreciation of the inner truth of personality, of the rights of the heart, of the strength of the feelings, and of the need of symbols to represent that which cannot be fully expressed; on the other hand, an appreciation of the sum total of history, of the true and the good, which in the past have often presented strange and forbidding forms, and yet have had a core of truth that has ever served the mind and heart. If we add to this a third contribution of Kant, — the founding of morality upon the sacredness of the conscience, and its absolute and holy authority, — we shall have the three streams of thought which in the theology of this century are in a way united, so that now the one and now the other prevails, but no one is ever entirely wanting.

II.

The theology of to-day has no other wish than to carry forward the Reformation (which was begun in the sixteenth century) by nineteenth century means, and for present day needs. It simply desires to purify Evangelical Christianity from the dross of Roman Catholicism which still clings to it. It proposes to secure for religion and morality the right of appeal to the conscience which the Reformation demanded, to enlighten and quicken faith through knowledge and love, and to sanctify knowledge and love by faith. It wishes thereby to close up the fatal chasm which exists to-day between the convictions of the individual and the faith of the Christian Church as founded upon historical documents and traditions. That this is an important and a pressing problem, every one must admit; but that it cannot be solved easily or hastily is patent to all.

The difficulties of the problem are in some respects greater than in the time of the Reformation. Although the chasm which separated the Reformers from the old Church was great as regards practical conceptions and convictions of religious truth, they still retained the old theory of the world, which underlay the faith of the Church Fathers. Consequently the difficulty of retaining the whole array of ecclesiastical dogmas was, practically, not so great to their religious faith. It is quite otherwise now since the development of the natural sciences has so completely

transformed our conception of the world. The closed vault of heaven no longer rests upon a stationary earth, because we have found that our dwelling-place is as a star among the stars, a revolving planet in infinite space. Where, then, is the stage for intercourse between heaven and earth, for the ascent and descent of those heavenly beings of which the Biblical history speaks? And as our earth obeys the law of gravitation, so does everything transpire according to the laws of nature, and thus the countless phenomena of the world are found to belong to one great harmonious system. Where, then, is the place for supernatural occurrences, for the miracles of religious tradition and poetry? The golden chain of law which reins and rules the forces of nature is not confined to the outward world alone, for the nature of man, the manifestation of the life of his soul and the activity of his intellect, have unveiled themselves to our understanding as an orderly succession, in which the soul receives its impressions according to the inward law of its organization, and works them over and forms therefrom the inner world of consciousness. Where, then, is there room for the miracle of inspiration in the old sense of a communication of new and precise doctrines, in which men remained passive vessels for the divine outpouring, since no thought can arise in our minds without the activity of our own spirits? These are the results of scientific investigation in the outer and in the inner world, which make the naïve faith of the ancients in the supernatural and the miraculous such a heavy burden to the man of to-day, — a burden which serves to depress his religious life rather than to develop it.

Of no less significance is the progress that has recently been made in the science of history and of interpretation. While the ancients found no difficulty whatever in giving to the words of Holy Scripture that sense which would express their own dogmatic presuppositions and preferences, to us who have learned the true method of expounding ancient writings, such a procedure is entirely inadmissible. And while the ancients had no conception of historical development, and, therefore, saw no objection to reading into the earlier Biblical Writings ideas of later origin, we have learned the peculiarities of the various portions of the Bible, due to difference in time of composition, and to individuality of authorship; we interpret each Writer in the light of his own time, taking account of his surroundings, and recognizing the fact that the modes of thought and the character of belief were constantly changing in the course of Biblical history, as in the

history of the world in general. Thus every one recognizes that the attitude of the theologians of to-day toward the Scriptures is an entirely different one from that of former times when the Scriptures were looked upon as a homogeneous whole, which had been transmitted complete as divine oracles.

But what does this transformation signify as regards religion and the Church? Is not the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the very foundation of our faith, thereby shattered and destroyed? And how, then, can faith remain? Such questions anxious souls are often heard asking, and sometimes it results in a passionate attack upon scientific theologians, as if these, out of pure wantonness and idle curiosity, had attacked the fortress of Faith. To these questions our reply is twofold; First: The changed attitude of scientific theology to-day toward the Bible and the belief of the Church is not the result of human free-will, but the necessary consequence of the progress of scientific knowledge in general; and theology, if it is true to its calling, dares not ignore this progress, but must thoughtfully revise its faith; and, second: This changed attitude of theology toward the Bible and toward our belief really destroys nothing of value to our religious faith, but on the contrary frees it from burdensome and obscure elements, so that the final gain is greater than all the loss.

The Scriptures, indeed, can no longer come to us as a collection of oracles, in which every word and letter is of infallible divine authority. We have learned to take account of the human side of them, have learned to estimate the historical circumstances and conditions under which each portion was produced; in short, we look upon the Bible as a book written for men and by men, but full of sublime, holy, and divine truth. Its religious value is thereby none the less, its power to awaken faith and to strengthen and build us up is none the weaker. For this power does not depend upon any dogmatic theory as to the origin of these Scriptures, — rather is any theory but an imperfect expression of man's experience of their uplifting power, — the power itself depends wholly upon the *content* of the Bible, and we have come to a far clearer understanding of this than the ancients had. We find in the Scripture the history of the original Revelation upon which the Christian religion rests; it is a Revelation, however, which does not consist in a certain number of separate miraculous events transpiring between heaven and earth, but it consists in this, that the Divine Spirit has been gradually making himself known and felt in the hearts and consciences of men, more and more

clearly and truly, as Beneficent Power, as Holy Justice, as Redeeming Love.

Not all at once did truth become fixed and complete, but slowly and gradually in a regular process of evolution, befitting an ordaining Wisdom, did it unfold and grow from small and invisible beginnings to a more and more glorious tree of divine knowledge and God-approved morality. Thus the outward history of the nations and the inner history of religion have contributed to their actual growth and fruitfulness. The unique political attitude of Israel towards the other nations of the earth conduced to the unique development of her religion. Great occasions called out great men, heralds of God the Father, and prophets and lawgivers of the people of God. Their catechism was their own history, which they interpreted in the light of the moral idea of God, as that was revealed to their consciences. Never has the life of a nation, its political and its social constitution, been more purely, more ethically, more grandly organized than was the life of Israel under the prophets! But then, after the exile, as only a remnant of the true Israel returned, the ideal religion of the prophets was transformed by the Scribes into an outward religion of laws and ordinances, an instructive prototype of the later transformation of primitive Christianity. Yet under these legalistic forms there was developed silently an inner personal piety, in which the religion of the prophets of the former glorious days was realized by pious souls as an inner experience. That which the psalmists, out of their own soul's experience of communion with God, tell us of their struggles with doubts and of the redeeming power of faith in God, that is a fountain of spiritual refreshment for all time. Still all this that the prophets and psalmists of the Old Covenant spake so gloriously, was only the dawning of the day which Jesus of Nazareth caused to break upon the world. He found himself at one with God, as a child with his father, and out of the power of the love of God in his heart went forth from Him the Saviour's love for his brethren. He despised not sinners, but drew them sympathizingly to himself; for He believed in an indestructible goodness in the soul of every man, since He looked upon all men as children of their Heavenly Father. He combated only the unlovable self-righteousness and hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees, who drew near to God with their lips and ceremonial service, while their hearts were far from Him. He proclaimed the kingdom of God, not in accordance with the wishes of Jewish selfishness, but as a Kingdom of truth and Righteous-

ness. And this glorious gospel He sealed with his death upon the cross, true to his own words: "He who loses his soul for the sake of the kingdom of God shall find it." This truth it was which Paul, the greatest of his Apostles, saw exemplified by Jesus, and made the centre of his gospel: *Through death to life*. Die, indeed, must the old man, the natural Adam, in order that the new man may arise in righteousness and holiness. If we have died with Christ in faith and baptism, so shall we also live with Him. Thus did Christ become to Paul the prototype and the Head of the new humanity, the Lord, who lives and reigns as Spirit in all its members, and makes them to become sons of God after the pattern of the First-Born. Finally, the Apostle John formulated this new life-giving power, which had gone out from Jesus, into the doctrine of the Divine Word, which from the beginning was life and light, but is now revealed in Christ as grace and truth in human form. He saw in Christ the culmination of the divine Revelation, and at the same time the fountain of spiritual power, which shall flow forth for mankind, and guide them into all truth.

Accordingly we find in the Scriptures the greatest drama of the world's history, — the drama of the development of the eternal divine Purpose of Redemption, which was making itself more and more clearly manifest throughout the entire time, the truth of which was apprehensible to all, but not fully expressed by any, since each was able to grasp only so much of it as he himself had made real and actual in his own experience. Is not such a conception of the Bible far greater and grander than the old one, where men simply searched in it for inspired oracles?

The Church, it is true, has often put this light again under the bushel. In seeking for the secret of her faith, in trying to explain that faith in the language of Greek philosophy, she transformed it into an incomprehensible mystery, and relegated it to the far-away world of inscrutable divine Dispensation. Likewise the Roman world took up the mystery of love, the fellowship of the saints in the spirit of unselfish, holy love, and externalized that mystery in a legalized church organization, in a theocratic state and priesthood. The means of grace, the symbols of faith and love, were transformed into magical sacerdotal instruments, by which salvation was conveyed to men, and thus the service of God in spirit and truth became a service through rites and ceremonies.

Although the light of the gospel was concealed under the bushel, it was not thereby extinguished. That which the Church

aimed to do by means of her holy rites was ever even this: to make the priceless treasure of salvation, which she possessed, apprehensible by the means which were then at hand. When these means no longer served the purpose, the Church of the Reformation renewed them, in so far as to place the light of Truth again upon its standard. She again formulated in her confessions new statements of her faith, declaring plainly at the same time, that these confessions should always be subject to revision and correction in accordance with the Word of God.

And what should we do to-day other than what the early Fathers and the Fathers of the Reformation did, namely, to seek to expound the priceless faith of the gospel in the language of our times, and to make it apprehensible to the present generation? We wish, therefore, "not to destroy, but to fulfill." We desire to do our part toward the more complete realization of the words of the old prophet, "They shall all be taught of God;" and of the words of the Christ, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." There is in our time an earnest inquiry after truth and knowledge, a seeking and a striving to get free from old prejudices and narrow views and unnatural bondage. What will come out of this? That we cannot say; but so much we know, that not everything is truth which passes for truth, and not everything is freedom which is called by that name. We know, also, that truth does not disclose itself to the narrow mind which seeks it in the earthly and the actual, but only to the "single eye," which looks beyond fleeting appearances to that ideal world of eternal order and goodness, to the moral and spiritual world, in which faith understands the thoughts and purposes of the Divine, World-governing Wisdom. And we know full well, also, that freedom does not consist in irrational willfulness, in a blind hunt for pleasure, in a wild struggle for existence; but in the giving of one's self to the general welfare of human society, to the unselfish service of love, which finds its own joy in striving after that which is for the common good, and in laboring for the realization of the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness. To place before the eyes and to lay upon the hearts of the men of our day these eternal ideas and ideals of divine Truth, is the great duty of the Christian Church; and the stress is urgent as never before. But to fulfill this duty, to secure a hearing for this quickening, enlightening, reproving, comforting, and upbuilding Word, it is necessary that we should speak in the language of to-day, and preach the gospel, not in the mysterious formulas of the

old Scholastics, but in that plain and comprehensible form, which shall sink into the hearts and consciences of our fellow-men, and make itself felt as saving, redeeming, and sanctifying Truth. To assist the Church in fulfilling its great mission at this time is the important duty of theological science; with her it remains to say, whether the armor and weapons, with which the Church could vanquish the powers of darkness of the day, shall be haughtily withheld and concealed. Woe to theology if she fail in this duty through indifference or fear! When the salt loses its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? If the teachers of theology do not advance in the apprehension and understanding of the truths of salvation, how shall the Church be able to meet the demands of the times in which and upon which she must work? Let those who would forever bind theologians to the formulas of the past, and who would have us return to the language of the Fathers, consider thoughtfully the words of the Apostle Paul: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child: now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things;" and, "Brethren, be not children in mind: howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in *mind be men*" (1 Cor. xiii. 11; xiv. 20).

THE FIGURES OF HOMER.

IN the study of any masterpiece of literature it is a common experience to find our appreciation of the whole greatly augmented by careful study of some of its elements. Of the elements thus capable of separate analysis in the Homeric epics, none opens up a wider or more fascinating field than do the figures, or, more strictly speaking, the similes and metaphors. For not only are these accounted the ornaments of style, and receive of the poet's best, but in them, if anywhere, may be found the measure of his age and audience. A figure, to be effective, must illustrate something less by something more familiar to the hearer. Especially is this true in the case of poetry, which is to be heard, not read. The figure must then be familiar enough to be easily caught in passing. In any age, a simile, to have any effect, must not go beyond the ken of the audience, and it must be borne in mind that the ken of Homer's audience lay not far outside the limits of their own immediate world in space and time. Hence the picture of an author's age may often be recon-

structed from his similes and metaphors, though his story sets before us only "the baseless fabric of a poet's vision."

The figures of Homer may be said to fall into three classes, — first, those contained in single words; epithets, as "long leveling death," etc., expanding through brief turns of phrase into full metaphor, for the second; while in the third may be put the clearly defined simile. The few brief instances of hyperbole are to be noted separately.

With the first class it is difficult to deal. Every word, if we may believe philologists, which we use to indicate anything pertaining to the higher realms of thought or of life is a metaphor. The commonest and most prosaic of us uses every day a language bearing more figures, if we only stop to trace them, than any poet ever dreamed of conveying. It is common experience, in the study of a language not one's own, to be impressed with the force of some complex term, only to find the corresponding term in one's own tongue come out luminous with meaning when regarded in the same way. In the study of Greek, philology usually plays a large part. We become familiar with certain roots, and with these as keys, we unlock the new terms as they come. We are therefore more liable, perhaps, to be impressed with the metaphorical force of Homer's language. In dealing with a term as metaphor, we must be sure that to the user it was a conscious metaphor, and not an inherited one, so blurred by use and continual handling that the outlines were already lost to him. In the case of Homer such assurance is impossible. We test the vocabulary of modern literature by our common speech; poetry by prose. But of the vocabulary of Homer's day Homer is the only witness. By what marks can we distinguish Homer's own coinage and the current coin of the realm? In the face of so perplexing a problem the Homeric amateur may most wisely refuse to draw conclusions in regard to Homer's use of figurative words.

Something of the same problem, too, confronts us when we come to brief metaphorical turns of phrase of only a few words in extent. Many phrases, as well as single words, originally metaphors drawn from common experience among the people, have, from long currency, lost their metaphorical value. In the case of some, this daily use is apparent from the blurred outlines which render recognition difficult to an unfamiliar eye. Such, for example, are the phrases, "the bridge of war," or, "it stands on the edge of a razor how the battle turns." It is fair to assume that a figure not involving local or temporal allusions, which re-

quire a footnote for explanation to the average modern reader, must either have totally escaped the ancient hearer, or have been previously so familiar to him as to render possible the omission of superfluous details. So, also, the presumption is strong in favor of popular ownership of such brief familiar figures as "the black cloud of death," "burden to the earth," "verily your heart is iron," a "fire of stones," "navel of the sea," and the pretty phrases, "winged words" and "loosed the shining coronal of Troy," as well as the quaint phrase, always so forcible when we first meet it, "the fence of the teeth," — "What sort of word is it which has escaped the fence of your teeth." The very compactness of these bear evidence of long use and wear. They are like water-worn pebbles.

When half the world must spend its life in spinning and weaving, what could be a more popular and evident style of figure than this? — "When he had wound up the clew of war;" "The gods have woven the skein of death for men;" "The gods have woven for me a web of no such weal." If no one had used these before Homer, he might well have invented them. Quite possibly "the clew of war" was no more a metaphor in his day than "a clew to the mystery" is in ours; and "to weave the skein of death" carried the image of the loom no more to Homer's hearers than "to concoct," or the less elegant but more Saxon "to cook up," a scheme, which transports us to the kitchen range. But whether or no we allow to Homer the conscious authorship of all these doubtful phrases makes very little difference in a general view and estimate of his figures. For the ratio of all the metaphors and hyperboles is but about one in fifty to the always purposed simile. Certainly Homer bears out well the statement that the ancients used simile more than metaphor, whatever may be true of the generally accompanying statement that we use metaphor more than simile. The cause of this use of discrete simile is not far to seek. In a narrative poem which is to be orally delivered, everything must move in a straight line, must be arranged to hold the listener to the story; nothing must unconsciously distract him. The line between the ornament and the story must be sharply drawn. For if the listener, led aside to the illustration, does not know precisely the point where he turned off from the main path, does not recognize clearly the instant he returns to it, he may lose his way and his guide hopelessly. Hence the separateness of the figures of Homer, which, as Macaulay has pithily said, "are magnificent digressions." Like a way-mark, to show the beginning of

these digressions, comes almost invariably the "Ὡς δὲ," "as when," while often the return is marked by another "ὥς," "so." The reduction of poetry to writing lessened largely the author's responsibility to the reader; the invention of printing has given almost complete absolution. For a man who reads can always re-read till the thought is clear; he can keep his guide to his own mental pace. But in listening to a rhapsodist, there is no repetition. Therefore, in studying the figures of Homer, we are practically reduced to the consideration of simile.

There is a modern saying that "nothing will lie like facts," but to this should be added, for accuracy, "except general impressions." Three complete and rather careful readings of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* left in my own mind certain very distinct impressions as to the similes of Homer, which only the force of facts, brought out by careful examination, availed to modify. Among these was the belief that the distinct similes were extremely few in number, and that these few figures were often repeated, not only in substance, but *verbatim et literatim*. Certainly such a case would not be remarkable in dealing with a primitive people whose range of experience from which the poet could draw must necessarily be limited. But the 271 entries in the *Iliad* reduce to only 91 topics, and the 86 in the *Odyssey* to 46. The proportion in the *Æneid* is 116 to 33, and in Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," 192 to 102. That is to say, Homer's average of repetition of topic is only three in the *Iliad*, 1.87 in the *Odyssey*; the average in the *Æneid*, with the greatly enlarged horizon of the Roman world, being 2.2. The nineteenth century and the whole civilized world, with all its range of knowledge and experience, have left Tennyson's average at 1.88, a little above that of the *Odyssey*. Of course this classification into topics is only a rough one, made for convenience of reference, but it is probably as exact in one case as in another, and the result may be accounted relatively truthful.

What, then, are the similes of Homer, and whence drawn? Necessarily, as we have said, from the experience of his hearers: the every-day experience of a hardy, brave, semi-pastoral people, living in a mountain region along the seacoast, whose fortitude is oftener called in play by the wild beasts who plunder the fold than by "brazen Ares." Homer's heroes are warriors, but the clang of armor never sounds through his similes. Courage enough there is in them, — the courage of the herdsman, who, with his dogs, —

"rushes on a tawny lion from the corral, nor permits him to take his prey from the cattle, waking all night. But he, longing for flesh, strives, but gains naught, and the swift javelins are hurled in his face from strong hands, and burning brands fly, which he dreads though eager, and in the morn he goes away, vexed in heart." (Il. XI. 548.)

Evidently the encounter with lions is not an infrequent experience, if we may judge from the recurrence of the figure. It is used thirty-three times in the Iliad, and six times in the Odyssey, not including cases where the lion plays a secondary part, and so is otherwise classified. Ten cases of "like a wild boar" and five of "a wild beast" occur in the Iliad, as also five of a wolf. The allusions to cattle are eight in number in the Iliad, and five in the Odyssey. Goats and sheep occur about as often, and the whole relation of these subjects to each other may well be summed up in the answer of Achilles to Hector:—

"Hector, speak not to me of argument, as there can be no oaths between lions and men, nor can wolves and sheep have an accordant heart, but plot evil continually to another." (Il. XXII. 261.)

Now, in these most common and favorite figures, if anywhere, we may look for repetitions. Repetition was certainly not a literary sin in Homer's eyes. Certain phrases constantly recur, as "Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς," or "αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδηγίος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο."

Many a student gratefully remembers the six or eight lines, in the second book of the Iliad, which relate the message of the lying dream to Agamemnon, dictated first by Zeus to the dream, repeated by the dream to Agamemnon, and re-repeated as Agamemnon reports the vision to Nestor. So that it is scarcely an occasion for wonder if the minstrel brings out again to-day the simile which made so favorable an impression on yesterday's audience. Indeed, it has been said that he does so purposely, that the repetition of a well-known simile has the effect of a familiar ballad refrain on his hearers. And so here comes the lion again. But is it exactly the same lion again? Never once; of the twenty-two extended similes, which are more than the bare phrase "as a lion," or "as man-eating lions," no two are alike. They are not merely unlike in one or two words, they are different throughout. Just the amount of difference and likeness may best be seen by a comparison of the figure of the lion previously quoted with the one nearest resembling it:—

"He went like a mountain lion whom hunger sent among the flocks,

and his mighty heart bids him, tasting of the sheep, to go back to his dense lair, but even if he finds the herdsmen with dogs and spears keeping guard about the flocks, not even then without trial does he plan to go away, but either, leaping over, seizes one, or himself is struck among the first by a weapon from a swift hand." (Il. XII. 299.)

Or, taking a different theme, and turning from the mountains to the sea, compare these two similes: —

"The Argives shouted as loud as a wave on a lofty height, when Notus moves it, coming against a projecting crag which the waves of all the winds never leave whether they rise here or there." (Il. II. 394.)

"As when against a sounding crag, a wave of the sea rushes frequently, moved on by Zephyrus, and first it is crested on the sea, then breaking on the land it thunders loud, and rolling about the heights, swollen, it rises to a crest, and tosses back the foam." (Il. IV. 422.)

George Eliot somewhere says that the perception of difference amid general likeness requires much keener discrimination than the perception of likeness amid general diversity. Somewhat of this idea may be applied to the similes of Homer. None but a great genius could create such variety from such limited material. Cicero says of Archias: "Quoties ego hunc vidi, quum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum . . . dicere ex tempore; quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis et sententiis." But Homer, twenty times recalled, could repeat the same thing, "commutatis verbis et sententiis." Once he repeats an extended simile of a loose horse, not only for substance, but verbatim (Il. VI. 506; XI. 263). Twice occurs the simile: "Weeping as a black flowing spring, which down the steep rock pours the dark water" (Il. IX. 14; XVI. 3). Beyond these not one extended figure is repeated in the 15,698 lines of the Iliad, or the 12,118 lines of the Odyssey. Again and again, drawing on that narrow range, he brings always forth something fresh and new. The similes of Homer vary as the details of common experience vary.

It is an interesting task to bring before our eyes the audience of the minstrel from the figures drawn from their life. We have met the herdsmen, we may also find the farmer. With a few connecting links one might weave a pretty pastoral from the fragments scattered throughout these stately epics. We would begin in the spring-time, as the two Ajaxes, side by side, press on: —

"As in a field the dark red oxen turn up the clods of earth, having even mind, and about their sharp horns much sweat pours down, and only the polished yoke holds them apart and they cut the limit of the field." (Il. XIII. 703.)

We turn to the *Odyssey* to see the ploughman as he "homeward plods his weary way : " —

"And as when a man longs for his supper for whom all the day long two dark oxen drag the jointed plough through the fallow field ; yea and welcome to such a one the sunlight sinketh, so that he may get him to supper, for his knees wax faint by the way." (*Od.* XIII. 30.)

We hear the spring torrent sweep down : —

"As when a brimming river descends to the plain, swollen with snows from the mountains, filled to overflowing by the storms of Zeus, and it bears many a dry oak and many a fir, and spreads much mud on the fields." (*Il.* XI. 492.)

We rejoice with the farmer, in the breath of the kindly warm wind which does its best to repair the mischief to the fields : —

"As when the spring wind dries up a newly-watered field, and he who tills it rejoices." (*Il.* XXI. 346.)

Then, as the parching heats of summer come, our farmer, —

"from a spring of dark water, through orchards and gardens, guides a flood of water, having a spade in his hands, and throwing up bounds to the trenches, and as it flows, the pebbles beneath it are heaped up, and quick dropping down it babbles in a steep place, and goes too fast for him to guide it." (*Il.* XXI. 257.)

But somewhere in that orchard or garden plot is a vacant space where the gusty wind wrought havoc, —

"As a man raises a shoot of blooming olive in a solitary place, where abundant water gushes out, beautiful and blooming, and the breath of all the winds wave it, and it is loaded with white flowers. And the wind, coming suddenly with a great tempest, overturns it from the trench, and stretches it on the earth." (*Il.* XVII. 52.)

As summer passes we watch the fields of grain, —

"As dew on the fields of standing corn when the fields ripple." (*Il.* XXIII. 598.)

"As when Zephyrus moves the deep corn, coming and sweeping down quickly, and it nods with its ears." (*Il.* II. 144.)

And the little inclosure is not without its homely mishaps sometimes, as one of the similes bears witness : —

"As when an ass goes through the field, having been too strong for the children, a stupid thing on which many a cudgel is broken, and he grazes going through the thick corn, and the children beat him with staves, and their force is weak, and they drive him out quickly when he is satisfied with fodder." (*Il.* XI. 588.)

The harvest-time, too, receives its due note:—

“And as reapers opposite each other cut the swaths in the field of a rich man, of wheat or barley, and the trusses fall thick.” (Il. XI. 67.)

“As when from a broad winnowing shovel in a great threshing-floor, leap up the dark beans and peas beneath the swift blast and the force of the threshers.” (Il. XIII. 588.)

“As when one yokes broad-browed oxen to tread out the white barley in a well-made threshing-floor, and lightly it becomes fine under the hoofs of the lowing kine.” (Il. XX. 495.)

“As a wind bears the chaff through the sacred threshing-floor where men are threshing, when the fair-haired Demeter separates with blowing winds the wheat and chaff, and the chaff heaps begin to whiten.” (Il. V. 499.)

If all this pleasant pastoral seems lacking a final touch, if we look for figures in the foreground of our landscape, perhaps we may develop the idyllic element from a faint sketch which the master left us:—

“We cannot now talk to each other, from an oak or a rock, such things as a youth and a maid, a youth and a maid, talk to one another.” (Il. XIII. 26.)

Here is a simile which is for every age and clime; the broad-browed oxen and the jointed plough, the threshing-floor and the sickle, we know not. But “a youth and a maid, a youth and a maid,”—did Homer know how long these lines would hold their freshness?

It would take too much time to go over all the figures which show us the details of Homeric life. We have seen the men as herdsmen and farmers. As hunters, they pursue, with spears and arrows and swift dogs, the lion, the wild boar, and “the stag of ten.” The somewhat domesticated state of the dogs may be seen also, not only from the story of Argos, but from a simile in *Odyssey*, X. 215:—

“And as when dogs fawn about their master when he comes from the feast, for he always brings them fragments that soothe their mood.”

Fishing was done with a spear or net, but seems to be an avocation rather than a vocation. Sharp axes they had with which they felled and trimmed timber, either for the building of ships or houses. They tempered their iron—

“as when a smith dips an adze or an axe in chill water with a great hissing, when he would temper it, for hereby anon comes the strength of iron.” (*Od.* IX. 390.)

They bored their timbers with a great drill (Od. IX. 384), and built house walls of masonry, "shunning the violence of the winds" (Il. XVI. 212). Did those houses have gabled roofs? The comparison of the wrestlers to rafters (Il. XXIII. 712) would seem to point that way. We measure the wings of a "great eagle of Zeus" by the width of a rich man's doorway:—

"As wide as is the door of a well-roofed chamber of a rich man, well fitted and bolted, so far were his wings from tip to tip." (Il. XXIV. 317.)

From the fine arts the Iliad takes no figure, but in the Odyssey the goldsmith and the musician appear (VI. 280 and XXI. 400). The women spin and weave in the real world of the similes like the Homeric woman whom we know so well in the ideal world of the story:—

"Καλή τε μεγάλη τε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' εἰδνῖα."

We have not only the house mistress and her maidens, but "the honest working woman striving to gain a pittance for her children." And once more in the essentials of human nature we stand on common ground. As Patroclus stands weeping by Achilles, his hero addresses him:—

"Why do you weep, Patroclus, like a little girl, who, running to her mother, begs to be taken up, seizing her garment, and stops her, though busy, and, weeping, gazes at her that she may take her up." (Il. XVI. 7.)

Two other instances (Il. IV. 130 and VIII. 271) show that mothers and children have always been the same. A father, too, must have been more than the mere head of a clan, to bring out the force of the phrase so often used, "but he was mild as a father;" must have been loved, if we are to take as witness the simile in Odyssey, V. 394:—

"And even as when most welcome to children is the sight of a father's life, who lies in sickness and strong pains, long wasting away, some angry god assailing him, and to their delight the gods have loosed him from his bonds."

In fact, the picture which we get from the similes indicates a pretty strict monogamy, and a family life more in accord with our modern ideals than we shall find again in literature for many a century. And though Odysseus' "prudent Penelope" is an ideal sketch, the mothers and wives in the similes are probably drawn from life. One little touch is left to us of child life:—

"As when a child by the sands of the sea, making sand houses in

childishness, quickly destroys them with his hands and feet, amusing himself." (Il. XV. 362.)

But lest we should be filled with regret for so golden an age, and fancy that nothing but peace and good-will prevailed, at least in the smaller concerns of life, we give one glimpse at a neighborhood quarrel: —

"Like women who, being angered by heart-eating strife, reproach each other, going into the middle of the street, many words and to no purpose." (Il. XX. 252.)

Yet it was not merely in the things most closely affecting himself, his household, and his possessions, that the Greek found his illustrations. To all the world around him his eye and heart were open. The love of nature is, in us, a very modern feeling. But the Greek did not come to this sympathy by sophistication. He was born free. When Homer figured joy as "like dew on the ears of standing corn when the fields ripple," he was speaking to men to whom a field of rippling grain was not simply so much fodder and a dewdrop so much water. What modern poet could bring in so simply and unconsciously the graceful compliment of the sea-beaten warrior to the fair young princess to whom he knelt as a suppliant? —

"Never have mine eyes beheld such a one among mortals, yet in Delos once I saw as goodly a thing: a young sapling of a palm tree springing by the altar of Apollo. Yea, and when I looked thereon, long time I marveled in spirit, for never grew there yet so goodly a shoot from the ground, — even in such a wise as I wonder at thee, lady." (Od. VI. 160.)

Matthew Arnold says that "Homer invariably composes with his eye on the object." Certainly nowhere is this truer than in the similes. In striking contrast, as we shall see, to the poets of a later age, once embarked on a figure, he is swept on with it with little regard for aught else. The rush and roar of the storm and torrent carry him away. He forgets even the excitement of battle in the thunder of the wave on the crag, to which he is likening the war-cry of his combatants. Neither the wind nor the thunderbolt terrify him, for he feels himself with and not against them. Even a fire in the forest carries exultation with it; he ranges himself with the flames, and watches the thickets swept down, and the tall pines crashing, with the same fierce delight with which he says with Hector: "But I will go against him if his hands were like to fire. If his hands were like to fire and his strength

to glittering steel." Though a lamb is money, food, and clothing to him and his hearers, yet when the "crooked-clawed, bent-beaked eagle" swoops down upon the fold, his impulse is with the eagle. In the *Iliad* his birds are birds of prey, or migratory birds in dense flocks, or chattering daws and starlings. But in the *Odyssey*, "The bow-string rang sweetly to the touch like a swallow;" and once, —

"The brown, bright nightingale sings sweet, in the first season of the spring, from her place in the thick leafage of the trees, and with many a turn and trill she pours forth her full-voiced music" (*Od.* XIX. 518.)

The rainbow is mentioned twice. Mr. Gladstone thinks that the Homeric Greeks were color blind, since no mention is made of the colors of the rainbow in these allusions. Certainly the adjectives "dark blue" and "purple" are singular terms to apply to the rainbow. The explanation which is occasionally heard that the language lacked words to express distinctions actually visible is surely futile. Words are never far in the rear of things, and certainly so malleable a language as the Greek need never have lacked for simple distinctions of color. Yet the color sense of a people who spoke of the sea as wine colored and purple, that is, blood-red, must remain of doubtful value. Unquestionably the Greek love of beauty developed in the line of form rather than of coloring. At any rate, this blindness to color cannot be laid to Homer's traditional total blindness. No man who had not at some time seen, and seen well, could have written that famous passage, the despair of translators (*Il.* VIII. 555), which carries so clearly the sparkle and lucidity of a starlit night.

A few figures are noteworthy for their grotesqueness or the violence of the transition. For example, the comparison (*Od.* XXIV. 6) of the souls of the dead to bats "gibbering in a hollow rock" is so vivid as to be almost violent. The figure in *Odyssey*, XXI. 48, —

"And even as a bull roars that is grazing in the meadow, so mightily roared the fair doors smitten by the key," —

causes one to doubt whether the lubricating effect of oil, though well known on the human frame, had been applied to hinges. Fancy a modern author comparing the sleepless tossing of his anxious hero to the turning of a haggis before the fire. And though the skin of a dried onion is doubtless "smooth and glistening," he would be daring who would use it as a comparison to describe his hero's doublet.

The phrase "put on a stone tunic," for "to be stoned to death," is probably an old one, but it is a grim pleasantry enough. Sometimes, too, the comparison is so wide from the subject as to be unpleasant, as in the simile where Gorgythion, shot through the neck, and nodding from side to side, is compared to a heavy-headed poppy nodding in the wind. The most savage irony is found in *Iliad*, XVI. 745, where Cebriones, the charioteer of Hector, plunges from the chariot under the hoofs of the horses:—

"And the Achæans, laughing sweetly, said each one to his fellow: 'An easy man, how well he dives! If he were in the fishy deep this man would enrich many, diving for pearls, leaping from the ship, even if it be stormy. So easily now he dives from the horses in the plain. Verily, there are divers among the Trojans.'"

After all, the peculiarities of any author in any line are best brought out by comparison with some other author. The most natural comparison of Homer is, first of all, of course with Virgil in the *Æneid*. But in this examination there is very little satisfaction, since Virgil chose to follow his great master too closely. In all the *Æneid* there is scarcely a figure which is not, at least, modeled on one in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, in some cases being almost an exact translation. Here, accordingly, we find an exception to the rule which we have propounded, that an author's age may be reconstructed from his figures. Yet even here a close study reveals marked differences between the two. Though Homer composed with his eye on the object, and Virgil with his eye on Homer, yet the Roman was too genuine a poet to be a mere imitator, and through foreign forms and types breathes the spirit of his own age and personality. There is still the same, perhaps even a greater, separation between figure and narrative. Yet now the elaboration of the figure seems conscious. The delight of a storm or a fight with a lion could carry Homer away from his heroes. But though the subject and details were different, the feeling excited in the two cases was the same. When he alludes to a top, in the thick of the fray, it is only a passing illustrative reference. But when Virgil's frantic queen, maddened by poison, whirls through the city, it is

"as a top, whirling under a twisted lash, which eager boys spin in great curves about the empty halls. It is borne, started by the string, in wide curves, and the inexperienced crowd and youthful band are astonished and marvel at the flying boxwood, and lend their minds to the stroke." (*Æn.* VII. 378.)

A footnote in Cooper's *Virgil* falls under my eye as I write: "This simile, as Dr. Trapp observes, is the perfection of elegance." Exactly; but it is not only on another path, but on another plane from the subject, and the transition either way would be felt with a jar if Virgil carried us out of ourselves as Homer does. But Virgil depends on his audience to be masters of their own moods and make their own readjustment.

Local coloring, too, creeps in. Virgil's favorites, the bees, are no longer the wild bees of Homer, living in the hollow rock, but industrious and orderly tenants of hives. Virgil loves nature, but with the love of "retired leisure that in trim gardens takes its pleasure." Strive as he may, he cannot infuse life into his similes drawn from the unsubdued storm or sea. Odysseus, beaten and buffeted by Poseidon, on his shattered raft in the broad sea, is still a man, contending with a force too strong for him, indeed, but one which he comprehends. Æneas is tossed, helpless as a child, on an unknown and unfathomable mystery. So, also, pervading the similes, one feels always that the sea is Homer's comrade, while the attitude of the Roman in some subtle way recalls Stanley's African carrier, who sagely said that the Lord made fishes to go in water, and the sons of Adam on land, and that when the fishes came out and walked on the land it would be time for the sons of Adam to go on the water.

Socially and politically, too, the world was changed. An occasional poetical shepherd lad pipes on Virgil's hillside, but his day was that of Augustus and not of Cincinnatus, and the wood-cutter's axe and the dark red oxen are no longer a part of the life of freemen. Somewhere, too, with the rise of the "plantation system," the pleasant family life has disappeared, and with the loss of the free farmer and the simple home life, has risen the "ignobile vulgus." The only political similes of Homer are:—

"As doth the fame of a blameless king, one that fears the gods and reigns among many men and mighty, maintaining right, and the black earth bears wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, and the sheep bring forth and fail not, and the sea gives store of fish, and all out of his good guidance, and the people prosper under him." (Od. XIX. 108.)

"At the hour when a man rises up from the assembly and goes to supper, one who judges the many quarrels of the young men who seek to him for law." (Od. XII. 438.)

How different a picture, and how much of the stormy history of Rome is compressed into the figure from the *Æneid*:—

"And as when sedition arises in a great people, the base herd rage in spirit and already rocks and torches fly and rage supplies arms, then if by chance they see some man revered for honor and good deeds, they are silent and stand with open ears; he rules their minds by his words and guides their hearts." (*Æn.* I. 148.)

When we come to Virgil's great pupil, if we are to call him by his own term, we are confronted with a completely new problem. Apart from difference of topic a thousand things conspire to widen the gulf between Homer and Dante, not only in general treatment, but in the special case of the figures. In the first place, it seems hardly necessary to call attention to the opening which the wider horizon and more varied life of Dante's age gave to the sources of figure. He might draw, not only on mythology, which scarcely can be said to have existed for Homer; on history, which had not begun in Homer's day; on strange customs of far countries, which adventurous travelers had made as real to the eager citizens of Florence as the cliffs of Asia Minor, and the gray sea which broke on them, were to the Chians and Smyrnæans. Commerce, agriculture, handicraft, art, and science, all contributed their quota. To give but one or two examples of the extension of range in the source of simile, take these:—

"Nor could one write so quick an I or O." (*Inf.* XXIV. 150.)

"Who seest contingencies as human minds see that two oblique angles never can be in one triangle." (*Par.* XVII. 15.)

But with all allowance for difference of material, there seems to be a far more radical difference in the whole use of similes and metaphors, which deserves some study, both as to nature and cause. The line of direction, as has been said, in the use of simile, is from the less to the more familiar,—always so in the case of a poet whose story is of prime importance to him. Now the ideas which Homer has to convey are tangible, physical facts. They stand on the same plane with the simile, in forcing an entrance into the mind, and one is received as easily as the other. The figures have no mission save as heightening interest by ally-ing the hearer through his own experience to the narrative, and we know really no more of Idomeneus rushing through the ranks because he is compared to a wild boar. But Dante dealt with a world intangible and mysterious, the spiritual world, whereof we must always speak at best in signs and symbols. At every step he must make clear some new fact of that world, and the only medium of communication between himself and his hearers was through the visible concrete facts of the material world around

them. In the similes we are always made to see something in the subject which otherwise might have escaped us, and often the analogy given there is our only means of comprehending a most cherished idea. Dante's figures are not mere ornaments; they are an essential part of the fabric. Hence, while one might safely cut out every simile in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* and leave scarcely a scar on the story of the siege of Troy or the wanderings of Odysseus, one can scarcely cut a figure from the *Divina Commedia* without destroying something essential to the whole. And in like manner this intimate connection makes a separate examination of the figures themselves almost impossible.

The place of metaphor, too, is much larger. Where the whole poem is one grand metaphor, it may well be trusted that the reader who can unravel the whole can master the details. The majority of the similes, too, are shorter, generally of not more than three lines, and much less elaborate. No detail of the simile is introduced which will not tend to fasten the thing to be impressed. Often, also, in the discussion of theological mysteries, the similes pass beyond the limit of mere illustration, and amount to a reasoning by analogy.

Before we go on to further examination of the subject-matter of the similes, it would perhaps be well to consider whether there is any apparent cause which might tend to produce so wide a variation in the use of figure since the days of Homer, and even of Virgil. Difference due to personality alone we must disregard, or reason in a circle, since our only clew to Homer's personality is through these very poems, and they the most objective of all literature. If race characteristics are to be taken into account, Virgil and Dante should differ from Homer. But there is one possible modifier worthy of serious consideration, — the influence of Christianity.

Now it is doubtless true that there is a strong tendency, and one often unphilosophically manifested by the believers in the mission of the Christian religion, to ascribe to its influence results which might more fairly be traced to a multiplicity of other causes. And it might seem the last and crowning height of this unreason to credit a change in the use of simile to the influence of Christianity.

But apart from the influence of a Christian subject, apart from the precedence it gives to the unseen and spiritual which necessitates, as we have said, the use of figurative language, the Oriental type of thought which Christianity carried with it cannot be

disregarded. Christianity is an Oriental religion ; its sacred books are Oriental literature ; its home was in Judæa, and even its great apostle to the Gentiles was brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel. Now figures are the native speech of the Orient. We are coming to recognize in theology that dogma has been wrested from the Scriptures in many cases simply by the incapacity of the Western mind to comprehend an Eastern mode of thought. Open the Old Testament anywhere, and you can scarcely put a finger down without covering a metaphor or a simile. And of Christianity's great Founder we are told that "without a parable spake he not unto them." So, wherever the Christian religion spread, spread the metaphors in which its faith was clothed, — the vine and the branches, the Good Shepherd and his flock, and not only these specific figures, but with them the habit of figurative speech. For twelve centuries, in Dante's day, a literature of this sort had been spreading, till it reached the limits of the civilized world. It dominated thought and speech as no other body of foreign literature ever did, since the priests of its religion guarded the learning of that world. Its phraseology must be heard wherever the church was, and the church was coextensive with the state. Its line had gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world.

So we need not wonder if, despite the kinship between Dante and Virgil, we find a wider gulf between them in their dealing with figures than between the Greek and the Roman.

Leaving, however, general principles, certain curious facts impress us. One is conscious of having entered a whole new field in the employment of mental phenomena as similes. The simple, natural affections, the mother's care for a child, the grief of a woman over a dead lord, Homer's hearers knew. The world of dreams was then what it is now, —

"As when in a dream one cannot overtake a fugitive, and one cannot escape, nor the other pursue." (Il. XXII. 199.)

Yet in all the Iliad and Odyssey there are but two similes drawn from mental action, —

"As when the mind of a man leaps up, who, going over much ground, thinks with providence be it here or there, and plans many things." (Il. XV. 80.)

"Their ships are as swift as the flight of a bird or as a thought." (Od. VIII. 28.)

Almost the same expression of the swiftness of thought occurs in Par. X. 34 : —

"But of the leap I recked not, save first as one notes the coming of a thought."

But what a change in mental habits is seen in such a figure as this, —

"And as by feeling more delight in doing well, a man from day to day may see his own virtue advance, so I became aware that my gyration with that of heaven had increased its arc." (Par. XVIII. 58.)

For the most part, the use of figures drawn from mental and spiritual experience is in the illustration of other such experience. There is yet another step to be seen in a later poet, when the mental is used to illustrate the physical.

Another turn of the wheel, and we may try a new comparison between one great master and his successors. What must Milton's figures be? If our theory of the effect of Christianity and of Biblical literature be trustworthy, here is an opportunity to test it. For all the influences emanating from Christianity which possessed Dante were tenfold strong about Milton. The language of Puritanism became a jest from its complete domination by Scripture models. And Milton, too, should surely show by the same law the complete interfusion of subject and figure. But Milton's similes are as discrete as Homer's. They are long, elaborate, inconsequent, unrelated to the subject. They are loaded with historical and mythical allusions. If he wishes to describe a numerous host, he tells us not merely that they are thick as sedge, but

"As scattered sedge

Afloat, when with fierce winds, Orion armed,
Hath vexed the Red Sea coast, when waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry.

When with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcasses
And broken chariot wheels." (Par. Lost, 1-304.)

But the sedge was not more or less thick in the Red Sea at the Exodus than at any other time. To his purpose all this history has simply no pertinency. It seems even less explicable than Homer's digressions, since those can usually be accounted for on the principle of the association of ideas. Why should Milton revert to this type of simile? Simply because he was, as Edmund Scherer says, "a great poet with a Salmatius or a Grotius bound up with him." Milton's metaphors are abundant, forcible, and Hebraic, or perhaps better, Christian. His similes are formed presumably on classic models. And the association of ideas which

carried Homer from the charge of a wild boar to the crash of the thickets carried Milton from the sedge of a reedy sea to the Israelites fleeing before the chariots of Egypt. To Milton this was a natural train of thought. His fund of learning was as real and obvious a world to him as the material world was to Homer. And he was not to test his figures before an immediate audience. The similes of Homer were to interest his hearers as he sang, the similes of Dante were to elucidate to the reader certain difficult ideas; but Milton's similes were to be the ornaments of a great and premeditated classic. The result is such as to call to mind once more Scherer's criticism on *Paradise Lost*, that it is "at once the greatest and most insupportable poem in existence."

When Homer and Virgil describe Diana and her nymphs (*Od.* VI. 100; *Æn.* I. 498), though we had never heard of Diana we should see the chorus move light along the mountain top, and the goddess, tall and fair, above them all. Dante's nymphs dance across our vision and pass. But when we meet the same figure in Milton (*Par. Lost*, IX. 386), we turn industriously to the classical dictionary. We meet, with a feeling of recognition, gunpowder, the telescope, and the American Indian, but in general the similes present to us, not Milton's age, but Milton, and, alas, sometimes the scholar rather than the poet. Yet sometimes we meet with a figure clear, simple, and unweighted, which, while it recalls Homer, shows at the same time how far the world has traveled from him:—

"As one who long in populous city pent,
Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
Forth issuing on a summer morn to breathe,
Among the pleasant villages and farms
Adjoined, from each thing met conceives delight,
The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or kine,
Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound."

(*Par. Lost*, IX. 449.)

Homer loved nature unconsciously because he was one with it. Milton loved it consciously because they were two.

The comparison between the figures of Dante and Milton has been made by Macaulay, and on any point where Macaulay's conclusions cannot be contested his expression of those conclusions cannot be equaled.

But it is when we start from our own age and standpoint that we really come to comprehend the characteristics of other ages. To be sure, the differences are often so great that the works we are comparing seem completely heterogeneous. But since Tenny-

son has chosen to speak of his "Idylls of the King" as "faint Homeric echoes," and since, also, his use of distinct simile is singularly frequent for the present day, a brief comparison may repay us. We have spoken of the fact that, with Dante and with subjective poetry, we begin to meet with illustrations of mental phenomena by other such phenomena. In Tennyson we find that the process has gone yet further, that the development of mental self-consciousness has rendered it possible to illustrate the physical by the mental. That is to say, the mental is the more familiar to our age. We may never have experienced, or even seen, a long and doubtful physical contest, but we can picture it to ourselves from the analogy of what we do know : —

"For he seemed as one
That all in later, sadder age begins
To war against ill uses of a life,
But these from all his life arise and cry,
Thou hast made us lords, and canst not put us down."

(Garetha and Lynette.)

The chief difference, however, is not in subject, but in treatment. For we might say that with Tennyson simile had ceased to be a comparison of things, and become a comparison of relations. They have the double purpose of ornament, like Homer's, and of elucidation, like Dante's. However detailed, the details are chosen for their bearing on the subject, and each is in itself a simile. As for example : —

"But at the flash and motion of the man
They vanished, panic stricken, like a shoal
Of darting fish that on a summer morn
Adown the crystal dyke at Camelot
Come slipping o'er their shadows on the sand.
But if a man who stands upon the brink
But lift a shining hand against the sun,
There is not left the twinkle of a fin
Betwixt the cressy islets, white in flower."

(Geraint and Enid.)

Or this from the Holy Grail : —

"For good ye are, and bad and like to coins,
Some true, some light, but every one of you,
Stamped with the image of the king."

The applicability of the latter lies not in the immediate resemblance of the knights to coins, as Homer would have used it, but in the characteristic of a common impress on a varying foundation. Homer's, Virgil's, Milton's details distract from the story, Dante gives us no details, but with Tennyson we find all the details, and

all bearing to the point. Nay, he even imports into the phenomena of nature in some subtle way the spirit which pervades the animate. His predecessors have used the moon to illustrate light or roundness. Tennyson says :—

“For all his was white
And colorless, and like *the withered moon*
Smote by the fresh beam of the springing east.”

(Passing of Arthur.)

The use of the one adjective, “withered,” has instantly changed all our associations with the simile. Homer’s “as a ripple from Zephyrus spreads over the sea newly rising, and the sea darkens under it,” is purely objective. Taken alone no one could conjecture what it might or might not illustrate. But one could almost see Modred with the slight wrong done him rankling in his narrow heart, when he reads :—

“As the sharp wind that ruffles all day long
A little bitter pool about a stone
On the bare coast.”

(Guinevere.)

But though it is always a temptation to reinforce the statement of one’s own conclusions by a wide citation of the cases from which the conclusions are drawn, these few examples must suffice to show how un-Homeric are the echoes in the similes of the Idylls.

Only brief mention need be made of the hyperboles of Homer, but they should not be entirely omitted. This figure, again, is native to the Orient but foreign to the genius of the Greek. It is always a violence to language, and violence is barbarian, not Hellenic. The beauty which the Greeks loved, as we have said, lay, not in warm coloring, but in pure and perfect proportion. Homer might, at most, say that Agamemnon “stood up weeping as a black flowing stream.” The Psalmist said, “Rivers of waters run down mine eyes.” To David Homer’s phrase would have seemed tame ; to Homer, David’s would be overdrawn and jarring.

But the few hyperboles which Homer uses are noteworthy for their very variety. “The iron tumult reached the brazen heaven,” or “They fought like fire, nor would you say the sun and moon were safe,” come in the thick of the fight. Achilles exclaims in the passion of his wrath :—

“But would, on the day that my mother bore me, the baleful blast of the storm-wind had carried me away to the mountain or the loud roaring sea, and there the wave had whelmed me, ere this came.” (Il. VI. 145.)

And in their distress the Achæans cry out to him, —

“Peleus is not your father, nor Thetis your mother, but the hoary sea begat you, or the steep rock.” (Il. XVI. 34.)

The *Odyssey* is pitched, for the most part, in a lower key; yet, in the generosity of his apology, the youth who had angered Odysseus at the games of Alcinous makes the sweeping retraction, —

“If aught grievous hath been spoken may the storm winds bear it away.” (Od. VIII. 408.)

And as Odysseus thinks of the suitors “whose outrage and violence reach even to the iron heaven,” while he stands as a beggar in his own house, the Greek moderation deserts him, and he cries out as a Hebrew might have done, —

“The couch of Odysseus, perchance, lies in lack of bedding and deep in foul spider webs.” (Od. XVI. 35.)

The Greek and the Hebrew are one in a sadness which dominates both in the presence of the mystery of death, and two in the solution : —

“As the race of leaves, so is the race of men. For the wind scatters the leaves on the ground, but the wood, blooming, brings forth others, and the spring season comes on; so the race of man groweth and fadeth.” (Il. VI. 146.)

“As for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting.” (Ps. ciii. 15–17.)

The brave old Greek turns suddenly from the blue sky and the dancing waves, from the simple joy of living for which, we are tempted to think, we would barter our own fuller mental life, to voice that most pathetic cry of his short-lived hero : —

“Easy to be captured are oxen and flocks; tripods may be gained and the yellow manes of horses, but the soul of man is not to be taken nor captured, when once it has crossed the fence of the teeth.” (Il. IX. 406.)

“What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?” (Mark viii. 37.)

In truth, though we have, for the most part, chosen to regard only the differences between our poets, the likenesses are not less noteworthy. The wave of the *Ægean* which whelmed the bark of Homer’s day curls, crested white with foam, like that in the “wide northern sea” which lay even beyond the bound of *Oceanus*, the ocean stream that girdled Homer’s world.

The same stars, the trees, the birds, the elemental forces of nature and the elemental feelings of the human heart, lay before the eyes of Greek, Roman, Florentine, and Englishman. Each saw clearly and spoke truly. In so far as men see things as they are, in so far as our vision lays hold of objective reality, the likeness must be manifest. But in so far as the object must always be brought within the limits of the subject and conditioned by it, must there be diversity. The likeness is as deep as the likeness of the whole human race, the diversity as wide as the diversity of their ages and lands, or that gulf which always will "divide the eternal soul from all beside," and from every other human soul.

"For every fiery prophet of old time,
And all the sacred madness of the bard
When God made music through them, could but speak
His music by the framework and the chord;
As ye have seen it, ye have spoken truth."

Homer lacks the subtlety and the spiritual insight of a later day. The world of his similes is neither wide nor deep. But it has the force and freshness of the air of the isles of Greece and of the "Juventus Mundi." "Certainly his poetry has all the energy and power of the poetry of our ruder climates. But it has, besides, the pure lines of an Ionian horizon, the liquid clearness of an Ionian sky."¹

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"REMBRANDT AS EDUCATOR."²

ABOUT a year and a half ago there appeared in Leipzig a book of moderate size, which bore the strange title "*Rembrandt als Erzieher*." Stranger, much stranger, than the title were its contents. It held up before all Germany the great Dutch painter as an educator, not only in art, but also in science, in politics, and in general culture. It was read by everybody, so that it reached its twenty-fifth edition within a year, and is now approaching its fortieth. Some said Germany would need a century to appreciate it fully, so profound it appeared to them; others reviewed it between sunset and sunrise, and came to the conclusion that so

¹ Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer*.

² *Rembrandt als Erzieher*. Von einem Deutschen. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld. 1890.

shallow and brilliant a book had not been published for many a day ; still others parodied it with little taste and less success. In short, the pamphlets, criticisms, and articles on the Rembrandt book are now legion, but the unknown¹ author continues to reissue his stirring pages as heretofore.

Stirring, suggestive, stimulating, — these are qualities which the book is clearly proved to possess by the very commotion it caused. Nor can there be the least doubt as to the author's extraordinary versatility ; for he deals, if not always profoundly, at least cleverly, with many of the great general problems of life, as well as with many questions of a more transitory nature. His manner of thinking, too, is independent and original enough to startle men of both more and less than the ordinary Philistine sedateness. His style, moreover, is quite different from that which one is so apt to expect in a German book on serious subjects. It is clear and full of force, but somewhat marred by the author's tendency to be sententious and paradoxical.

Whatever the intrinsic value of the book may finally prove to be, it is worth knowing something about, even to non-Germans, and even at this late day. The disagreement among the critics need not disturb us ; it can, in fact, only add to our interest in so odd a production. Nor need we ask how long the book will continue to be read, and whether some future pedagogue or pedant will class it among the hundred best or not. Its significance for us lies in the circumstance that it has stirred the thinking men of our time ; that the questions which it discusses are such as still, or better, *again*, interest our day and generation ; in short, that it is one of the signs of the times and the civilization we live and move in. This has been, for me at least, the central point around which my reflections on "Rembrandt as Educator" have grouped themselves ; and it is with this consideration in mind that I venture to give the reader some notion of the general character of the book.

It has already been stated that the author holds up Rembrandt as a universal educator or civilizer. The Table of Contents would seem to divide the book into five parts, or chapters : — Rembrandt as Educator : I. In German Art ; II. In German Science ; III. In German Politics ; IV. In German Culture ; V. In German Humanity ; but the pages, about three hundred in all, run on from cover to cover without any larger break than ordinary sections with small marginal headings.

¹ The author's name is now said to be Langbehn.

It would be difficult to tell which strikes the reader more at the outset, the ambitious scheme of mapping out a plan of education in every department of life for the very nation to whom so many others are wont to look for guidance in educational matters, or the selection of Rembrandt for the educator of that nation. And such a book from a German! Nor was it written in irony, but in dead earnest. Listen to the opening sentence: "It has by this time come to be an open secret that the intellectual life of the German people is at present in a state of slow, or, as some think, rapid decay." And again, later: "Pure wine and pure culture have now grown scarce in Germany."

Certainly, one might say, if this is so, an educator or a reformer is sorely needed. But why Rembrandt? For much though we may all admire Rembrandt and his art, who before our author has ever thought of him in the capacity of a universal reformer? Perhaps nobody. And, more than that, who will so think of him after our author? Surely nobody, if Max Lautner is right in assigning to Ferdinand Bol all the choicest paintings that have thus far passed for Rembrandt's. But, be the historical Rembrandt who he will, our author's Rembrandt — and this it is important for us to keep in mind — serves him in reality only as the symbol or personification of all those elements which are at present wanting or inactive in the civilization of Germany. Rembrandt is to him, above all else, the national artist *par excellence*, and the high-priest of individualism. National art, however, and individuality are what Germany now needs most. Rembrandt is the standard by which her present civilization is measured, weighed, and — found wanting. All her boasted attainments are here thrown in the balance against a man, against a fully developed, rounded-out personality; and the question is not "What is the value of personality in terms of our so-called civilization?" but "What is our civilization worth in units, so to speak, of personality?" The author is a hero-worshiper, and his hero, Rembrandt or a Rembrandt to come, is to lead the Germany of to-day in his way, as others of the past have led it in theirs. What Luther once did as a popular religious reformer, what Lessing accomplished as the foremost scientific critic, what Bismarck achieved as the founder of a new political empire, — all that is now to be further developed with Rembrandt, the artist, the man, for a guide and leader! *In hoc signo vinces.*

So much for the author's reformer. What is there now to reform in German life? It is evident that this amounts to asking,

What are the author's own views in matters of politics, science, philosophy, art, education, and religion? Of each of these I shall try to give a brief account.

To begin, then, with politics and kindred subjects.

The title-page tells us that the book was written "by a German," and this very term *German*, as employed in several important passages, is significant. It marks what we may call the Pan-Germanic character of the book. Thus, Amsterdam is spoken of as a Low-German city, and so is London. America is called a Low-German colony, and Emerson a Low-German philosopher. Heligoland, the author says, remained in the family when it was transferred from England to Germany; and even the Venetian Republic, in her palmyest days, is claimed as a Low-German state, because it was founded by Germanic fugitives.

Peculiarities like these, if stated as baldly as above, might do the author injustice. They might make him appear as given to fanciful and fantastic ways of expressing himself, even as a sophist. But, although I admit that his love of art, and all that is artistic, does at times mislead him into what is merely artificial, I look upon this Pan-Germanic feature of the book differently. It seems to me to be the legitimate outcome of two very potent tendencies in our present civilization, namely, historicalism and nationalism, each taken in the better sense of the term. Everybody knows to what a pitch the national feeling of the Germans has risen since the Franco-Prussian war, and hardly anybody is ignorant of the fact that the love of historical research has not only kept pace with it, but has also served to intensify it. Where such research has not buried itself in a mass of merest details, where its vision has not been narrowed, as too often it has been, so that *German* has come to be coextensive in its meaning with *Prussian*, there its horizon has often been enlarged and widened so that *German* has come to stand for *Germanic*. While, on the one hand, therefore, this Pan-Germanism distinguishes our author from the narrow nationalists and Chauvinists of our day, it also distinguishes him, on the other hand, from those wild and vague cosmopolites of the age of Lessing, Herder, and Goethe. We find him and all his ideals firmly rooted in what is historical; and clearly does he recognize the superiority of historical ideals over others. For such ideals, and such only, have that inner continuity and consistency which insures them life and permanence, which guards the idealist from the disappointments and reactions to which the visionary, with his ideals, is so apt to fall a prey.

In short, the author's point seems to be this: historicalism and nationalism must not shrivel into sectionalism by ignoring the brotherhood of men; nor must cosmopolitanism overleap itself by disregarding the ties of nationality and race.

Hence that intense patriotism which pervades the whole volume; hence the love of whatever tends to preserve the national character in its integrity and purity, the love of all that is simple, staid, rural, natural; but hence also that strong dislike of some of the leveling and disintegrating forces in modern life, a dislike which could not but arouse the animosity of certain radicals. To be willing, nay, eager to *include* in the term *German* all that was originally only Germanic might pass with them, but the converse, to be just as eager to *exclude*, or at least regard as virtually foreign, what was originally other than Germanic, namely, the Jewish, the Romance, and the Slavonic elements of the German empire, — this, the radicals say, savors of anti-Semitism. And so it would seem. But he must be rash who, knowing aught of the great gulf that nature has fixed between the Teuton and the Hebrew, and seeing how acute the race problem can become, even in an all-absorbing republic like ours, would at once fall in with this condemnation. The author gives abundant evidence that he regards a man as a man, and a gentleman as a gentleman, no matter what his nationality or race may be. He also simply states what thousands of observers will gladly admit, when he says that only the good elements of two nations can act on each other with mutual benefit, and that the bad in their intercourse will only grow worse. The fact here recognized seems to be that these problems of race and nationality *cannot* be solved without friction, but that they *may* possibly be solved without ill-will and blind barbaric hatred.

Closely connected with this Pan-Germanic tendency appears to be the author's dislike of the city of Berlin. But just how much of it seems to spring from his aversion to the large non-Germanic element of its population, how much from his dislike of large cities in general as the rallying places of all the forces that make against individualism and tend to reduce the masses to a dead level of anonymity and irresponsibility, how much from still other causes, I dare not decide. As Berlin is a city with a large Hebrew population, containing now, as some think, more Jews than all France, it would be singular if the author's distinction between the new and the old population of the German capital did not, to some extent, run parallel with the distinction between

the Hebrew and the non-Hebrew. However, there are other reasons why he criticises Berlin, and we shall perhaps revert to them when we come to speak of his views on general culture. Here it is only necessary to mention that he distinguishes between the old or genuine citizens of the capital and the new or foreign, just as he distinguishes between Zelter and Nicolai, who stand respectively for either class, — Zelter, the friend of Goethe, and the enemy of all false culture ; and Nicolai, the enemy of Goethe, and the friend of all false culture.

After these remarks, no one at all acquainted with German politics will suspect our author of any leaning towards the more radical parties. *Fortschritt*, the party of progress, as well as *Freisinn*, the more pronounced liberals, fares ill at his hands. He believes with Bismarck that there is something nihilistic about the so-called progressive party, and "Nihilism," he says, "is that Slavonic or Oriental hereditary disease which in Eastern Prussia has been palliated by German influences into the negativism of the *Fortschrittspartei*." In his opinion, Lasker, once the celebrated leader of the liberalists, was in politics what Gutzkow, a mere shadow of Lessing, was in literature. In fact, the whole conception of liberty and liberalism which these two political parties represent is condemned. It is too Oriental, too little like the Western, the Dutch idea of liberty, the only one which our author accepts : "Not liberty as in Austria or Poland, but liberty as in the Netherlands, must be the watchword of to-day."

Especially interesting to Americans are the author's reflections on aristocracy, democracy, and social distinctions in general. The curious and significant thing in them I find to be this, that, although it would be easy to select half a dozen passages on democracy which could not but vex an American, it would be difficult to find even one on aristocracy that would not please him. In other words, I believe that the author has here gone to extremes in making too great a distinction between democracy and aristocracy : his *democracy* too often stands for *rabble*, for *vulgarity*, which even Americans hate ; his *aristocracy*, too often for *the select*, for *high character*, which even Americans love. If taken thus, how many are there that would not agree with the author when he says that "democracy is a body or trunk that is looking for a head ; and hence it so often acts as if it had no head ; hence, too, it so easily finds a head, be it a demagogue or a Cæsar" ? or when he says that "the best ally of aristocracy is the people" ? or that fashion is democratic, but style, aristocratic ?

or even, that votes ought to be weighed, not counted? For, surely, we have seen that kind of democracy looking for a head, and finding it easily, too, in the person of a Dennis Kearny, for example, and losing it as easily again, because his vote (by which I mean his vulgar tirades) was weighed against that of a more aristocratic head, and found too light.

Much that is said on this subject is worth pondering. The author is too intelligent not to see that the democratic tendency of our age is, in the main, genuine, and the natural reaction against ages of false and perverted aristocracy. But precisely because it is a reaction, we might do well to ask ourselves whether there is not reason to fear that the pendulum may now swing too far the other way. Just as America, with its enormous natural resources, has fostered a false love of wealth which so often ends in slavery to "the almighty dollar," so has its absolute social, political, and religious freedom given rise to a false notion of democracy, which vaunts itself in an inordinate love of popularity and applause, and which is fast growing into a national weakness. Both traits are vulgar; both, we admit, are far from being aristocratic; but both, we maintain, are equally far from being truly democratic, for true democracy and true aristocracy are next-door neighbors. Nor is our author ignorant of this fact. Indeed, we need not even take the trouble to read between his lines; we need but compare all that is said in them about the ideal aristocrat in order to find that this aristocrat is practically identical with Theodore Parker's ideal democrat, who takes democracy to include not merely the claim: "I am as good as you are;" but also the admission: "You are as good as I am." The passage in the Rembrandt book which, more than any other, will bear me out in this view, is a very striking one. Speaking of ancient Venice as the representative aristocracy, and of our republic as the representative democracy, the author says: "Moltke's physical and mental resemblance to old Venetian doges we have already remarked upon. On the other hand, an American has said very aptly of this hero: 'He has properly a New England face.' Industrial and commercial Moltkes, however, there have always been in North America, as is well known. Thus, then, the Low-German democracy and aristocracy meet again in one and the same type, or, if you please, in one and the same point."

What has been said of the author's discussion of the relative merits of aristocracy and democracy, namely, that his preference for aristocracy is largely due to his accepting the least attractive

definition of democracy, applies, in some degree, also to his reflections on the monarchical form of government as compared with the republican. Monarchism is defended on an ideal basis, and in one place Germany is even supposed to be the natural ally of monarchism, on the ground of an uncertain etymological connection between *Volk* and *folgen*. All that needs to be said, and at present can be said, on this question is, that if hereditary princes had more uniformly been the *first* and best among the people, according to the derivation of the title of *prince*, believers in republican government would not now be racking their brains about the surest methods of electing the *first* and best for their presidents. For it is the *best* (*ἀριστος*) that both monarchists and republicans are after, and the *best* that both so seldom secure.

Even those who do not agree with the author on the forms through which the political life of the Germans would find its fullest expression must admit that some of his remarks on this subject are excellent. He is far from being a "reactionary," in the German political sense, though he is conservative; and conservative means with him conserving only that which is great. He holds that aristocracy and liberalism, if both are healthy, counterbalance each other's deficiencies and mistakes; and hence that nations who are naturally disposed to be conservative, like the Germans, should be governed liberally; that a liberal nation, however, like the American, ought to be governed conservatively. As an artist, he looks upon the state as a work of art, and upon modern politics as an executive art in distinction from the fine arts and others. The mission of the statesman is with him by no means an easy one; indeed, it is in one sense the most difficult and the highest imaginable, because it means "taking things as they are." "What Shakespeare defined as the supreme task of the artist, namely, to do justice both to moderation and to passion, is also the task of every statesman, just because, and in so far as, he is an artist." "To body forth the inner life of a nation in visible forms and institutions, this is the business of the statesman, and, like every other artist, he cannot accomplish it without studying nature; he *must* at least study human nature in the national character of his countrymen." And here again the author seems to touch upon a fundamental and valuable distinction between two classes of men with whom America has been blessed and cursed in turn, and between whom the people only too frequently fail to distinguish, — the statesman and the politician, the former studying his nation's character with a view to improving it

and enhancing its virtues ; the latter, with a view to preying upon its weaknesses.

How thoroughly the author himself understands his countrymen appears from his criticisms on German home politics and home affairs generally. The point most likely to interest foreigners is the importance which the author attaches to that well-known difference between the north and the south of Germany, on the one hand, and between the east and the west, on the other ; the former being in general the same as the distinction between Low-Germans and High-Germans, and the latter that between Prussia and her acquired territory. The author believes that, for several decades past, both the south and the east have enjoyed quite their due share of influence on the intellectual and political development of Germany, and that now the power of the north-west ought to predominate. The broad use of *German* meets us again : "Holland," it is said, "lies outside of the political Germany of to-day, but for that very reason it can serve as the Archimedean point from which to start the intellectual life of Germany." The Netherlands and the northwestern portions of Germany, with their ancient native love of freedom which sweeps through their annals and historical records as constantly as the sea-breezes across their plains, are to balance those tendencies which are more specifically Prussian and South-German. If Prussia, with its love of soldiery, has emphasized external centralization, it is the distant North and Northwest which has always insisted on internal organic union. Witness the United Netherlands, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Sweden and Norway, the "undivided" provinces of Schleswig-Holstein. Prussia need not, nay, it dare not, yet lay down the *Korporalstab*, but she must soon adorn it with the laurel garland of peace and art. Prussia, after absorbing all Lower Germany, should now learn from those whom it conquered. *Græcia capta sævum cepit victorem*. Statesmanship, too, has more uniformly flourished among the sober and practical sons of the North than among the highflown Suabian philosophers at the beginning of this century. "To preserve the continuity of the national life, — this is the point in question. The problem of the present hour consists, not in fetching human rights down from the skies, as was once attempted, but in digging popular, national rights out of the earth."

There are many other questions of a more or less political character on which the author touches now and then ; and there are

scores of very clever, pithy, and profound remarks that are worth quoting, but can find no place here. Only one more passage I will cite by way of summing up, and then proceed to the author's views of science and philosophy. After quoting the words of Frederick the Great, "I am tired of reigning over slaves," our author says: "It is true, the Germans are now no longer slaves; but to say that they are really free men would be saying too much. Intellectually as well as politically, Germany has not yet taken the step that leads from determinism to freedom."

As regards, now, the intellectual, moral, and spiritual condition of the German people, let us first recall that our author is above all a lover of art and an enthusiastic individualist. Hence neither the narrow sectionalist, nor the vague cosmopolite; neither the easy-going South-German, with his lax ideas of political order and state sovereignty, nor the rigid, inartistic Prussian, with his exaggerated sense of order and system, could satisfy the political and social ideals of the Rembrandt author. But this also prepares us to find in him an enemy of everything that is mechanical in the fields of science, morals, and religion. Indeed, the term mechanical explains everything here. For if *art* and *individualism* are the keys which unlock to us the author's sympathies, *mechanical* is the word which will account for most of his antipathies. Two remarks of his on Aristotle will make this clearer. The first reads as follows: "Swedenborg says somewhere in his exquisite allegorical manner, and with almost more than Dante's brevity and aptness, that the spirit of Aristotle appeared to him and said: 'Heavy, but rational.' Aristotle is the intellectual father of all that we now call science, and thus something of the character of Aristotle has passed over into science; it is rational, but it is heavy too. Science does not speak in those clear, hearty tones which are characteristic of the pre-Aristotelian Greek culture, as well as of every other national culture when it is in the ascendancy. To those tones it ought to return, and it can and must do so without giving up its rationality." The second passage is of similar import: "Aristotle has been called the secretary of nature, but Sophocles, and every genuine artist, is more; he is the son of nature, and therefore her heir. Of course, the son and heir is to profit from the records which his mother's secretary has kept; this is not only his right, but also his duty. Nevertheless, the son must always remain the lord, and the steward his servant. To create and to register are two different things. Shakespeare wrote tragedies, and Aristotle rules on tragedies."

We see not only that the author means to be historical, but also that he does not mean to underestimate the value of the so-called drudgery of science. On the contrary, his protest is directed only against the misuse or perversion of it, against one of the commonest among intellectual and moral weaknesses, that of mistaking the means for the end, and making one's self a slave to a passion instead of making that passion one's servant. It is the gospel of bigoted and slavish specialism with its chief apostles, a certain type of the German professor, that he protests against. And in this protest many who have seen something of the woodenness and pedantry of such professors will no doubt join him, whatever they may think of his criticisms of Dubois-Reymond, Ihering, Helmholtz, and Ranke.

The mechanical conception of the universe, says the author, "is a doctrine for impoverished souls, for those poor souls who pine in the purgatory of specialism; but even purgatory is fortunately only a transitory state, and even impoverished souls may at some later time enter the paradise of art." Specialism is but a younger brother of scholasticism; it is that modern mania of "sniffing" at everything and at anything, the mania which fancied that it was enriching the world when it discovered Goethe's washing-lists and Schiller's waistcoat. Its most radical defect is that it loses sight of the whole, that it divides and subdivides things, and thus produces an unfortunate dualism and strife in the human soul, which, above all else, ought to be one and at one with itself. Hence it has come about that the specialists of to-day are what the priests were of old — the sworn enemies of all liberal and truly human culture. "The professor," says the author in another place, and with something of Heine's facetiousness, "is the national disease of Germany, and the present education of youth is a kind of Bethlehemish slaughter of the innocents; these two truths cannot be repeated often enough. At present, the German professor actually looks down upon the people, and the people look up to the professor. It ought to be just the other way."

The "mechanizing" tendencies which in the departments of science are so likely to be cultivated by specialists and professors often find a corresponding encouragement in the realms of art through our modern museums and art exhibitions, with their curators, and æstheticists, and connoisseurs. Here, too, a halt must be called lest knowledge of and about works of art be taken for art itself, lest imitation transplant originality, lest art, in other words,

lose its chief characteristic — individuality. There is, our author thinks, in the present movement of the industrial arts, with all their schools and exhibitions, too much of the spirit of the doctrinaire, just as there was too much of this spirit in the political movements of 1848; too much, also, that is trivial and too little that is genial.

Two great dangers there are which constantly threaten art and artists. The one is overmuch system and discipline; the other, a contempt for discipline. The one leads to triviality, to mechanical, professorial Philistinism; the other, to conceited lawlessness. The one is founded on a wrong conception of the difference between science and art, or a total ignorance of that difference; the other, on a mistaken idea of what genius is. "Art is individuality reflecting the world," and the honor of the artist consists in remaining true to himself under all circumstances. Art should therefore be personal, local, as it was in Greece, where it grouped itself around the local temple. "In science, which is international, the Germans and the Japanese may agree; in art, however, which is either born of national, local individuality, or not born at all, they will never agree." "In art, where individuality is everything, centralization is nothing — nay, worse than nothing, it is ruin." "What we call disorganization in politics, namely, the total dissipation of forces over many small centres, is in art organization."

But to say that art suffers from too great a centralization of its works and schools, and from excessive discipline and system in schooling its disciples, is a very different thing from saying that genius shall be exempted from *self*-discipline or may with impunity disregard the laws to which other intellectual and moral beings are amenable. It was at the time of Carlyle's death, I remember, that many found themselves somewhat suddenly undeceived in respect to their notions of the nature of genius. Such definitions as "genius is an infinite capacity for work, or for painstaking," almost shocked us by their prosaic sound. And passages like the following from the author have no doubt startled others: "Whoever regards genius as an inexplicable factor which interrupts the course of the world, is like the savage who takes the white man to be a conjurer because he uses a gun. There is only a difference of degree, not an essential difference, between genius and the ordinary man. There are exceptional men, but only in respect to the quantity, not in respect to the quality, of their gifts. Humanity is graded step by step from genius down to a Kotzebue.

... There is nothing that could be more antagonistic to the nature of true genius than an unclear visionariness. It is time to free ourselves from this error. Feeling, and even creative feeling, can just as little produce a painting as the manufacturer of colors. Both do nothing but furnish the materials with which the artist works. And his activity, if genuine, will always be composed of two factors, warm feeling and cool reflection. Mental self-control is much more a sign of real genius than an uncontrolled fancy. In fact, it is this self-control which distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian."

Turning, now, to the author's ideas of education and general culture, we find that these, too, are inspired by his love of art and individualism, and his hatred of perverse science and mechanism. As he touches upon the present confusion among the Germans in respect to their notions of educational reform, he hopefully quotes the words of a modern poet: —

"If chaos is here,
Creation is near."

But we know that so far chaos unfortunately prevails, and neither humble petitions from below, nor martial lectures from above, delivered by a dashing young emperor, have wrought any perceptible change. The first step, says our author, towards a healthier condition of things, should be to teach that individuality and insight are worth more than criticism and learning. German education is at present too intellectual: it does not develop the whole man; it neglects only too frequently the best in him, his character. The great intellectual and moral improvements in the national character which, as it was hoped, would follow the military and political victories of the Franco-Prussian war, have not even begun to show themselves. "So far, the defeat at Jena in 1806 has improved the Germans morally more than the victory of Sedan in 1870, for he who is capable of learning at all, learns more through ill-fortune than through good." Nor does the author believe the final result of the so-called *Kulturkampf* to have been beneficial to true culture.

The proper and, indeed, only object of education, he says, is to teach a man to do that with full consciousness which the best, the most characteristic, and the deepest impulses of his nature urge him to do instinctively. The educator, therefore, is the advocate, so to speak, of man's better nature.

Moreover, mankind is not to be educated *en masse*, but, as far as possible, individually. And from that point of view, Lessing's

"Education of the Human Race" must be regarded as more ingenious than true and natural, as well as unhistorical and dogmatic.

Another important point which, in the author's opinion, is too frequently overlooked by educators, is the care of the body. More than mere military drill is wanted. "The English of to-day possess, in their fondness for sport, something of the ancient Hellenic life. They are intellectually and physically better trained than the Germans. Above all, the Germans should take care not to bloat their bodies with too much beer-drinking. . . . Once before in their history, in the age immediately preceding the Thirty Years' War, they were known to stunt their intellectual and moral powers by too much beer. 'Am I to marry a sponge?' asks Portia of her waiting-maid Nerissa, when the latter proposes to her to marry a German. If instead of the 50,000 taverns which are now in Prussia, there were 50,000 public bathing establishments, her subjects would be better off physically, and even morally. . . . Probably there would also be fewer socialists in Germany if there were more baths."

Education as one-sidedly intellectual as that of Germany is to-day cannot but produce a culture which must in its main features have much in common with the culture of Alexandria. But that was the culture which characterized Greece in her extreme old age. For this must be substituted a system of education, which, besides training the intellect, also takes account of the "care of the body, the development of character, the cultivation of the sense of the artistic." Then, the author thinks, there will also be less of that intellectual pride and haughtiness which is now so prevalent, and which seems to have well-nigh crushed out one of the best native virtues of the Germans, namely, modesty. "A national reformation, with 'Modesty' for its watchword, would be truly German, for the German is by nature — truly modest." Such a new and third reformation would resemble Luther's rather than Lessing's; it would be popular, not learned. A man of the people, a Luther, not an Erasmus, would be its leader. Humanism could not in the sixteenth century, specialism cannot in the nineteenth century, set free the German spirit.

I have tried to give the reader some idea of the author's views on politics, science, art, and education. We have found him everywhere falling back on that which is national, individual, natural, human. Even in art, or rather, especially in art, he in-

sists on nature as the only fountain-head ; not, indeed, simply for the sake of copying her, for, as he quotes from Goethe : " When I have painted the pug-dog of my mistress with such life-likeness that I cannot tell the picture from the original, I have two pug-dogs, but not necessarily a work of art." What is wanted besides is individuality. But the artist's individuality can never find adequate expression if, instead of abandoning himself to impressions which nature makes on his own soul, he persists in modifying them according to standards or notions which he has not made his own, which are foreign to him ; in other words, if he tries to be objective to such a degree that he sacrifices his own subjectivity, his personality.

With the subject of *impressions* we have reached another, and the last, of those general features which go to make up this imperfect sketch of our author, namely, his religion. Nowhere is he more truly German than just here. " Why ! " he exclaims with Goethe, " do have the courage to abandon yourself to your impressions and sensations, to be delighted, to be moved, to be lifted up, nay, to get wisdom, to be stirred and inflamed to something great ! " Now a certain degree of such passive abandonment to one's sensations and impressions, together with a corresponding degree of self-assertion against impressions and sensations not one's own, and experienced only by others, has always been the bed-rock of mysticism, and mysticism is, in fact, the most prominent characteristic of our author's religion. I say *religion*, not theology, for he is neither theological, nor ecclesiastical, but reverent without dogma, and Christian without creed. And this is what I mean by saying that he is even more truly German in his religious views than in his politics, science, and art. Reverence, as deep as it is childlike ; piety at once natural and unobtrusive ; and a hope that is large as well as strong, — these are marks of a certain native or indigenous German religion for which those Americans who pretend to have found so little of it would do well to look, not only within the walls of German churches, but also without.

On personal impressions and feelings the author lays so much stress that he insists on developing a " science of impressions " as a desirable and necessary complement to the natural sciences of to-day, which deal with phenomena chiefly, if not exclusively. This disposes him favorably and hopefully towards investigations of hypnotism, psychical methods of healing, and similar questions that border on the realm of the unknown. It also leads him to protest against the misinterpretation of Goethe's theory of colors

as a mere freak, and very naturally calls forth many a word of admiration for Swedenborg. In science, the author seems to say, there should be less of that feverish investigation which consists in an indiscriminate collecting and a mechanical sifting of data. As in art, in morals, and in spiritual matters, more importance should be attached to the personal element. To be sure, the elimination of the personal factor is in one sense an axiom of scientific research; in another sense, however, science cannot, any more than art and religion, dispense with a strong personal element, and it is just this scientific freedom which Goethe had in mind when he said: "In New York there are ninety different denominations of Christians, each of which professes God and Christ in its own way, without being at all disturbed by the rest. In natural science, too, nay, in every science, we must get to that point."

One may doubt, I think, whether it will ever be possible to introduce enough of the personal element into science to suit the artist or the mystic. On the other hand, it is, perhaps, equally doubtful whether the limitation of the personal element in art and religion should be left to be determined by the scientist. Each, the mystic and the scientist, must be free within his own sphere, and be willing to learn from the other. In this sober, leveling, and mechanical age, I take it, there is no immediate danger to be apprehended from an excessive demand for personality, independence, and mysticism in religion. Whatever may be the best methods by which new truth is evolved out of old in the sciences, the acquisition of new truths in the spiritual life must always depend on personal experience and insight, on the faithfulness with which one has tested and incorporated into his own life the old truths. Here individualism must have the right of way; and as long as it has, there is, in spite of all scientific formulae, a subsoil for the seeds of mysticism ever and anon to take root in. Hence it is natural for our author to maintain that true religion, as well as true art, depends on "pure feeling, or, if you choose, on mysticism."

Such, in general and hasty outlines, are the author's notions of politics, science, philosophy, art, education, and religion; and such, briefly and inadequately stated, is the character of "*Rembrandt as Educator*." Yet, how different the reader would find the book if he should turn to it! wholly different, at least, in form from what these outlines might lead him to expect. It is neither a scientific treatise, nor a logical argument, nor a *causerie*. It strikes me, as to form, like the eloquent, sometimes rhapsodical

plea of an enthusiast; in substance, like some of those seemingly careless and in reality so careful and consistent essays of a Bacon or an Emerson.

"But what," the reader may well ask, — "what is there in these views that should so greatly excite the reading public of Germany; what is there, even, that is at all remarkable? If the Russians ride their Pan-Slavonic hobby, why should not a German, in sheer self-defense, saddle him another nag, and call it Pan-Germanic? And as for anti-Semitism, philosophical and sociological individualism, political conservatism, — have we not heard enough of them elsewhere, and sometimes more than enough?"

I reply that, in order to account fully for the success of this book, I should have to pretend to a deeper insight into the intellectual life of the Fatherland than I possess; and this, besides being dishonest, would be a piece of doubtful supererogation on the part of a simple purveyor, which is all I desire to be. Even if I were to furnish the reader with nothing but an adequate or approximate explanation of the causes of such success, I should first have to ask him to read the book; for much of its power and charm lies in its form, and that no reviewer or critic can reproduce. Notwithstanding all this, I will venture, in conclusion, to suggest two or three reasons why such a book could not but have made a deep and immediate impression.

In the first place, it cannot be denied that the author frequently provokes us, both by his criticisms, which often border on personalities, and by his general tone, which is often that of a dogmatist. Moreover, we must remember that in no country is party strife and controversy, whether political, theological, or literary, carried on with greater acrimony and implacability than in Germany. Only one art there is said to be which is superior to that of killing an obnoxious *littérateur* by controversy, — superior because more exquisitely cruel, — and that is *die Kunst des Totschweigens*, the art of silencing a writer by neglect, by utterly ignoring him, and by treating his book like a stale joke that has "fallen flat." But this involves some sort of understanding, tacit or expressed, among critics, which was impossible in the case of the Rembrandt author, whose blows only too often fall upon enemies that could never agree on a common plan of defense. And this seemingly indiscriminate criticism of his leads us to another point which has contributed largely towards giving the book its fame, or, as some would have it, its notoriety.

If the method by which the author criticises and rejects is somewhat difficult to ascertain, the principle on which he selects and accepts is no less so. To his seemingly indiscriminate criticism there corresponds a seemingly indiscriminate eclecticism. Who, for example, would at first thought expect a strong evolutionist like him to criticise Darwin and extol Swedenborg? But he does both, and from the point of view of an artist, consistently. It is this independent and unexpected coördination of his views, not their intrinsic originality or novelty, which takes the unwary reader by surprise and provokes the hasty critic, but which eventually, I think, will meet with the approval, or at least command the respect, of the less hasty.

Still, after all has been said about the author's style, about his art of presentation, and about other matters pertaining to form, we should credit the multitude of his readers with too little literary and philosophical sense, and a few adverse critics of his with too much, if we believed the whole, or even the chief merit of the book to consist in its form. There must be something in its substance which, though it eludes the grasp of the critic and scholar, appeals to the man of ordinary intelligence and culture, and meets certain wants of his. What is it?

Chiefly this: the book, in its negative aspect, is one long and timely protest against certain tendencies in our civilization which are fast becoming oppressive, whereas, on its positive side, it is a most eloquent and spontaneous plea for that higher kind of freedom which, consciously or unconsciously, most of us are longing for. This makes it constructive as well as destructive; in fact, it makes the book, in some modest sense at least, a book of power. And it is this power, not its brilliancy, which stirs the thoughtful reader, and which, though the volume itself is sure to have its day, will last and make itself felt for good.

If it be asked further what these oppressive tendencies are, the reply is that enough would seem to have been said to point them out; and all it may be suitable to add is perchance a blessing on the enviable man who lives and knows not of them, nor ever has felt distrustful of them. To such a one our author's protest and appeal can be but misspent enthusiasm, and the promise of a larger freedom is not unto him. But there are those to whom an age so deeply engrossed in vowels and consonants, in manuscripts and catalogues, in reviews and "reviews of reviews;" an age so largely under the ban of publicity, popularity, and applause, and teeming with shallow specialists, and mechanical, wooden re-

formers, — to whom such an age does not necessarily appear to be advancing in civilization and culture at the same rate at which its telegraphs, its steam-engines, or even its libraries, its schools, and its churches are multiplying. In their judgment, the author of the Rembrandt book simply gives voice to doubts and apprehensions that are shared by many, and heralds a reaction which is sure to come. With him, they insist on measuring our progress by one standard only, by the amount of conscious, rational life which every step of such progress adds to the life of the individual, and through the individual to the life and freedom of society. With him, too, they refuse to be deceived by war-cries and shibboleths, be they sacred or profane. Not even the most popular and fascinating cry of the age, that of "Organize! organize!" which, like the notes of Orpheus and Amphion, seems to tame wild beasts and bring order out of chaos, will ever make these people forget that order is bought too dear at the price of individuality; that organization which results in a mechanism, a machine, instead of a living organism, is in so far forth detrimental to human progress and liberty. These people are the individualists; and their belief is simply this: not that the principle of association and organization, or, in other words, socialism, is false in itself and should have no trial, but that the test of the good it can do rests ultimately with the individual; in short, that there is no reform, no regeneration, no progress possible for humanity without constant recourse to individualism. This, then, seems to be the text from which the Rembrandt author preaches his sermons, and this, too, seems to be the reason why so many have listened to him.

H. C. Bierwirth.

ANDOVER, MASS., September, 1891.

“LIFE IN HIMSELF:” A MEDITATION ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS CHRIST.¹

SCRIPTURE LESSON.

At that season Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight.

All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father: neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him. Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. — MATT. xi. 25-30.

TEXT OF SERMON.

As the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son to have life in himself. — JOHN v. 26.

LIFE in Himself, — this was evidently the supreme fact in the consciousness of Jesus Christ. No other announcement than that which He has here made can explain his conduct or his words.

We will take the announcement of our text as the starting-point for the meditation to which I invite you upon the consciousness of Jesus Christ. From this beginning, as we follow out the consciousness of Jesus into its known results, we have the natural succession of thought: —

Jesus Christ was conscious of life in Himself.

The consciousness of life in Himself was equaled by the consciousness of power to impart it to others.

And the appropriation of the life thus imparted marks the spiritual progress of the race. Christianity, as we know it and in its promise for the future, is the outgrowth of the consciousness of Jesus.

Back of this movement from the inner life of Jesus Christ into that of the race lies the great question, Whence came that life, and what was its quality? We can best answer the question, so

¹ This sermon was preached in the First Church, Cambridge, Mass., on Sunday, December 27, 1891, and repeated in Andover Chapel on Sunday, January 11, 1892, and is now printed by request. For any reader of the sermon who may have chanced to hear it, and who should notice any variation in language, the author would state that it is here reproduced from notes and not from manuscript.

far as it comes within the scope of our present thought, after we have tried to take some measure of the movement itself. I pause only to refer to that divine and irresistible impulse in Jesus Christ to communicate his life which was as necessary to us as the possession of it. In one of his speculations about the Trinity, Jonathan Edwards has given this lofty conception of the communicating impulse in the nature of God, that, as the Son was begotten of the Father that He might communicate to Him his happiness, so the Son, seized by the same impulse, straightway communicated Himself that others might share his happiness. "And this," he says, "was the end of creation, even the communication of the happiness of the Son of God, and this was the only motive herein, even the Son's inclination to it. Therefore the church is said to be the completeness of Christ, 'which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all.' As if Christ were not complete without the church, having a natural inclination thereto."

Now of this "natural inclination" of Jesus to communicate Himself we have no question. The world has never had any question. The world's question about Jesus is, Did He have the power? Did He have the absolute and sufficient life in Himself to communicate? And the farthest point to which we can reach back for an answer is the consciousness of Jesus. That is the connecting point between an order of events of which we have no personal knowledge and the order of events with which we are perfectly familiar. "As the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son to have life in himself," — that communication of life belongs to the order of eternity. The result of it, the outgoing of the life of Jesus into all the world, — that belongs to the order of time, that is a matter of human knowledge and experience, that is history.

Returning now to the course of our thought, we take up at once the fact that Jesus Christ was conscious of life in Himself. If we are seeking for the charm of unconscious action, we must look elsewhere than to Jesus of Nazareth. We cannot say of Him, as we are compelled to say of so many men who have wrought in advance of their time, as we say, for example, of the Pilgrim Fathers, "He builded better than He knew." He builded as He knew, according to the pattern that was in his mind. What we must look for in Him, in place of unconsciousness, is a sublime consciousness of power, the mastery of resources, the assurance of results, the knowledge of the end from the begin-

ning. He was as true in the acceptance of his life in its fullness as He was in the acceptance of it in its limitations. His humiliation was real to Him : so, also, was the indwelling power and glory. The horizon of his earthly life shut down upon Him, concealing facts from his vision, but the spiritual eye met no horizon in its vision of God. He had a *sense* of sin deeper than that of all other men, but He never for a moment assumed that He had the experience of it. He never played the penitent. He never went to God with the cry on his lips, "God be merciful to me a sinner." He had the *experience* of temptation greater than that of any other man, but it was not the detailed experience of the common temptations of men. It was not the cravings of the miser, the appetite of the drunkard, the passion of the libertine, which He put down. His temptation was as real to Him as yours to you, or as mine to me ; but it was real to Him because it was his temptation, not yours or mine. "If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread." "If Thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down." There were facts of which He had no knowledge. He frankly confessed his ignorance of the "times and seasons." But He never confessed to the slightest limitation in his knowledge of God. That was always clear and absolute. In the midst of a restless humanity crying for light and life, He stood the one silent, majestic figure, content, satisfied, sufficient in Himself. He held constant intercourse with God in all ways of communion and companionship, but never as a seeker after righteousness or truth.

And all this expresses but half the reality. This sufficiency of life in Himself was not for Himself. "I am come that they may have life, and that they may have it abundantly." So he announced his presence among men. It was his own life which He had brought, and which He was to give. "I lay down my life for the sheep." "No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself." In like manner He put his own personality before all who were seeking God, and the peace which might come to them from finding Him. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. How say ye, then, Show us the Father ?" Or, if you prefer, in place of the witness of John, the stronger record of the earlier Evangelists, "No one knoweth the Son save the Father ; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." Therefore (for these words immediately follow), "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Neither can you overlook the fact that the favorite illustrations and figures, of which Jesus makes use to express his personal relations to men, express vital relations. He seems impatient of outward resemblances and analogies. The outward, if used, frequently deepens into the vital: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." More frequently, the closer and more spiritual analogy or figure is used, even at the risk of mysticism. "I am the vine, ye are the branches. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; so neither can ye, except ye abide in me." "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." Such was the constant and natural expression of the consciousness of Jesus of the life which He had in Himself.

Leaving, then, this fact, let us advance to the farther thought that Jesus Christ had a power to impart the life within Himself commensurate with his consciousness of it. We have already taken account of the "natural inclination" of Jesus to communicate Himself. But that, as we have seen, is the secondary question about Him.

A very benevolent man amongst us has said that "two things are necessary to make a man of any avail as a giver, — one, that he be able; the other, that he be willing." We are obliged to lay the stress upon the willingness to give. We pass by the many who are able, to find the one who is also willing. Our questionings about the majority of those whose aid we solicit are not, Can they give, but Will they give? It was otherwise in the questionings of men about Jesus. Could He realize his longings, could He effect his purpose, could He impart Himself?

What if Jesus had had the willingness without the ability! Suppose that, among the traditions of the race, there had come down the tradition of one man who had lived above the range of spiritual want, self-contained, and sufficient in himself. Suppose, the tradition ran, that he was inaccessible to his fellow-men, or that the quality of his life was incommunicable to them in their need. Suppose, it also ran, that at one time, impatient of his solitary saintship, irresistibly moved by pity and love, he came out among men and took the ways of the world, but that the world drove him back and left him, cowed and crushed, to mourn in secret over his incommunicable life. Suppose that this tradition had been located in Jesus of Nazareth, the sinless man of Galilee, who, so long as he dwelt within himself, was the wonder and envy

of his fellow-men, but who, venturing forth upon the path of mercy and sacrifice, was forced back into his unsatisfying sinlessness, to die of a broken heart because unable to consummate his purpose in sacrificial power. How would such a tradition have haunted the race even until now! How would it have deepened the sense of spiritual hopelessness! How much more difficult to bear, the tradition of this man's failure, than the tradition of the first man's fall!

Suppose we had this tradition only in place of the glorious fact we celebrate: —

“O loving wisdom of our God!
When all was sin and shame,
A second Adam to the fight
And to the rescue came.

“O wisest love! that flesh and blood,
Which did in Adam fail,
Should strive afresh against the foe,
Should strive and should prevail.”

So we celebrate the effectual power of Jesus Christ. The “natural inclination” of Jesus was not an ineffectual willingness. His power to reach man was commensurate with his love for man. And the chief sign of his power was his insight into the effective means to be used. He alone among men saw the one sure and sufficient way to the heart of the world. He not only rejected false methods of approach: He made no more use of secondary methods than they would bear. Jesus became an example, and bade men follow Him, but He did not expect to save the world by the illustration of duty. He taught men the truth, and bade them believe it, but He did not expect to save the world by the higher and clearer knowledge. He wrought miracles as occasion offered, appealing through them to the wonder, the fear, or the joy of the multitude, but He did not expect to save the world by any show of power. While men were watching his mighty works, and listening to his words, and beginning to follow Him, He was cherishing in his heart a method of which they had no knowledge, and which, had they known it, they could not have understood. The only response which the suggestion of it elicited from those nearest to Him was, “Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee.” But it was the only method of saving the world, and Jesus knew that it was. And He *alone* knew that it was the only method. He *opened* the way of sacrifice, and He cut the channel deep and wide, that He might pour

through it the full current of his sufficient life into the heart of a needy world. We can now see the sufficiency of this method, and the comparative insufficiency of all others. Jesus Christ saw the true method from the beginning, and never faltered in his adherence to it. We owe the method of Christianity to which we have now committed the saving of the world to the insight and courage of Jesus.

We have thus far tried to gain some idea of the life of which Jesus Christ was conscious, and we have also seen what He was able to do with it. The question remains, What has the race been able to do with it? Has it proved an available gift? In answering this question we reach the historic fact that the appropriation of the imparted life of Jesus Christ has marked the spiritual progress of the race.

The first appropriations of the life of Jesus, as they are embodied in the stories of the Gospels, are singularly natural, simple, and beautiful. The people of Galilee found One walking in the midst of them quite like themselves, save that virtue went forth from Him. Contact with Him gave them healing, strength, and life. The slightest means on their part secured the greatest results. They touched the hem of his garment and were made whole. Yet to their minds there was nothing magical about it. The whole impression was that of perfect genuineness and reality. Spiritual results followed from contact with Him as naturally as physical cures. Gradually the better souls began to seek Him out, some openly, some by night. Here and there He called one into discipleship, and out of those thus called He chose a few to be his constant followers, whom He instructed in the principles and methods of the new ministry, to whom He delegated in measure his powers, and to whom He confided, as they could understand them, his plans. And so the process went on until the great event was reached, when the life went out in sacrifice, and the method of Jesus stood revealed. Then came the marvelous change in results. In place of a personal presence among the men of a given place, there was a new spiritual power in all the world. Still the identity was not lost. It was the same life which had been seen and felt in Capernaum and Jerusalem, which was reappearing in Damascus, Corinth, and Rome. No one who felt its power had any doubt about its identity. Among all who became conscious of a new life in themselves, not one mistake was made as to its source. "That life which I now live in the flesh, I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and

gave himself up for me." The testimony of Paul was echoed by every Christian heart.

I can do no more than remind you of the spiritual development and enlargement of human nature which came with the increasing appropriation of the life of Jesus. It was not an addition to human nature; it was a recovery of its wasted energies, a transformation of misused and perverted powers. A new sense of the capacity of the human soul, and a new measure of its worth, followed everywhere the preaching of the gospel. The gospel developed a great power of receptiveness in the hearts of all to whom it came. The willingness of Jesus to give was matched by their desire to receive. His appeal to the soul found its response in the cravings of the soul for the life which was in Him. It was "deep calling unto deep." The sublime confidence of Jesus Christ in man was vindicated. Men literally became "new creatures," veritably re-created in Christ Jesus.

We know, of course, the false development of later times, as the church grew self-confident and self-righteous, and substituted its own life for the life of Jesus. We know also the hunger and thirst which came back again into the heart of the world. Human nature ceased to grow. The church could not maintain its own strength. Christianity was as poor and weak and unnourishing a religion as the world had ever seen, when it retired the Christ and still bade men come and take of the bread and water of life. The Reformation marks an epoch in the spiritual progress of the race, simply because it was a return to Him who had life in Himself. Justification by faith meant, as of old, contact with Jesus. And as the original and true relation was once more restored, Jesus Christ not only became accessible to individual souls, his presence began to be felt among the nations. The one sign and evidence of the restored life, wherever found, was freedom. Christianity stood at once for the freedom of the Christian man, and for the freedom of the Christian nation.

I think that it is not too much to say that the return of Christianity to Christ, or the drawing nearer of the church to Him at any time or for any reason, marks an epoch in spiritual progress. Certainly, the great missionary movement, which has given character to the spiritual history of our century, was signalized by a new appropriation of the life of Jesus Christ. The church doubted its capacity, doubted even its duty, as the needs of the world were forced upon its thought, until it turned and looked upon its Lord and Master. It was the vision of Him in the might

and reach of his sacrificial love which banished every doubt, and gave the needed strength. The new faith of the church, escaping all partial and limiting beliefs, and rejoicing in the universal atonement of Jesus Christ, is the secret of modern missions.

And what shall we say of our own age? How shall we estimate its part in the spiritual progress of the race? We know the signs of its material power. What, if any, are the signs of its spiritual power? Nothing is more evident than a certain sense of fear which has begun to seize the heart of our generation. We are literally afraid of the world in which we live. It is so great, so uncontrollable, in many ways so unintelligible. Who shall solve the problems of our civilization? Who shall master the forces which have passed beyond our control? Who shall reach the souls of men, which are lost even to our sight in the multitude? I count it a hopeful sign that some amongst us are beginning to ask these questions, and that the questions are becoming more and more personal in their direction, — no longer What shall help us? but Who shall help us? for this is what the appeal to Christianity always means. I count it a more hopeful sign that some have already answered these questions in their own souls, and are turning with a steadfast longing and with an assured hope to Him who has life in Himself. So I interpret the calmer and more confident voice of our time, which one may hear in the tumult of our social confusion and distress. There is a movement in the hearts of men toward Christ which can be felt. An appropriation of his life, for immediate needs and present opportunities, is actually going on, and is beginning to show itself in power. The prayer of the church is no longer an aimless appeal for help, but a joyous recognition of the possibilities which are in Jesus Christ for this age: O strong Son of God, reveal thyself to us as when of old thou didst walk by the Sea of Galilee and in the streets of Jerusalem. Teach us the simple ways of thy mercy and love. Lead us into those paths of service which we have shunned, which thou wouldst have taken. Change our spirit, reform our methods, and control our ambitions. Drive out the money-changers from the temple of God. Heal our troubles and save our souls. Bring in peace by thy righteousness, and by thy grace establish within our hearts the brotherhood of man.

I said at the beginning of our thought that back of the movement from the inner life of Jesus Christ into that of the race lay the question, Whence came that life, and what was its quality?

It is not always necessary that we should pause in our Christian activities, or return from our meditations upon Christ, to ask this question. But such a return naturally follows our present course of thought, and may have its present value in the interest of faith. What, then, is the testimony of Christianity, as we know it, to Christ? How does Christianity interpret the consciousness of Jesus? What has the effect to say of the cause? There are two reverent interpretations of the personal life of Jesus Christ which may be expressed in the following alternative: Was He a perfect man, inspired above all men by the Spirit of God, showing the capacity of humanity to hold divinity? or was He the eternal Son of the Father, who laid aside his glory, and, "since the children were sharers in flesh and blood, Himself in like manner partook of the same"? Where does Christianity date itself, — at the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Jesus of Nazareth, or at the Incarnation? For myself, I cannot hesitate in my choice. A perfect man, of the degree of the perfection of Jesus, reaching "unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ," is to me more incomprehensible, more impossible, than the incarnate Son of God. I would deny no essential likeness of the human to the divine; but even if we carry the likeness to the possibility of a divine humanity, we are not to overlook the fact that a difference in degree may amount to a difference in kind. I take a drop out of the ocean. The drop is like the ocean, but it is swayed by no tides, it bears no ships on its bosom, it does not unite continents. I take a grain of earth from a mountain. The grain is like the mountain, but I can dig no quarries out of its bowels, I can cut no forests on its slopes, I do not see it lifting its summit to the first light of the day. Man may be like God, but I locate Jesus, not in the drop and the grain, but in the ocean and the mountain. There were children, sweet and pure, born into the world with the child Jesus, but He journeyed with them but a little way in the path of a common humanity. The separating distance soon widened into the immeasurable space. I search among the sons of men of all time, and I look in vain for one who had the consciousness of "life in himself." I hear no words like these from the lips of a man touching his own life: "I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father." I hear no prophecy like this from any man concerning the power of his life, if only he can pour it out in sacrifice: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." No: any

interpretation of the personal life of Jesus Christ which can satisfy my mind must allow it the substance and quality and fullness of the life of God. I grant the mystery of the Incarnation, but I prefer mystery to insufficiency in my faith. As I watch the process by which men are made to become sons of God, as I follow the stream of human redemption in its ceaseless and widening course, I can trace it to no other or nearer source than the Eternal Sonship of Jesus Christ.

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

NOTE.

IN the article by Reverend C. C. Starbuck on "Missionary Problems in the Turkish Empire," published in the preceding number of this "Review," reference was made to "questions" addressed to missionaries and native brethren in Turkey, which it was intended should appear with the article. See "Andover Review," January 1892, pages 24 and 25: The questions are as follows:—

(1.) What method has been used in the past for training a ministry for the churches?

(2.) How far advanced in study have students usually been, or are they now, before beginning theology, in the seminary, or with a missionary? How large a proportion are college graduates?

(3.) Are they pecuniarily assisted, and if so, from what sources, while studying theology?

(4.) How large a proportion of the theological graduates go into the work of the Christian ministry, and how large a proportion continue in it? What reasons prevail with a part to hold aloof, or to withdraw?

(5.) Would it be of advantage to the Evangelical Armenian Churches, if a General Theological Seminary were established, either additional to those now existing or absorbing some of them, and if so, where?

(6.) How far are the churches self-supporting, and how far are they aided?

(7.) What proportion of churches is without regular pastors?

(8.) How many *ordained* pastors are there in your station?

(9.) How are the ministers supported?

(10.) Does the pastorate need any additional aids to growth in intelligence and efficiency? If so, in what forms? Does the pecuniary support of the ministers enable them to devote their time to their work, to develop it, and to keep abreast of it?

(11.) Is the native Christian ministry now so far advanced in efficiency that evangelistic work can be mainly committed to it?

(12.) What is needed in order to induce a larger number of the graduates of the mission colleges to enter the Theological Seminaries and prepare themselves for the work of the ministry?

(13.) What improvements might be advantageously suggested in the Theological Seminaries already existing?

Any additional suggestions or information that you might be inclined to give would be gladly received. The range of these questions is understood to be in the main confined to your own Mission or Union, as the same are sent, also, to others.

EDITORIAL.

DO COMMON SCHOOLS EDUCATE? — PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS.

THE changes in public education recently proposed by the Association of Colleges in New England, and described by Professor Wells in our January number, are advocated on the assumption of serious defects in the existing systems. The point of complaint is the waste of time from the age of ten to the age of fourteen years, — the years which are spent by nearly all children in the grammar schools. Too much time is given to the studies which fill up that period, and studies are excluded which are more important and better suited to children of that age. Arithmetic, grammar, and geography are the principal courses in the grammar schools. To make these last three or four years, arithmetic is pursued into applications which are employed only by specialists in book-keeping or scientific analysis; geography is made to include interminable lists of insignificant places; and grammar, an abstract science, which should be taken up rather late, after speaking has become correct and reading has made good English familiar, is forced upon children year after year to their constant and lasting intellectual harm. It is maintained by those who recommend radical changes that there is a double loss, — a loss of valuable time which should be given to more useful and congenial studies, and a loss of intellectual zest, or even worse, a dulling of the faculties and a positive distaste for books of every sort. That is enough arithmetical knowledge which enables one to add, subtract, multiply, divide, and understand simple fractions and decimals. Not one person in a hundred uses more arithmetic, and with so much knowledge any particular application can easily be mastered when it is wanted, while the attempt to learn all possible applications in advance of actual use is more likely to leave a mass of confused impressions than to cultivate accuracy. We should not proceed on the assumption that our young men and women are fated to become nothing better than skilled accountants. Many of the examples to be worked out are ingenious puzzles, which are quite bewildering to the man of business who essays to help his boy, groaning over them with flushed face when he ought to be in bed: —

"A farmer sold 25 bushels of apples for \$37 $\frac{1}{2}$, which was $\frac{3}{4}$ as much as he afterwards received for all the rest, at \$1 $\frac{3}{4}$ a barrel. How many barrels did he sell?"

"What number must be multiplied by $\frac{2\frac{3}{8}}{4\frac{1}{2}}$ that the product may equal 1?"

"Find three numbers, each greater than 50, each not prime, that are mutually prime."

"The denominator of a fraction is $\frac{\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} \text{ of } 8\frac{1}{2}}{18\frac{7}{8} \text{ of } \frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{8}}$, and the numerator is $\frac{3}{4}$ of the denominator. What is the fraction?"

"What is the longest straight rod that can be put into a box 5 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet deep?"

If such examples must be done, why not let a boy know how to use the simple equations of algebra? If these puzzles are intended to promote intellectual discipline, which must be their use, as half of them can never be presented in actual business, the study of elementary algebra and geometry, which develop the reasoning powers and are quite as useful, should be substituted.

Grammar is too abstract and dry to be imposed upon children, and the minutiae of geography are too unimportant for the time that is given to them.

It is quite easy to see why the grammar schools consume so much time on these studies. These schools are the lineal descendants of the district schools of the last generation, and which still survive in small villages and farming regions. Three months' schooling was provided for every child, the younger children taking their share in summer, the older boys and girls attending in the winter. The teacher of the summer school, who was usually a woman, taught reading, spelling, writing, the multiplication table, and a little geography. The teacher of the winter school, who was usually a man, taught more advanced reading, more difficult spelling, writing, and also arithmetic, grammar, and geography. In exceptional cases those who excelled in arithmetic were initiated into the mysteries of algebra, and were looked on by the others as a superior order of beings. There were two divisions in arithmetic, including those who were beginners and those who had studied it one or two winters previously. And there were two divisions in grammar, including those who were learning the parts of speech, and those who were competent to take up analysis and parsing. These winter schools corresponded thus to our grammar schools. Each scholar attended three, four, or five winters, about one quarter or one third the time now given to the same studies. A fourth or fifth winter was usually a repetition of previous years. Then at the age of sixteen or eighteen the boys went to work in earnest at some employment, one now and then going to an academy in some part of the State, and perhaps on from there to college. And in those winter schools they acquired all the arithmetic, geography, and grammar they needed. He indeed was a dullard who never reached the end of the arithmetic and worked out all the puzzles. The spelling and parsing matches were assigned to the evening, so that there might be plenty of time for a prolonged competition in knowledge of difficult orthography and the niceties of modifying adjuncts and adverbial propositions. Elementary education, in a word, was as thorough and successful under the old method as it is under the new, and the young people were not in school so many months as to become weary of books and unambitious of knowledge. Now, it is true, the high school provides education in other branches of study, but a very small proportion of the

children enter it, no more probably than in the earlier time kept on in the academy. About ninety-six per cent. of the scholars go no farther than the primary and grammar schools. The evolution of elementary schools, then, has trebled the time of attendance, but the studies have remained practically the same. If, under the old system, there was time enough to learn what was necessary in those branches, there must be a serious defect in a method which increases the time without increasing knowledge.

It is proposed that elementary natural history, taught by demonstrations and practical exercises rather than by books, be introduced into the earlier years of the programme. That means some knowledge of plants, animals, and minerals, in which children are interested, and concerning which they can easily be taught. It is proposed that elementary physics, to be taught by the experimental method, and to include exact weighing and measuring by the pupils themselves, be introduced into the later years of the programme. That means some knowledge of mechanical forces, and adjustments of heat, light, sound, and electricity. These facts are more easily within the range of knowledge and interest than mathematical puzzles and the construction of sentences, and are certainly quite as useful. It is proposed that elementary algebra be introduced at an age not later than twelve years, and elementary geometry at an age not later than thirteen years. It is also proposed that opportunity be offered for the study of French, German, or Latin from and after the age of ten years. Not all children should study foreign languages, but if language is to be learned, the beginnings should not be postponed beyond the period when there is most facility in acquisition. Therefore opportunity is recommended, but not requirement. It is also proposed that as much time as is needed for these studies be taken from the time now allotted to arithmetic, grammar, and geography.

The reasons for substituting such studies are numerous and forcible; such as the advantage of descriptive over abstract studies for children, the importance of training powers of observation, the usefulness of the knowledge gained, the superior disciplinary value of algebra and geometry over advanced arithmetic, and the facility of children and youth in acquiring language. For those who desire a collegiate education, less time would be needed in immediate preparation than now, and for those whose education is limited to elementary schools, more useful knowledge would be acquired, with no loss of mental discipline.

If these proposals are considered by supervisors and teachers with the seriousness they deserve, the discussion will probably pass through three stages. The first stage will be a defense of the present methods as perfectly adapted to the education of American youth. The second stage will be a proof of the impracticability of the proposed substitutions, on the ground of expense, unqualified teachers, and the inability of children to pursue such studies. The third stage will be a plea for the new

studies, eagerness for the change, a gradual adoption of it in its main features, and a stout assertion that teachers and supervisors recognized the need of the improved methods long before the college people proposed them. So it has been with regard to manual training during the last ten years. So it is with all needed reforms, — first conservatism, second criticism, third adoption.

It is scarcely necessary to add that there are exceptions already in some elementary schools to the old routine of dreary grammar and arithmetic. These will be pointed to as showing that the schools are not so bad as represented. There are not enough of them, however, to alter the general fact. And the success of such experiments as have been tried warrants a wider extension of improved methods. The advance will undoubtedly be made in separate localities where committees and teachers appreciate the need and do not wait for a general agreement in all towns and cities. Some places are better equipped than others for new undertakings and can lead the way.

The training of competent teachers will be provided as the new requirements are made. The demand for teachers prepared in normal schools is increasing, and the normal schools can and will adapt their training to the demand, whatever it may be.

Another reform which will, we hope, soon be taken up in earnest, is in respect to the amount of time spent in school. Children go to school too much. The length of the school year may be left as it is, but the length of the school day is excessive, especially for young children. Six hours a day is too long for health, and too long to maintain mental activity and interest in knowledge. The prolongation of time together with the monotony of the studies makes school an interminable desert. One session a day of three or at most four hours is long enough to bring out all the mental application of which a child is capable. Scholars can learn as much in three hours as they can in six, and probably more. Boys in reformatory schools who have half a day in the school and half a day in the shop make as rapid progress as boys who have all day in school. Experiment has shown that boys and girls under twelve years of age are capable of steady mental application in one direction only a few minutes at a time. With a half day free, life would have more variety, the children of working people would be of some service at home, school would be more interesting, bad air would not be breathed so many hours, a taste for reading would be developed in bright children, and many other good results would follow.

And, finally, a crying need is a reform in text-books. The opacity of the books used in the schools is almost impenetrable even by older persons. Involved, prolix, bungling statement is the rule, a clear and natural mode of expression is the exception. Neither space nor patience allows us at present to do more than to mention the density of nearly all school books.

We are glad to emphasize the proposals which are coming before the public. Our common schools do not educate. The fault has been partly one of method, but quite as much an unwise selection of studies. With such changes as are now recommended it may be expected that the young people on leaving school will know something worth knowing, and will really know it.

IN MEMORIAM.

ABRAHAM KUENEN. — PAUL ANTON DE LAGARDE.

THESE two great men passed away within a fortnight of each other, in the closing weeks of the old year; Kuenen, December 10, Lagarde, December 24, 1891. In his own field each held, beyond question, the foremost place among modern Biblical scholars. Their death in the fullness of their powers, each leaving a great work unfinished, is an incalculable loss to theology.

Abraham Kuenen was born in Haarlem, North Holland, September 16, 1828. His early education was acquired in the schools of his native city. When he was fifteen his father, an apothecary, died, and for a while it seemed as if Kuenen's plans for study must be given up; but friends stood by him in his need, and at the age of eighteen he passed from the gymnasium in Haarlem to the University of Leiden. He studied there from 1846 to 1851, taking his degree as doctor of theology with an edition of part of the Samaritan Arabic version of Genesis. In 1853 he became extraordinary, and in 1855 ordinary, professor of theology in the same university, and there he remained till his death.

His first important work was his Introduction to the Old Testament, "*Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*," three volumes, 1861-1865. It represents the results of a thorough and independent investigation of the whole field, and exhibits throughout the qualities which were always conspicuous in the author's work, — the diligence, the honesty, the comprehensive grasp, and the power of disposition which enabled him to bring order out of the chaos of critical details. Parts of it, especially the admirable chapters on the formation of the Old Testament Canon, are not yet superseded. Kuenen's position on the question of the origin of the Pentateuch was substantially that of the best contemporary criticism. He is in advance of Bleek, whose (posthumous) "*Einleitung*" appeared in 1860, in maintaining the independence of the Jehovist, — breaking thus with the reigning "*Supplement Hypothesis*," — and in recognizing, with Hupfeld, the existence of a second Elohist (E). More important, as anticipating subsequent developments of criticism, is the fact that he found in the "*Grundschrift*" elements of different ages, and held that it had only gradually grown, in priestly circles, to its present dimensions and form. The final redaction of this stratum of the Pentateuch was later than the Deuteronomy; and, consequently, the last editor of the whole Penta-

teach was not the Deuteronomist, or a man of his school, but a Jerusalem priest, of the spiritual kindred of the authors of the priestly legislation and histories. Kuenen, however, still regarded the bulk of P as older than the other sources.

Kuenen was perhaps the first to see the critical significance of Colenso's "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua," Part I., 1862, — a significance the more striking that the author himself was wholly unaware of it, and, indeed, unacquainted with the current analysis. Kuenen saw at a glance that the colossal "difficulties" which the bishop's terrible arithmetic discovered — the numbers and measures which defy the laws of space and time — lie almost wholly in the "Grundschrift;" that is, in that stratum of the Hexateuch which contemporary criticism, represented, for example, by Ewald, regarded (largely on the ground of these seemingly exact statistics) as the oldest and most authentic. Popper's monograph on the "Account of the Building of the Tabernacle," which came out in the same year, showed that in parts of the same stratum the growth of the Hebrew text had not come to an end till long after the Babylonian exile. Then came, in 1866, Graf's "epoch-making book," — so Kuenen himself called it, — "Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments." Graf, while adhering to the prevailing view that the narratives of P were, in the main, older than those of JE, proved that the *laws* of P were younger than Deuteronomy, and found their place in the Pentateuch only after the exile. Kuenen, as well as others, saw that this splitting of P was the "Achilles-heel" of the theory. But while Riehm argued against Graf that the admitted priority of the narratives must carry with it the laws, Kuenen took the other alternative: the demonstrated posteriority of the laws must carry with it the narratives, a position to which Graf himself shortly after advanced. With this the theory of the older critics, that the strata of the Hexateuch were deposited in the order P, JE, D, was inverted. The priestly narratives and histories were not the oldest, but the youngest, element in the Hexateuch. In the "Theologisch Tijdschrift," for 1870, Kuenen has written this chapter in the history of criticism, in the form of a literary autobiography, — an article of singular interest and worth.¹

The first attempt at a constructive application of the new hypothesis, with its far-reaching consequences in every direction, to the history of Israel, was made by Kuenen in his "Godsdienst van Israël," two volumes, 1869–1870; English translation by May, "The Religion of Israel," three volumes, London, 1874–1875. In this work Kuenen showed that he had not only the critical faculty, but, in a high degree, the interpretative and constructive gifts of the historian. Beginning, after an introduction on the standpoint, sources, and plan of the work, with the eighth

¹ A translation, somewhat abridged, of the most important part of this article, is given by Wellhausen in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung* (1878), p. 153 ff.

century B. C., where we have in the prophets firm ground under our feet, he shows what the status of religion, as represented by the prophets and by their contemporaries, presupposes; criticises in the light of these results the traditions of the earlier history of Israel; and follows out the development of its religion from the beginning of the prophetic period to the fall of the Jewish state. There are not a few particulars in which Kuenen's later critical investigations led him to modify the views expressed in these volumes; but it is the highest testimony to the way in which the work was done, that its value, as a whole, has hardly been materially affected by the subsequent progress of criticism.

In 1875 followed "*De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel. Historisch-dogmatische Studie*," two volumes; English translation by Milroy, "*Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*," 1877. This work was undertaken at the instance of Dr. J. Muir, the Sanscrit scholar, and written with especial reference to English readers. Its aim is the refutation of the prevalent views of Old Testament prophecy, including the various modern modifications of them; or, as he would have preferred to say, a defense of the historico-critical, or organic, conception of prophecy. The question of fulfilled and unfulfilled predictions, including the whole question of the place of prediction in prophecy, is fully discussed, as is also the New Testament use of the Old Testament prophecies, etc.

In 1882 Kuenen delivered in England the Hibbert Lectures, choosing for his subject "*National Religions and Universal Religions*" (London, 1882), in which the development of the national religion of old Israel to the universal ideals and aims of Judaism and Christianity is traced, and compared with Islam and Buddhism.

From its foundation, in 1866, Kuenen was one of the editors and most frequent contributor to the "*Theologisch Tijdschrift*." In it appeared the "*Bijdragen tot de critiek van Pentateuch en Jozua*," which contain some of the most important recent contributions to criticism, and which may well serve students as models of the method in which such investigations should be conducted. In the pages of the same periodical he reviewed during these years almost all the works of any consequence which appeared in the Old Testament field. These instructive and judicial surveys of the progress of our science will be greatly missed. Besides this, Kuenen contributed many investigations of a more technical kind to the proceedings of learned societies and academies, among which we may only name his researches into the Constitution of the Sanhedrin, the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Genealogy of the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament, and the Chronology of the Persian Period.

His last work was a second edition of his Introduction, completely rewritten, as the revolutionary changes of twenty-five years made necessary. The first volume appeared in 1885, and was translated by Wicksteed, "*The Hexateuch*" (London, 1886). The second part of the first volume, on the Historical Books (1887), and the second volume, on the Prophets

(1889), have not been translated. The third volume must, we regret to learn, remain unfinished. Kuenen was also the principal editor of the new Dutch translation of the Bible, with notes, etc., which has been for some time in preparation.

Kuenen was a man of sound and cautious judgment, and of a naturally conservative temper. His Introduction, especially the parts on the Historical Books and the Prophets, manifest this on every page, and some of his most earnest and effective writing in the last years has been directed against the newest phase of criticism, represented by Vernes and others, which would push the whole Old Testament literature some centuries further down. He was a solidly learned scholar, with an almost if not altogether unequalled knowledge of the whole history and literature of the difficult problems on the solution of which so much of his life was spent, a clear and logical understanding, positive convictions, and the courage which goes with them. If we were to single out one feature of a well-rounded character which was conspicuous in him, it would be fair-mindedness. This, with natural kindness of temper, gave to his criticism and controversial writings the note of urbanity so rare in such productions. Urbanity was the distinction and charm, too, of his personal intercourse.

Professor Kuenen lost his wife in 1883. He leaves a family of seven children, most of them grown up. His oldest son, who has devoted himself to physical science, has lately been called to the university of which his father was for so many years one of the most distinguished ornaments.

Paul Anton de Lagarde was born in Berlin, November 2, 1827, and grew up in that city in the times and surroundings which he himself sketched with so strong a hand in his "*Reminiscences of Friedrich Rückert*" (*Mittheilungen*, II. 82 ff.). From the Friedrich-Wilhelm's Gymnasium he passed, in 1844, to the University, where, among others, he heard Hengstenberg, whose lectures on *Encyclopædia* and *Methodology* gave direction and consistency to his purpose of study. But his chief teacher was the poet-orientalist, Friedrich Rückert, with whom, after his student years were over, he continued on terms of close intimacy, and of whom he has written the charming "*Erinnerungen*" referred to above. In 1846-1847 he studied in Halle, but in the following year returned to Berlin, where he again heard Rückert. In 1852 he received, through the influence of Bunsen, a traveling scholarship to prosecute his studies in the libraries of London and Paris. His aim was already fixed on an edition of the Bible, with critical apparatus.

In London he was unable to get his hands on the manuscript material which was most essential to his purpose, as Cureton wished to retain for himself the right to publish it. For the main end, therefore, the journey was fruitless; but he brought back with him the transcripts of numerous other manuscripts, chiefly Syriac, many of which he published in the

years next following this journey. Among these were the "*Didascalia apostolorum syriace*," 1854; "*Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ*," 1856 (Greek and Syriac); "*Analecta syriaca*," 1858; "*Titi Bostreni contra Manichæos libri quatuor syriace*," 1859; "*Geoponicon in sermonem syriacum versorum quæ supersunt*," 1860; "*Clementis Romani recognitiones syriace*," 1861; "*Libri veteris testamenti apocryphi syriace*," 1861. A new edition of these Syriac publications, with important additions, in all filling two volumes quarto under the title "*Bibliotheca Syriaca*," was in preparation at the time of his death. Such was the fruit of the "unhappy Syriac episode" of his life.

From 1855 to 1865 Lagarde taught in a Berlin gymnasium, sometimes as many as forty hours a week, prosecuting through it all his learned studies with an iron resolution and an indefatigable industry which left their mark on health and spirit. In 1866 he was relieved from this burden of teaching that he might devote himself for three years exclusively to his Septuagint studies. The first fruits of this "*Schleussingen leisure*" was the "*Genesis græce*," a reprint of the Roman text, with a carefully selected critical apparatus, for the accuracy of which, as far as it went, he was able to vouch. In 1869 he became ordinary professor of the Oriental Languages at Göttingen, succeeding in that faculty Heinrich Ewald. Unlike Kuenen, who was called to a professor's chair almost as soon as he had taken his degree, Lagarde reached the goal of his career only after long years of waiting and struggle, and more than one bitter disappointment. Worse, he reached it, as he felt, too late to accomplish the task of his life. He could not think without bitterness of the men and the things which had thus hindered him and frustrated his great aim.

A list of Lagarde's publications which have appeared in separate form would fill two or three pages of the "Review." They consist in large part of unedited or ill-edited pieces of early Christian literature, or of versions of the Bible; and are, beside the Syriac works already mentioned, in Coptic, Arabic, Chaldee, Greek, Latin, Persian. Most of these editions were in some way subsidiary or incidental to the edition of the Greek version of the Old Testament, which he regarded as the mission and labor of his life. He saw from the beginning that the problem which the tradition of the Septuagint text in manuscripts and versions presents is one of unexampled complexity and difficulty. To take the most convenient reprint of the Roman edition of 1586, or the text of any single manuscript, of however great antiquity, as representing, for all intents and purposes, the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, is to be blind to the true state of the case. It is only by an exhaustive and systematic use of the whole material that we can solve the problem. He set himself, therefore, to the critical examination of the manuscript tradition, the peculiarities of the secondary translations made from the LXX, the quotations in the Fathers, etc. In his "*Anmerkungen zur*

griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien," 1863, he lays down briefly, but with masterly clearness, the principles which must rule in an attempt to reconstruct the Septuagint text. In subsequent writings he defined the general method upon which criticism must work, by gradual advances, toward its goal. The first thing is to recognize and distinguish the various types of text which were current in different ecclesiastical provinces at a given time, presumably with the authorization of the bishops. By comparing these with one another we should be able to go behind them, and ascend thus to a higher antiquity. In 1882 we had the "*Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments*," with its specimen of the ideal edition that was impossible, and of the more practicable one which was then promised. This edition appeared, but without apparatus, in 1883. It was the first step in the application of the method he had laid down. Guided chiefly by the numerous and extensive quotations of Chrysostom, Lagarde recognized (as had been done before) that the text of Antioch and Constantinople in the fourth century was preserved in a small group of cursive manuscripts and in the Complutensian edition. According to the well-known statement of Jerome (*Praef. in Paral. ad Chromat.*, ix. 1405) this represents the recension of the martyr-bishop Lucian († 311), and so Lagarde considered it. The completion of this edition should have been followed by one representing the Egyptian, and another the Palestinian text of the same period. Of all this, however, only the first volume of the "*Lucian*," containing the Pentateuch and historical books, appeared. "It was simply the problem," he once said to the writer in bitter jest, "how often a man with a salary of 7,000 marks could afford to print a book costing 12,000, which nobody bought." There was too much truth in the words. Like most of his other works, the "*Lucian*" had a very small sale. And perhaps he was not altogether wrong in thinking this a good index of the present state and tendencies of theological learning. Another specimen of a work that was not to be is the "*Psalterii graeci novæ editionis specimen*," 1886. At the time of his death Lagarde was engaged upon another edition of the LXX, of a more definitive kind.

Besides the works which were directly or indirectly connected with his Septuagint studies, Lagarde published many others of a more strictly philological interest: "*Beiträge zur baktrischen Lexikographie*," 1868; "*Armenische Studien*," 1877; "*Persische Studien*," 1884. Especial mention should be made of his edition of the extremely rare and interesting volume of Peter of Alcalá on Arabic as spoken in Spain; his accurate and elegant reprint of the Italian works of Giordano Bruno; and the "*Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen tübliche Bildung der Nomina*," 1889.

He was a frequent contributor to the Göttingen "*Gelehrte Anzeigen*," and to the "*Abhandlungen*" and "*Nachrichten*" of the Society of Sciences there. These occasional writings he was in the habit of gathering

up from time to time, with additions, into volumes. Such are the "Symmicta," 1877, 1880; "Semitica," 1878, 1879; "Orientalia," 1879, 1880; "Mittheilungen," 1884, 1887, 1890, 1891. In these writings Lagarde pours out, often on the slightest occasion, the boundless wealth of his learning. He sometimes seems to take a willful delight in concealing the most important observations where no one who had not faithfully worked through every line should find them. Such helps for weak-minded or lazy readers as indexes he utterly eschewed. Judgment was without mercy on the sinner who overlooked or forgot one of these words of the wise. But what a wealth of exact knowledge, acute observation, and pregnant suggestion there is in these volumes!

Remote as Lagarde's chosen field of work was from the interest of most men, he was himself by no means a closet scholar, alienated from the interests of the world he lived in. He wrote with strong convictions and great boldness on the political, educational, and religious needs of the day. Among these articles, collected in his "Deutsche Schriften" (Gesamtausgabe, 1886, reprint 1891), we find such titles as "The Relation of the German State to Theology, the Church, and Religion;" "The School Law," 1878, 1881; "The Religion of the Future;" "The Reorganization of the Nobility," etc.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the literary and personal controversies in which Lagarde was so often embroiled. He might have echoed the complaint of the Old Testament prophet, that his mother had borne him "a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth." Still less is this the place to express an opinion of the right and wrong of these controversies. But it would be unjust not to say that those who know Lagarde only through his writings, in which the harsh note of personal strife is so often dominant, cannot conceive what a charm he had in personal intercourse. He had more than that, — the gift of inspiring all who fell under his influence with his own high ideals of scientific work and of the responsibility of the scholar.

Professor Lagarde leaves a wife, long the true companion and helper of his labors and trials.

THE APPROACHING ELECTION IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

ELECTIONS for the Assembly, or Lower House, of the Quebec legislature, are ordered for the 8th of next March, throughout the province. The campaign has opened amid unusual excitement, and is likely to be memorable in the history of Canadian politics. To a greater degree, indeed, than might be desired it appears to be following the old party lines, and representing traditional policies. Were this all, it would come so little within the field of this "Review," or would be so identified with purely local interests, that we should not be likely to make it a subject of comment. But it contains other elements and involves wider issues.

These centre about two questions which are intimately related to our own political constitution and life, — the question of responsible government, and that of administrative purity.

A brief narrative of recent events will bring these issues clearly to view.

Last July the Hon. Honoré Mercier, Premier of Quebec, returned from an official visit to Europe, and was received with marked expressions of popular favor. He became premier in 1887. The last election gave him a majority of twenty-six in an Assembly of seventy-two (or seventy-three) members. He had rendered important services to the Roman Catholic Church, been made a count by the Pope, and brought back with him many papal privileges and blessings. He seemed to have the province behind him in his championship of its ascendancy in Canadian politics. Wary, skillful, abundant in resources, aggressive, he gave promise of a leadership of immense influence in the promotion of the French Canadian interests, ecclesiastical and political, on this continent. Whether he was more than an opportunist, whether or not he had designs beyond those manifest in current politics, whether he cherished the expectation of establishing at last the "New France," either by the practical supremacy of Quebec in the government of the Dominion, or by its political independence, or by some changed relation to New England and the United States, we may not venture to affirm. It is enough to say that he represented the idea of a Canadian French nationality as no other man, and with a political prestige and power that made it a definite and important factor in the political movements of our time. Not long before his return, the liberals at Ottawa had made a successful attack upon the political integrity of prominent members of the conservative administration. The general government, while still strong through long possession of power and by the victory gained at the recent election, was, to say the least, hard pressed. A counter attack was necessary, and, if we remember, had begun. Up to the present time some thirty members of the Dominion parliament have been unseated, a majority of whom are liberals. The investigations have disclosed an immense amount of bribery and political corruption. It was soon noised abroad that the provincial government at Quebec was to be implicated. A commission was appointed to investigate certain expenditures in connection with the Baie des Chaleurs railway. Some hundred thousand dollars, it was claimed, had disappeared illegally from the Quebec treasury. The commission delayed its report. A leading conservative paper at Quebec (we presume others did the same) pressed clamorously for its rendition. Just as it was finally expected, the president of the commission was attacked by the *grippe*, and visited also by domestic bereavement. Two of the commission came to Quebec, went to the residence of the lieutenant-governor, who had become involved in a disagreement with Count Mercier and the cabinet, and who was in some sense an interested party, as

against the Premier, and without the concurrence of the president of the commission, signed a report. The circumstances connected with its submission are, to say the least, unfriendly to its moral influence as an embodiment of judicial independence and impartiality. A letter from the president of the commission, who is understood not to agree fully with his colleagues, the lieutenant-governor has refused to make public, or to communicate to Count Mercier, though the latter asked for it. Upon this judgment, which it should be added was itself not final, but an interim report, Lieutenant-Governor Angers immediately dismissed the cabinet. He then formed one, not from the political party which triumphed in the last provincial election, but from the opposing party, with which he himself has acted in his political career. This cabinet having been duly constituted, Mr. Angers, by its advice, dissolved the legislature which would regularly have met two days later, and ordered an election of assemblymen to take place next March for a legislature to be convened in April. A government was thus inaugurated, some of whose members were not members of the legislature, and may not be chosen at the coming election. For three months and more the lieutenant-governor and his advisers have unrestrained political control. They have appointed a new commission to report upon further charges of pecuniary malfeasance on the part of their political opponents. The resources of the government are at their disposal. Exposures are predicted which will justify the lieutenant-governor's first intervention and the measures since adopted and executed by him on the advice of his new council, and which will secure a popular verdict in his favor.

The proceedings raise important constitutional questions. The "British North American Act of 1867," which with a few later explanations or amendments, is the present Constitution of the Dominion, contains the following articles:—

"85. Every Legislative Assembly . . . of Quebec shall continue for four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the same (subject, nevertheless, to . . . the Legislative Assembly of Quebec being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province), and no longer.

"86. There shall be a session of the Legislature of Ontario and of that of Quebec once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in each Province in one session and its first sitting in the next session."

The Legislature of Quebec concluded its last session December 30, 1890. If the provision of Article 86 had been carried out, it would have convened not later than December 29, 1891. Two days before, as we have said, it was dissolved. No session, therefore, is held within "twelve months." One question is, whether the provision in Article 86 for a meeting at least once a year is directory or prescriptive. Another is, whether, though prescriptive, it is limited in its operation by the provision for dissolution contained in Article 85.

If it be conceded that the articles must be taken together, and that Mr. Angers has not violated the constitution, it follows that it is within the prerogative of a lieutenant-governor in council to nullify the provision for a meeting every year of the representatives of the people.

Again, if Mr. Angers' first step is legal, — namely, the act, not merely of dismissing his ministers and forming a new cabinet, but of composing it of men not representing the declared majority of the people, — it is evident that his prerogative can at any time secure a dissolution, because it can call to his council men who, as ministers, will assume responsibility for such a step. If he can then delay an election for two or more months, and the meeting of a new legislature for a considerably longer time, it is evident that a very large place is still left in the Canadian constitution, both provincial and federate,¹ for government by prerogative, as opposed to government by the people. Our Canadian friends are disposed to look upon their constitution as superior to ours, especially at the point of prompt and immediate executive responsibility to the electorate. Should the policy and acts of Mr. Angers be sustained, some light will have been shed on the validity of this claim.

The action of the lieutenant-governor is defended on the ground of a grave public exigency, of which he is the proper judge. There is no doubt as to the seriousness of the charges preferred against the deposed ministry. To say the least, there is a strong *prima facie* case against it, whether Mr. Mercier is personally implicated or not. If it be decided that Mr. Angers has not exceeded his prerogative, there is a further question whether he has wisely exercised it. He has struck down a popular leader who has a strong hold upon the sentiment of French Canadian nationality. He has raised an issue of prerogative in a campaign for purity. He has indicted a political party, and not merely its leader. To an outsider the inquiry naturally arises: Supposing that Mr. Angers were satisfied that his advisers were corrupt, why should he not, in connection with their removal, have submitted the evidence to the Legislature, regularly convened, as it could have been without any delay? The lieutenant-governor appears to assume either that his evidence was not conclusive enough to control the judgment of the Assembly, — and in that event, how does he expect that it will control the election? — or that the Assembly, representing the people, was so corrupt that no evidence would alienate it from Mr. Mercier; and if this is correct, what reason has he to anticipate that the people who chose such representatives will repudiate them? It was in his power at least to test the Legislature, and thus to have eliminated from the contest one divisive and exciting question. He could have come nearer, it would seem, to the single issue of political integrity.

¹ The language of Article 86 repeats, so far as applicable, that of Article 20, which treats of "The Parliament of Canada." Compare, also, Article 85 with Article 50.

It may be that other and deeper interests are involved. Was Mr. Mercier becoming too formidable an antagonist to British rule in the Dominion? At any rate, there is, unfortunately, at present no indication of a campaign which will promote public morality, or of a result which can be claimed as of much moral importance. The event will probably be determined by the course pursued by the priesthood. If, for reasons of their own, the priests think it expedient to drop Mr. Mercier, the lieutenant-governor will win; otherwise, not.

It is said that the party of Mr. Mercier are privately talking more than ever of union with this country. We intend no disrespect to him, and still less to express any opinion on the truth of the charges now preferred against him by his political opponents, but we are compelled to say that the venality of politics in Canada is at present the most serious obstacle to the consideration of any such question in this country. We have enough difficulties of this sort of our own, not to dread their increase. A revival of the eighth commandment through agencies and efforts not secured by any political campaign, should be the precursor of any efforts for political union.

We cannot, however, but look with special interest upon the political contest which is going on, and with deep sympathy for those who are contending for political purity, however we may question the policy which has so greatly complicated the issue. There can be no graver political question than one of moral integrity in the administration of a popular government. Everything is jeopardized when this interest is not guarded. A liberal elector in Quebec, who is not a mere follower of his party, *and who does not anticipate any change in its leadership*, has before him a serious problem. On the one hand, if he sustains Mr. Angers, he helps to put upon the constitution of the province and of the Dominion an interpretation strongly in the interest of prerogative, and adverse to the principle of responsible government. On the other hand, if he follows Mr. Mercier, whither is he going, and what may he not be condoning? We should suppose that his decision would finally turn on the conclusiveness of the evidence of corruption which may be produced through the commission or otherwise. Even though it were clear that, if Mr. Angers has violated the constitution for the sake of removing an undeniably corrupt official, the importance in a free government of a careful conformity to the fundamental law would be decisive notwithstanding the greatness of the provocation, in the present case the breach of constitutional requirement is not beyond reasonable doubt, the weight of authority is on the side of the lieutenant-governor's interpretation, and the difficulty thus revealed can be remedied by an amendment through Parliament of the Act of 1867. On the other side is the tremendous evil which threatens to undermine the fabric of Canadian popular government, — the evil of election by bargaining and bribery, and of administration by jobbery and fraud. We express no opinion as to the merits

of the case in the personal issue now raised by Mr. Angers. We only say that, if the facts are found to warrant his dismissal of his ministers, the question of the constitutionality or the expediency of his subsequent acts is of inferior immediate importance to the moral issue thus presented.

We should think, also, that a believer in free popular government would begin, in view of what has occurred, to doubt the necessary superiority of the Canadian and English form of responsible government to our own. We see for the time a great political party identified in its fall with its leader. Mr. Angers does not appoint other liberals in the place of Mr. Mercier and his colleagues, but their political opponents. And, as respects the election, the issue becomes a question of adhering to Mr. Mercier. This may be an extreme case, but does it not reveal a tendency in that type of party management which obtains in England and the Dominion, and which concentrates power in a leader? When combined with traditional claims of prerogative, the evil is greatly enhanced. The responsibility to the people is for some months suspended. Everything is in the hands of a chief appointed directly, or by one remove, by the Crown, and of a ministry without a parliament or legislature to whom it is responsible, — a legislature whose lower house will not for months be constituted. And as the budget is arranged, the administration is supplied with funds. The provision made by our fathers that Congress "shall assemble at least once in every year" is not subject to any control by the President, though he is elected by the people. He is liable, also, to impeachment.

Since the preceding comments were sent to the printers, the commission appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council has met at Quebec, and testimony has been presented which points strongly to an implication of Mr. Mercier in the use, at least by connivance, of public money for electioneering purposes. His explanation is, that the money was drawn, without his knowledge, by his brother. The latter testifies to the same effect, and says that he has the checks and stubs. The treasurer of the fund for the election confirms the story. It must be admitted that one link in the chain of evidence encircling Mr. Mercier is wanting. The suspicions awakened are, however, producing an effect, and there are some signs of a disposition to change the party leadership.

On the other hand, just complaint is made that the commission is composed entirely of Conservatives.

The process of unseating members of the Dominion parliament goes on. Some forty vacancies have been created, including those by death. The extent to which the use of "boodle" controls elections is appalling. In this country we are, unfortunately, not unfamiliar with the endeavors of legislators to strengthen themselves with their constituents by securing appropriations. But in Quebec, and we suppose to some extent in other

provinces of Canada, a worse evil is apparent. In no small degree it is constitutional, inbred, being an inheritance from systems of government and administration which obtained before that of local autonomy and popular election was established. Government by prerogative and patronage has prepared a soil for government by "buddle." Local electoral support is secured upon some understanding that it will be rewarded by the expenditure in the city or county of large sums of money from the provincial or federal treasury. "Human means," if we recall the phrase of a late very eminent political Canadian leader, is the euphemism for such aids in carrying an election, and it is a suggestive hint as to the kind of humanity with which he was accustomed successfully to deal. The need, especially in the Province of Quebec, of a self-respecting civic independence and municipal virtue, and of a political manhood such as can only be gained under freer conditions of educational and religious life, is painfully apparent. Meanwhile the public debt is becoming alarming, and recent developments have produced a sharp decline in Quebec securities.

Apart from the moral issue and desire for the good name and the prosperity of our neighbors, on this side of the line the most interesting aspect of the situation in Quebec is the constitutional question. According to Mr. Angers and his party, an appointee of an appointee of the crown, can, for cause of which he is the final judge, turn out of office the cabinet representatives of the dominant political party, dissolve the Legislature, assume the entire government, appoint from his own party a commission to investigate the administration of his political opponents, and then seek to carry a delayed election by means of the information thus obtained. Anything approaching such arbitrariness would in this country bury any political party that should attempt it.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE CRISIS IN MORALS. An examination of Rational Ethics in the Light of Modern Science, by JAMES THOMAS BIXBY, Ph. D. 12mo, pp. 315. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1891.

The title of this little book is well chosen, although many who have already passed through the intellectual struggle which it warns us of will feel that the crisis of which the author speaks is past. This is perhaps partly true, because the rapid adjustment of men and their beliefs to the doctrine of evolution has been effected with less loss of what was valuable in the beliefs it is supplanting than was expected. It is equally true, however, that the practical consequences of that doctrine have not yet been felt, and hence there is a crisis in morals of which three or four generations hence may feel the effects more than we do. It requires time to reveal the effects of a great and revolutionary doctrine. Besides,

it is quite possible that the very anxiety expressed in such works may avail to awaken the torpid sense of mankind to a knowledge of what civilization may lose by totally abandoning the ideas of the past and accepting on trust a doctrine which has been careful to cultivate a strong spirit of antagonism to the intellectual inheritance of our forefathers. Of course, the Nemesis of this conduct is the indispensable nature of the past, according to evolution, for understanding the present. But this fact is easily lost sight of in the heat of controversy and the new enthusiasm for evolution; so that the most that the mind may feel in obtaining an intellectual and moral readjustment is a sense of irreconcilable opposition between evolutionistic and traditional ethics. It is evidently this fact which impressed itself upon the author we are noticing when he chose his title and discussed the subject of it so earnestly.

The first few chapters of the book do not promise so much as the later discussion reveals. We were rather afraid that the criticism would be incomplete and fail of meeting the real questions. Mr. Spencer is almost the only person involved in the criticism, and it would have augured better for the work to have had the first of it equal in strength to the latter part. But the criticism of Spencer's theory of pleasure and its relation to conduct seems at places not to represent him fairly, because the impression is left that on this question he is at one with the utilitarians generally. Nothing, we think, is farther from the truth. To us, Spencer seems to have abandoned the strictly and purely utilitarian view more completely than Mill with his difference of quality between pleasures. It may be true that Spencer is not aware of the extent of his departure. But this has nothing to do with the logical nature of his position. The author's strictures are to the point in their treatment of utilitarian ethics generally, and also of Spencer so far as he is a member of that school. But it is not observed that Spencer's admission that pleasure is a means to the attainment of an end and pain to its avoidance implies their subordinate and relative character. This point could have been used with telling effect by the author, had he chosen to avail himself of it.

In regard to the authority of moral ideas, we have not seen a stronger criticism of Spencer anywhere. The point made by the author is that, if moral ideas derive their authority from inherited feelings and experiences, the sanctions of maxims like those of self-preservation and æsthetic taste ought to be accompanied by a fixed and inseparable sense of obligation, having been longer a part of the constitution than the later duties which are regarded as more imperative. Indeed, as the author well remarks, "the injunctions of conscience do not run with the stream of our hereditary tendencies, but rather against them." This is, of course, to show that moral sanctions are not commensurate with the age of our impulses as transmitted by a long ancestry. The importance of the fact cannot be overestimated, and we are glad to see it so strongly put by the author.

The author must not be understood as an opponent of evolution. On the contrary, he is, or claims to be, one of its disciples, but he protests against an application of it and its postulates which would undo for the future some of the very results of the process itself. The reconstructive effort after the criticism is along the line of Leslie Stephen and Martineau. This is a strange combination of views. But, on the one hand, the basis of the author's view rests upon the solidarity of human interests and relations, and on the other his conception of conscience is that of a

faculty which decides, not upon the absolute worth of any impulse, but upon its relative value in connection with a competing spring. Nevertheless, we do not think that the analysis of conscience is complete. While we admit Martineau's position to be correct so far as it goes, we think conscience is too complex a faculty to be limited to the exercise of a single function. The author might have been helped in his criticism of Spencer, and especially of the whole evolutionary doctrine, if he had analyzed the moral faculty more carefully. It would have been very useful also if he had distinguished between the historical "origin" and the logical "origin" or deduction of moral ideas. In spite of these minor defects, however, the book is fresh and strong. The style is unusually clear and precise, and we could wish it longer than it is.

J. H. Hyslop.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, N. Y.

'THINGS TO COME : ' Being Essays towards a Fuller Apprehension of the Christian Idea. London : Eliot Stock.

This volume consists of a series of papers read before a group of people in London who have united for conference as to the deeper and less tangible elements in Christian experience. They have come strongly under the influence of the Christian mystics ; and with this influence is associated on the one hand an interest in Oriental religion and theosophy, and on the other an endeavor rightly to appreciate the new body of facts that are resulting from psychical research. Two of the contributors are already known in their writings, if not by their names, — Mr. J. W. Farquhar, author of "The Gospel of the Divine Humanity," a book which has attracted much serious attention in England ; and the Rev. R. W. Corbet, a man of a rare order of spiritual insight, who wrote the "Letters from a Mystic of the Present Day."¹

The book furnishes a needed corrective to the life, even to the religious life, of the present time. Some views are advocated which seem vague and hardly profitable. This is of course nearly always characteristic of the way of the mystic. But one finds here very little of what is merely fanciful, and an entire absence of any of the grotesque elements of the many so-called esoteric philosophies. On the contrary, there are strains all through the book which deeply reassure one that life is after all not made up merely of bodily activity and mental calculations. Every writer comes to his discussion from the point of view that beyond the limits of the rational, there is a power in us for intuition ; and that this power — independent of reason, but subject to having its results patiently investigated — is the one of the most vital consequence. Without having the simplicity which has passed perhaps with the seers of earlier ages, the book breathes the serenity of minds set upon inward contemplation.

Mr. Farquhar, in giving "Some First Principles of Spiritual Interpretation," expresses with great clearness and discernment the truth of the unity of the universe, how that in every minutest part of it somehow God is divinely speaking. Mr. Corbet takes up the same thought in the chapter on "Some Fundamental Aspects of the Christ-Revelation." He says : "In Him we find the truth that every creature is a fragment of the life of God, whose indwelling power is bringing it through conflict

¹ See *Andover Review*, vol. ii. p. 216.

and knowledge of evil into fellowship with himself and his creatures. This is the Christ-revelation as I understand it in its fundamental aspect." A chapter by an anonymous writer contains some striking passages. For one thing, he remarks, "Surely if there were no religion higher than truth, . . . religion, so far as it is the best, is still the property of the very few, and that few rather favored than meritorious." Again, in support of the doctrine of the unity of the universe, he says, "Universalism is not the destruction of the individual, but of Individualism." In a comparison between Buddhism and Christianity, he says, "In the one, the divine union is conceived as identification without distinction; in the other, the union is conceived as organic." The remainder of the book, after a forcible and hardly overdrawn statement of the immoralities practiced in the name of medicine and a clear account of Christian Science, is by the Rev. G. W. Allen, who has edited the whole. Mr. Allen well shows the distinction of the Christian conception of God as searching for man, — "never so far off as even to be near." The explanation of points of Christian doctrine by Mr. Allen has some very fine turns of insight. His peculiar view is in taking the Apostle Paul literally in saying, "It is no more *I* that do it." That is, he believes the present existence to be of the nature of a dream. Mr. Allen endeavors to show that the conception is not lacking in moral impetus, but this I cannot see that he makes out.

The Christo-Theosophical Society, under whose auspices the papers were read, excludes the rather materialistic speculations of the theosophy of which we are now hearing; and I believe that the society has a useful office. It is generally admitted that Christianity, in coming into the West, lost much of the strong imaginative element which was characteristic of it in its original home. It is sometimes eloquently said that as Christianity returns to the East, it may there take up again the qualities which it lost. It may even be that we ourselves shall hear what remains of the Orient's message.

Robert A. Woods.

JUSTICE. Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. Pp. 291. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

The public will be glad to learn that Mr. Spencer has so far recovered his health as to encourage the prospect of his completing the long-promised "Principles of Ethics." For fear, however, that he might again be interrupted in it, he has here published the fourth part, omitting Parts II. and III. The "Data of Ethics," published in 1879, contained his fundamental doctrines, and there is nothing in the present volume which shows any substantial changes of opinion, except, perhaps, his views about land, which were decidedly socialistic when the "Social Statics" was published. No fundamental principles of his general doctrine of ethics are affected by this change, and hence the present volume will invite attention only for its treatment of a special subject comprehended under the general doctrine of evolution.

In so far as Mr. Spencer is discussing merely the history of justice and the idea of justice, there is, perhaps, little to be said by way of criticism. For it is more than probable that the notion has been "devaloped" in much the same way as he maintains. But Mr. Spencer imagines that his view controverts and overthrows opinions endeavoring to give

the basis of justice. In spite of his professed agnosticism, he never seems to realize that he is giving only the history of moral conceptions, and is not *deducing* them from general principles. As long as we are trying to find the "origin" of the idea of justice, we may well examine what are called "animal ethics," "not human justice," etc. But if we suppose that "human justice" represents anything which has been added to the lower forms, it is this increment that has to be accounted for, and unless we assume it to be the same in kind as the lower, it is absurd to talk about the higher being "developed" from that form. There may be qualities in common between "subhuman" and "human justice," but if there are differences, it is no solution of the question about the origin of this differentia to talk about the common qualities. Throughout the discussion, Mr. Spencer simply mistakes a history for the deductions of moral ideas.

In regard to the present volume, however, it is to be said that it more closely approximates a deduction of moral principles than the "Data of Ethics," of which it is a continuation. This is apparent in the amount of a *priori* argument involved in the attempt to bring the formula of justice under that of freedom. Mr. Spencer here agrees with Kant in his doctrine of the right to freedom, and makes this the postulate of all other rights, unless we except that of life, or, as he calls it, "physical integrity," which is made to cover more than the right to life. After enunciating the right to equal freedom among the members of the social organism, justice is made a right which the postulate of freedom requires for its own realization. This is giving it an "origin" quite distinct from that implied by its development from "sub-human justice." Independently of this question, the volume offers little for criticism except in regard to some inconsistencies relating to the increase of state functions in social matters. Outside the doctrine of evolution, Mr. Spencer has nothing suggestive to present on ethics. His service lies exclusively in his application of evolution to the subject, unless we except his honorable effort to reconcile certain opposing theories, an effort, however, which has been more creditable to his candor than to his judgment, because he fails to see in his so-called reconciliation between Intuitionism and Empiricism that he has merely pushed the problem back from the individual to the race, and without really solving it. Nevertheless, it is a gain to have it admitted that there is something in the individual which his experience cannot account for. It is also interesting to observe language which will offend the partisan utilitarian. No criticism of that doctrine could be stronger than that in which he sums up the results of preceding chapters, when he says: "So that the evidence yields a double condemnation of the method of empirical utilitarianism. Facts conclusively prove the failure of that method and the success of the opposite method." This may or not be true. It is no matter of ours. But it is a concession of great importance.

J. H. Hyslop.

THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS CONTENTS OF THE PSALTER in the Light of Old Testament Criticism, and the History of Religions, with an Introduction and Appendices. Eight Lectures. Preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1889, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury. By THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE, M. A., D. D. 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 517. New York : Thomas Whittaker, 2 & 3 Bible House. 1891.

THIS is preëminently a book for *scholars* by a *scholar*. The Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture here edits what the Bampton Lecturer of 1889 has spoken to the University of Oxford. In the preface he states his object to critics. "It is primarily historical, but also in a very real sense apologetic." To fellow-students he makes appeal. They are asked as only students can be to ponder first one part and then another of his argument. Here is art! This involves keeping that argument in view for a long time as the hurrying masses cannot. The very complexity of the problem is, to a competent scholar, the strongest recommendation of his theme. The author is no fledgling. Hence he does not hesitate to mark out the way to study his book. He would have it read first without, and next with, the notes and appendices. Some of his older readers would possibly do well to read the second part before the first. Interestingly, almost pathetically, the commentator on the Prophecies of Isaiah sketches his own antecedents as a student. How he began with Ewald and Schleiermacher, and ended with Graf and Kuenen, is recounted from an academic standpoint. Nor does he fail to link himself sympathetically with scholars like Robertson Smith, and Professor Driver, Professor Davidson, and Professor Briggs. He ventures to commend his work finally from the side of education as well as criticism.

The contents of this volume, wherein the "exercise of the critical faculty and of the historic imagination has been to the writer no less truly a religious work" than the worship of the sanctuary, are singularly rich. They begin with a chronological table, covering the period from Jehoiachin's captivity to Herod the Great. They end with two indices. The first is of names and subjects; the second of passages from the Scriptures and other ancient books. So exact and complete is the latter that it may serve as "a critical commentary on the Psalms and on related passages of the Bible." The lectures are enlarged, but otherwise unaltered. Lecture I. is entitled the Psalter within the Psalter and an Analysis of Books IV. and V., which Lecture II. continues and concludes. Lecture III. treats of Maccabæan Psalms in Books II. and III., and of Psalms of the Pre-Maccabæan, Greek, and of the Persian Period in Books II. and III. Lecture IV. discusses Psalm 72, as related to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Psalm 51, as not related to David. Lecture V. treats of the earliest of the minor Psalters and larger groups of Psalms in Book I. At this stage, when, according to the writer, the proof has been given that the Psalter belongs to the period of the Jewish Church (the 18th being the only possible pre-exile Psalm), occurs the transition to the theological part of the lecture. In Lectures VI., VII., VIII., respectively, we may read of the God of the Psalter, Jehovah's sphere, agencies, and results, Human obedience and Divine loving-kindness, with much besides. The appendices contain last words on Maccabæan Psalms and other points, and signal the linguistic affinities of the Psalms.

It is needless to say that a programme so comprehensive is full of charm. The learning is minute and affluent. The style is frank and fascinating. One book of Scripture is made to illuminate another. Part I. might easily be enlarged into a synthetic introduction to the Old Testament. Part II. is a bold outline of the history of post-exilic Jewish religion down to the Advent. Not merely is the underlying principle sound; "preconceived theological notions ought to be vigorously excluded from exegesis." The author has practiced on his own theories. His extreme self-suppression has passed away. He has not been afraid to emphasize the permanent religious value of the mythical and legendary in the Old Testament. He has not disdained to avail himself of Assyriological studies so long as his fading vision would permit. In particular the church owes him much for the timeliness of his book in the present state of Pentateuch criticism.

Whether all of his criticisms are accepted or not, it remains a lasting service that one of the best of English scholars asserts that the religious ideas of the Psalter are not borrowed. We read with satisfaction the positive statement: "It is only on such secondary points as the time of the first prayer, the number and personality of angels, and the existence of demons or evil spirits that we can imagine Jewish believers to have been directly and absolutely indebted to their new lords. To say that the lofty mysticism of the Psalms is of Persian origin is only a few degrees less rash than to derive it from Babylonia."

There are many who will be even more charmed and cheered by his lucid and persuasive story of the Rise of the Doctrine of Judgment after Death. Had any of the Psalmists an intuition of such a judgment of individuals? Yes. Psalm 48 is a protest against old Hebrew notions of Sheol. Death might be but a temporary defeat, was the great surmise. But the surmise of one generation is the hope of the next. The Mystical Psalms, the Guest Psalms, throb with this idea. "As for me I shall behold thy face in righteousness," is almost a foreglance of the First Epistle of St. John.

The writers are not indifferent to the hereafter. There is a moral compensation of the righteous beyond the grave. Heaven and hell were primarily states of the soul to Zarathustra. He believed in a vision of God after death. Can the Jewish church have been uninfluenced by this congenial religion? Surely not. The idea of eternal life that palpitates in the Psalter was no mere evolution out of the Semitic Sheol, no mere echo of the Platonic immortality of soul, it was the holy mate of the most ethical and spiritual portion of the creed of Iran.

It were easy to note many another virtue of Professor Cheyne's remarkable work. That, however, might blind us to certain serious faults. The form of the book is too intricate and repetitious for the best service as a manual. The tone of the writer is too subjective, arbitrary, and dogmatic for an audience as yet divided into warring camps. While it is entirely possible that the 68th Psalm was composed in the third century, it does not follow that Professor Cheyne is justified in language so magisterial as this. "Pre-exilic the poem cannot be; and I may add Maccabæan it cannot be." The 110th Psalm may refer to Simon Maccabæus, and plausible arguments are no doubt advanced to that effect. Does that authorize the question: "Who else can be meant but Simon?" A more modest statement of the origin of the 72d Psalm would better preface it than the trenchant phrase: "The times are past when even Samuel Taylor Coleridge could say that in any other than the Christian

sense Psalm 72 would be a specimen of more than Persian or Mogul hyperbole and bombast."

We are disposed to agree with those also who hold that Cheyne's position respecting David's Psalms is extreme. He denies the "sweet Psalmist of Israel" each and all of the lyrics which not the superscriptions only, but Ewald, Hitzig and Delitzsch ascribe to him. To be sure, there was an early tradition respecting the origin of Psalter I., making it Davidic. That was probably a misunderstanding. Why should such a man of war be on a higher spiritual level than in the books of Samuel? David was a gifted musician and secular poet. Not that all his compositions were non-religious. When he played before Jehovah with songs, some of them may have been made by him. Only we cannot consistently suppose that such religious songs of David transcended the spiritual capacities of the people. From the point of view of the history of art not less than from that of the history of religion, the supposition that we have Davidic Psalms presents insuperable difficulties. The only question is, considering how fond the Psalmists are of quotations, whether they may not have preserved phrases or verses of Davidic hymns, and whether the editors of the Psalms may not in the same conservative spirit have combined old Davidic with new and very un-Davidic material. In such opinions Cheyne is less near the truth, we are persuaded, than Canon Driver, who says it is not clear that none of the Psalms of Ewald's list are of David's composition. It will seem to more than one that the 18th Psalm has a real Davidic authentication in the appendix to Second Samuel, as well as in the inward dignity and divine favor of which the singer is conscious. Mark the kingly thoughts, the pure sense of right, of the brave and victorious warrior who had at heart his people's welfare. Others will feel with Professor Steenstra that it is antecedently probable that a poet of such rare gifts, and of such warm enthusiasm for Jehovah and his service, would consecrate his powers in part to religious compositions. All the more in view of the close connection of ancient public life with religion, and the cultivation of sacred song in the schools of the prophets. If David and Psalmist are well nigh synonymous, does not the tradition presuppose a basis of fact? What the chronicler states respecting David's connection with psalmody may yet be recognized as more trustworthy than the theories of the gifted Bampton Lecturer.

We do not imagine that Cheyne's hypothesis of two Davids, the one the hero of the transition from rudeness to culture, and the other of a cunning art and a more spiritual religion, is likely to captivate the body of believers.

But Cheyne's emulation of Paul, the great reviser of exegesis, yet steeped in reverence, and Cheyne's ambition to enable the English-speaking peoples to love and honor the Psalms, not less heartily but more wisely and in a more historical spirit, are worthy of the church's admiration and enthusiastic praise.

John Phelps Taylor.

KANON UND TEXT DES ALTEN TESTAMENTES. Dargestellt von Dr. FRANTS BUHL, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Leipzig. 8vo, pp. vi, 262. Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung (W. Faber). 1891.

This, like the work of Professor Wildeboer, noticed in the January number of this "Review," is a German edition, enlarged and brought

up to date, of a work which originally appeared in another language. Professor Buhl, who is Delitzsch's successor at Leipzig, published in 1885 a little volume in Danish, "*Den Gammeltestamentlige Skriftoverlevering*," containing (pp. 1-56) a sketch of the history of the Canon, and (57-195) a history of the tradition of the Hebrew text and the ancient versions which form the chief part of our critical apparatus. This second part of the book, by its clear and concise presentation of the actual state of our knowledge and its careful and reasonably full references to the literature, formed an excellent introduction to the thorny paths of Old Testament text criticism. In its new form its usefulness will be very much extended.

In regard to the Canon, Buhl is inclined to take somewhat earlier dates for the close of the second and third collections than Wildeboer. He agrees with him that the canonization of the law is the work of Ezra; but thinks that we must go considerably back of 200 B. C. for the close of the Prophetic Canon, since it was generally recognized in its present extent by 170, and translated by 140. Josephus, writing about 100 A. D., is a witness that at the end of the first Christian century the conception of a canonical collection of Scriptures was clearly defined, and the limits of the collection corresponded with our own. The controversies in the Jewish schools are of a merely scholastic character, and were without any perceptible effect on popular opinion. He concludes that the third division of the Hebrew Canon had reached its present limits and its close before the time of Christ. The doubts which the dogmatic conception of Scripture aroused about some of these books led to a formal definition at Jamnia toward the end of the first century of our era. The Bible of the Alexandrian Jews, and of their attitude to the Canon is examined. In a second division the history of the Canon of the Old Testament in the Christian Church is briefly sketched.

The second part of the work, the *History of the Old Testament Texts*, gives us an account of the critical apparatus, editions, and manuscript of the Hebrew text, collections of various readings, the Massora, quotations, etc.; then of the versions, the Septuagint, the rival Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Jerome's Latin version, and the Vulgate, the Targums, the Syriac versions. A second division is devoted to the external history of the text (writing materials, history of the Hebrew alphabet, vowel points and accents, divisions of the text), and to its internal history. This part of the subject is treated with somewhat disproportionate brevity. I am very glad to see that an English edition of this useful little book is announced.

George F. Moore.

LABOR AND LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. Volume II.: London, continued. Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. With maps and appendix under a separate cover. London: Williams & Norgate. Sold in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons.

WITH the progress of Mr. Charles Booth's work, its great significance begins to be more justly realized. It means very much, to begin with, that Mr. Booth, who with undue modesty appears merely as editor of the volumes, should have shown so large-minded a use of his time and means. It is to be hoped that in the future other successful business men, with a turn for exact investigation, may in other cities follow his

example. There is good reason to believe that the studies of Mr. Booth and those who have assisted him will mark the rise of a new school of economists, who shall find their special data in actual present conditions. At any rate, such studies will furnish a valuable corrective to results that are drawn from merely theoretical or merely historical considerations.

The list of contributors to the present volume includes several names which did not appear in the first volume, and some of the earlier contributors do not appear here. This is of course due to the fact that volume ii. treats of Central and South London, while volume i. dealt especially with the East End. Mr. Booth has wisely followed the plan of retaining only a few regular assistants, and of having each different district described by a person who has a close acquaintance with it. There is no falling off in the ability with which subjects are treated. One notices, however, the absence of the spirited writing of Miss Beatrice Potter.

There are three specially important parts of volume ii., — the sketches of life from house to house in one part of Central London, the account of the many model tenement-houses that have been erected in London of recent years, and the description of the facilities for elementary and secondary education in the metropolis. The state of life as actually shown gives color to the statistics, and tends to show that Mr. Booth certainly has not erred on the side of pessimism in his assignment of cases to the respective classes. There has been some controversy already among reviewers of the book as to the hopeful or discouraging bearings of the results presented. Some have been disposed to find the problem of poverty almost wholly in Mr. Booth's two lowest classes, A and B, which are but 9.4 per cent. of the whole population of London; and to suggest that it ought not to be so difficult for the rest of Londoners to lift this residuum. But even from this point of view, it must be said that of the rest of the inhabitants, 73.2 per cent., according to Mr. Booth's figures, have the most they can do to take care of themselves, — leaving a somewhat small number who might easily be supposed to be available for rescuing the remnant at the bottom. The fact is that classes C and D, to any one who knows the circumstances, offer a serious problem of their own which it is a great mistake lightly to pass over. Mr. Booth describes these classes as "including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid." Mr. Booth himself includes these classes in counting the proportion of poverty for the metropolis. Under his calculations 32.1 per cent. of the inhabitants of London are lower down than the condition of working-class comfort. The middle and upper classes constitute 17.4 per cent. When there is removed from this group the small shopkeepers, the counting-house assistants, and nearly all of the literary workers, one can see how few of the people possess the wealth of the world's great capital.

The account of the model dwellings is very valuable. It is the first connected treatment that has appeared, I think, of what has been done in London for the housing of the working class. The contribution of Miss Octavia Hill and that of "A Lady Resident" hold rather contradictory positions as to the good effects of the large blocks. It ought to be said, however, that Miss Hill in her work has undertaken the specially difficult problem of the housing of the casual workers, who live in one room; and also that the heroic struggle she has made against London

poverty now for nearly thirty years, with its results so hard to be seen, must naturally have weakened hope.

Robert A. Woods.

ANDOVER.

HELD FAST FOR ENGLAND. A Tale of the Siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783). By G. A. HENTY. Author of "The Dash for Khartoum," "Redskin and Cowboy," "With Lee in Virginia," "Bonnie Prince Charlie," "In the Reign of Terror," "By Right of Conquest," etc. Illustrated by Gordon Browne. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. Pp. 353. \$1.50.

THE DASH FOR KHARTOUM. A Tale of the Nile Expedition. By G. A. HENTY. Author of "Held Fast for England," "Redskin and Cowboy," "By Right of Conquest," "The Lion of the North," "With Lee in Virginia," "The Cat of Bubastes," etc. With ten page illustrations by Joseph Nash, R. I., and John Schönberg. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. Pp. 382. \$1.50.

These are very healthy boy's stories, full of adventure, yet only of such as might, with a legitimate use of the reader's good-will, be supposed to befall a lad or young man of good parts, firm will, ready wit, good education, and sufficient means, engaged in the service of England at the great conjunctures noted. The first is interesting, as showing how a youth of seventeen, by the force of nature, ability, and superior training, came virtually to command a vessel of some importance without once forgetting his proper subordination, or ceasing to be the boy. The author succeeds in introducing an animated variety of characters without finding it necessary to bring in a villain, except an occasional glimpse; although in the second story the plot turns on the confusion wrought by the nurse of one hero and mother of the other, who, however, falls out of the story, and leaves the abused parents to rejoice that they have obtained two sons instead of one. The manly and disinterested affection of the two young men, twin brothers, though nothing akin, and joint heirs to an estate, of which neither knows, and, ultimately, neither cares, whether he is the native heir or not, is wrought out in a very original way, and a way to make unselfishness seem a very desirable thing. It is just enough like "Don John" to be very different. The year's adventures of the one brother in the desert, as captive of an Arab sheikh, until the other finds him out, are so described as to give us the wholesome impression that the sheikh and his wife, within the range of their knowledge and ideas, are as thoroughly worthy people as if they had spoken English, and lived in London town.

The dialogues are rather too didactic for the best dramatic effect, or would be if they were not so thoroughly wrought into the animation of the events, and the author inclines rather to the better fault of making his inferior characters speak too good an English, than, after the fashion of the "Youth's Companion" stories, not allowing anybody to speak good English for whom a "realistic" excuse can possibly be devised for speaking bad. Mr. Henty, we suppose, must be an Irishman, or he could hardly have given so lifelike a presentation of the drollery and brogue of an Irishman as in Teddy Burke, while leaving him thoroughly the educated gentleman.

The author makes his readers share Queen Victoria's exasperation at the inconceivable dilatoriness of the English government in undertaking to relieve Khartoum, for which Her Majesty has been roundly abused by idolaters of the Grand Old Man, although his eminent talents are allowed,

we believe, to be in general more efficient for domestic disintegration than for foreign consolidation, and having thrown away Khartoum and Gordon, he now stands avowedly ready to throw away Egypt into the bargain. It has even been discovered, by his determined glorifiers, that Gordon is "a myth." As it seems, then, that he never existed, of course there was never any delay in relieving him. We are afraid that, by way of reprisals, somebody may claim to have discovered that Mr. Gladstone's glorious part in the reconstitution of Italy is a myth.

The range of motives in the two stories is that of a healthy and generous pursuit of objects within the ordinary level of desire. There is no attempt to go higher, and to follow Mr. Hughes, while of religion there is so faint a trace that, with a few trifling excisions, the two tales might serve for public school reading-books in a Western State, or even in the province of Victoria.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

The Sabbath in Puritan New England. By Alice Morse Earle. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. Pp. viii, 335. \$1.25. — This is full of minute particulars, which from a man's pen would be apt to be stupid, but which this authoress makes very living. She succeeds in showing us the Puritan Sabbath in all its strictness, and yet in giving us to see that life in the time of our great-great-grandfathers was felt by them to be well worth living, that it had body, and warmth, and variety, and not a little jollity. This is something which male writers in general, even where they have had a good-will, have been of too clumsy a wit to accomplish. The authoress also, as is natural, shows us with peculiar distinctness how the supposed sombreness of Puritan congregations was, almost from the beginning, lighted up by the variety and richness, and even splendor of female attire. She gives also a very full development of the Puritan psalmody, words and music, and sympathetically brings us to see how the soul of devotion could find a point of attachment even in all the barbarous degeneracy of the latter, giving force to the presentation by a very apposite quotation from Arthur Clough. The book, in short, shows us a possible and actual, and not, as James Russell Lowell said of Brooks Adams and his book, a purely impossible New England.

The author gives us some droll pictures of the somewhat riotous triumphs of the awakening æsthetic sense in the eighteenth century. Brooklyn, Connecticut, in 1762, must have carried off the palm in the "culling" of its parish church. "The body of the house was painted a bright orange; the doors and 'bottom boards' a warm chocolate color; the 'window-jets,' corner-boards, and weather-boards white. What a bright nose-gay of color! As a crowning glory Brooklyn people put up an 'Ecclerick Rod' on the gorgeous edifice, and proudly boasted that Brooklyn meeting-house was the 'newest, biggest, and yallowest in the county.'" "Seating the meeting," with all the comical variety of heart-burnings which it occasioned, above all, the unchivalrous displeasure of the young men when young women were allowed to build pews for themselves, is described in most amusing fullness of detail. Indeed, there is not a dull page in the book, which is pervaded equally with humor and with appreciative sympathy.

Charles C. Starbuck.

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By JOHN F. GENUNG,

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All Bible students, whatever their individual capacity, or the motive of their study, have reason to rejoice in the appearance of this book. Its purpose and method were foreshadowed in an article on The Interpretation of the Book of Job, which appeared in *The Andover Review* three years ago, but that article, interesting and suggestive as it was, did no more than foreshadow the completed work. The value of this study of the Book of Job is manifold. . . . The diction of his translation is strong, varied, bold, and appropriate, not only to the thought, but to the motive of the poem. . . . The notes are critical in the true sense, bringing to light precisely what is dark in the poem. . . . It is in the introductory study, which occupies more than a third of the book, that Professor Genung's most valuable work appears, in the key which it furnishes to the meaning of the poem.

It would be a grateful task to go through this book more minutely, pointing out to our readers the force and vigor of its thoughts, the beauty and appropriateness of its language, the remarkable sympathy and insight which characterize it, especially the portion devoted to the Introductory Study of the poem, and the deep suggestiveness of many of the notes; of the beauty of the translation we have already spoken. But we prefer to leave all this, contenting ourselves with the hope that every reader of this review will feel impelled to study the book for himself. — *New York Evangelist*.

We commend this venture of the Amherst professor to the close and careful study of all lovers of literature and religion. We think he has wrought out a rich "find" in this old Biblical mine of spiritual gold. We have read the whole book, — "study," translations, notes, — all with an interest that amounts to fascination. — *The Watchman* (Boston).

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Rightly read, this is an extremely stimulating and interesting work. . . . It will be heartily welcomed, both because of its freshness and power, and for its position as an exponent of the catholic and reverential, but fearless and informed study of the Bible. — *Hartford Courant*.

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THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE CHRIST AND THE CREATION. <i>Rev. John Coleman Adams</i>	225
2. THE DUDLEIAN LECTURE FOR THE YEAR 1891. <i>Professor Emerton</i>	238
3. VIEWS OF DR. A. BAER ON DRUNKENNESS. <i>Dr. Arthur MacDonald</i>	259
4. REFLECTIONS OF A PRISONER.	265
5. PESSIMISM'S PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY. <i>Mr. Gerald H. Beard</i>	272
6. MISSIONS WITHIN AND WITHOUT CHRISTENDOM. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i>	277
7. EUDÆMONISTIC ETHICS. — A REPLY. <i>Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster</i>	293
8. EDITORIAL.	
RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY	298
LEWIS FRENCH STEARNS.	307
THE CHRISTIAN ACADEMY	308
HOW MUCH DID THE AMERICAN BOARD MEAN IN GRANTING TO THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE LIBERTY TO ASK "SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS"?	312
9. NOTES FROM ENGLAND. <i>Mr. Joseph King, M. A.</i>	318
10. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Knox's A Winter in India and Malaysia among the Methodist Missions, 321. — La-visse's General View of the Political History of Europe, 321. — Caldecott's English Colonization and Empire, 324. — Pierson's The Divine Enterprise of Missions, 326.	
11. BOOKS RECEIVED	327

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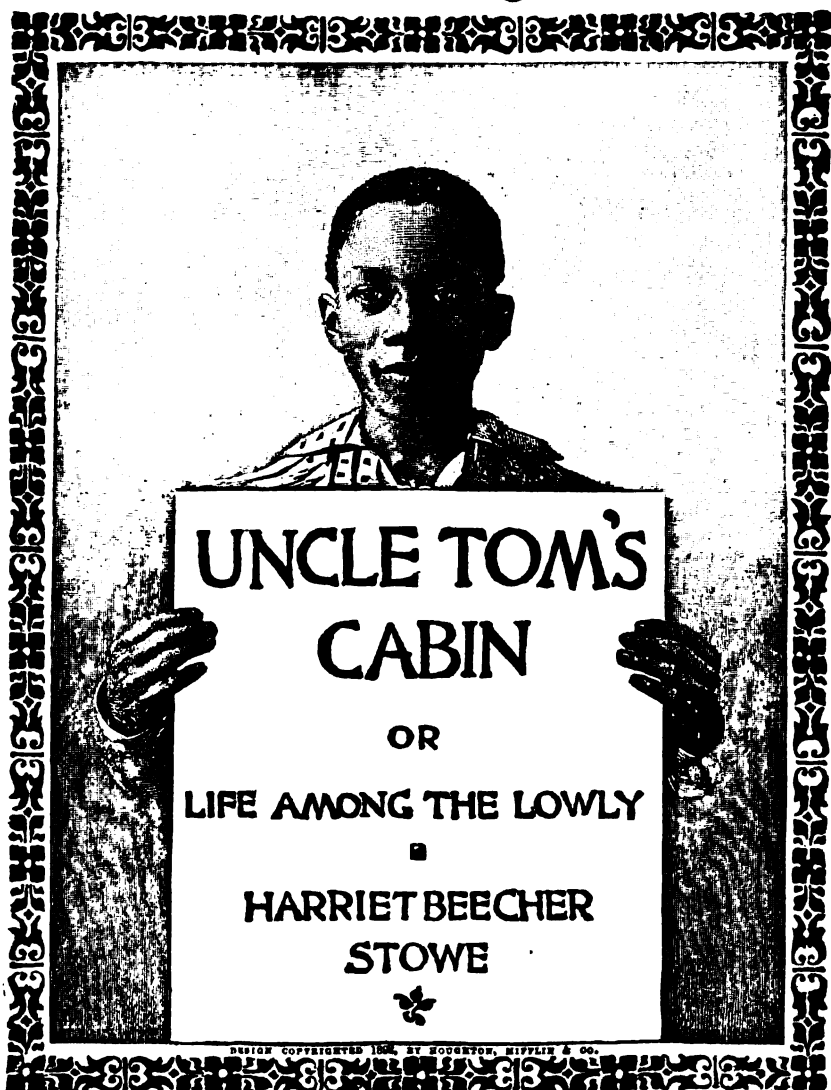
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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:
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THE CHRIST AND THE CREATION.

ONE of the favorite feats of modern Biblical criticism is the attempt to show that since the New Testament writers vary greatly in the conceptions they present of Jesus Christ, they therefore have in mind very different personalities, or at best but the uncertain sense of the same person; and so we are made to feel, as Dr. Martineau tells us in his latest and most disappointing book, that the image of the real Jesus "becomes confused, and its living expression almost fades from view," in the accounts of evangelist and apostle. But the practical reason of mankind robs this attempt of all its destructive force. A difference in the point of view introduces an almost absolutely new terminology. The chemist describing the sun to his class, the astronomer outlining its functions as a centre of worlds, would both use a vocabulary which is of no use to the invalid who wants to set forth the reviving effects its rays have had on his enfeebled body. It is one of the necessities of the existence of such a being, as Christendom assumes Jesus to have been, that He should present a new aspect to every new age and to every new school of thought. Just in proportion, too, as He is a real and definite phenomenon in the world's history, and not a shifting wraith of the imagination, will it become necessary to translate the statement of his relations to mankind into the language of each new generation. Yet all variations of phrase describe the same personality, and only serve to unfold his enlarging relations as they develop with the process of moral evolution. Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." But to bring his personality and his work home to the reason and conscience of man requires a different statement

in the nineteenth century from one that suited the mood of the first.

Thus, to be specific, it was inevitable that Jesus himself should address his efforts to the men and women nearest to Him. His mind grasped the functions which in God's providence his own nation was called to fill in the evolution of a new and spiritual economy. He saw how that conception, distorted and narrowed as it had become, filled the minds of his countrymen. He therefore strove to make them realize how He came in fulfillment of that providence, and for the further unfolding of the divine plan. He put himself before that Jewish age as the fulfillment of the law and the prophets, the Messiah who was to come, the Christ, the Son of the living God. This, to his own people and generation, was the fittest interpretation of his work which could be given. For, since his immediate audience was filled with the sense of God's purpose in committing to Israel a certain leadership of mankind, what was more natural, necessary, inevitable, than that He who saw with a clear prevision in what a broad and universal sense "salvation is of the Jews," should make his first appeal as the Messiah, the Anointed One, the long-expected Son of David?

But the mind of Christ was broader than Judaism. It was He who interpreted to his people their own true relations to the human race. He presented himself even to his own countrymen, not alone as their Messiah, but as the Saviour of the world. He lifted his cross before them, not as the rallying point of disheartened Israel, but as the standard of the world's salvation. He stood forth, indeed, as the fulfillment of the desire of Israel, the Messiah of this nation of the indomitable hope, the Son of David and of Abraham; and all Scripture uttering the longing and the hope of his patient people was to Him vocal with portents of his advent. But, to his mind, his own work had larger proportions. It was the founding of a universal kingdom. It was the imparting of a new life to human nature. It was the spiritual renewal of the world. In the very words, therefore, in which He spoke to his own age, He gave a sign to those who would present his name to the uttermost ages. He rose above race lines to the proclamation of universal relations. He speaks to the nineteenth century as well as to the first. He declares himself the fulfillment of the world's hope. He is "*the desire of all nations.*" He is the Son of Man, carrying on in direct line of ascent the inheritance of life which has been the accumulating possession of

our race. Indeed, He is all this *because* He is the Messiah of the Jews and the Prince of the House of David. Because He is the Anointed One of Israel, He is the fulfillment of all human life.

For the time has surely come when we may safely discard that view of the place and work of revelation which would make it a thing irregular, anomalous, thrown into creation from without, and having no relations nor affinities with God's other processes or works. It is time to put a new interpretation upon what used to be called in sadly mechanical phrase "the plan of salvation." That method of God is not an irregularity in the divine plan. It is its crown and culmination, had in mind from the beginning, the goal "toward which the whole creation moves." Miracles, and the so-called supernatural in life, are neither violations of nature nor extra-natural. If we are able to comprehend the connection of God's providence in Israel with his providence among all people, if we realize that salvation is the final step in all the upward march of man, if we feel how impossible it is that God should do anything "unnatural" or "non-natural" in a creation all of whose activities proceed from Him, then we shall have no difficulty in considering the advent of Jesus the Christ as a natural event in the course of the world's history, related to all that has preceded and to all that comes after. It is a part of the great system of nature, using that word to denote all the manifestations of divine activity in and through created things. It is the fulfillment of all history. It is the coming to pass of all prophecy. It is the completion of the great process of evolution, by the introduction of the highest race of human beings, whose type and progenitor is "the new Adam," Jesus Christ.

It is a singular mistake which sets up this view of the person and work of Jesus Christ as a strange or heretical doctrine. It was the teaching of the church from a very early date. It was a doctrine which as early a Christian as Paul the apostle put into a form which even to-day it is somewhat difficult to better. For Paul, with a comprehensiveness far beyond his contemporaries, apprehending the mind of Jesus, makes Him the world's Messiah. Without ignoring his relation to the stock from which, after the flesh, the Christ came forth, he nevertheless perceives the place He takes as the fulfillment of elder prophecy, and the yearning of many hearts in that chosen race. He saw in Jesus the Christ "the seed of Abraham," and he insisted that "to Abraham and his seed were the promises made." But he also saw in his own

nation, and the long discipline it had received, only a course of education, leading up to the manifestations of the Christ. "The law was our tutor to bring us unto Christ." And in this Christ he saw revealed "the desire of many nations." In Him there was to be no more Jew or Gentile, but the manifestation of a life and a spirit and a type belonging to all humanity, a universal force and a universal light. In this Paul was a truer Jew than they who still awaited the Messiah as a messenger to their own little race, a deliverer of their own nation, the avenger of old wrongs or the founder of a new society, with Israel as its cornerstone. He saw the wider purpose of God, and the true intent for which Israel had been raised up. He therefore proclaims Christ the Son of David, in relations wide as the world, — wide, indeed, as the creation. He names Him "the second Adam;" "the first-born of every creature;" "the head," and the "first fruits" of the new creation. He declares that in Jesus the Christ (or with reference to Him) "were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him." No lucid construction can be put upon these words which does not interpret them as in some sense conveying the apostle's conception of the relation of Jesus to the whole creation, past, present, and to come, as the goal toward which all lower life has been advancing, the transition from a lower manhood to a glorified humanity, true Son of Man, yet true Son of God as well. According to his thought the whole creation is a prophecy of this Messiah. Every atom in the deep courses of the rocks and in the enfolding airs which girdle the earth, every pennyweight of matter and every wave of force, laws of the revolving worlds and affinities of the fluent particles, the controlling tendencies of society and the movements of the human mind and spirit, all things in the unfolding life of the world, point forward to this new-comer, in whom man himself, the climax of all lower life, crosses the borders of a new order, and begins to live no longer for time, but for eternity; no longer for the flesh, but after the spirit.

Of course, all that we are saying depends for its truthfulness upon a full acceptance of the doctrine which dominates all clear Christian thinking to-day, of the "Indwelling God," the immanence of God in the creation. That great truth is necessary to a right understanding of what we mean when we say that the Christ is a "natural product" of humanity, a part of nature, and one of

the links in the chain of evolution. That could only be an erroneous and sadly misleading statement, unless we understood that nature was God manifesting himself, and evolution his method of gradual self-manifestation, and humanity the germ of a life and type that shall partake fully of the divine. And so when we take this stand with reference to the relation of the Christ to nature, we do so in the belief that "nature" is a term which ought to cover all God's processes, and not merely those that come before and under man. We do so, moreover, in the full belief that whatever there is in nature God himself put there, a part of his own life and power and thought. There is not an atom, nor a force, nor a law in creation which is not the outcome of the same Being that breathes by the Holy Spirit upon the heart of man. The unfolding, enlarging, ascending life of creation is fed all the time out of the life of God. As the earthly forces push upward, God stoops to meet them. Or, better still, it is He who supplies the impulse by which they work out their tendencies, so that when they culminate in the soul of man it is simply God meeting himself, and receiving out of creation what He has put into it.

It is inevitable that this thought should lead us to the conclusion that this infinite energy which is forever pouring itself into the creation should intend some higher manifestation of itself than is reached in the natural man. The human race is a mighty achievement of the creative power. But it is an imperfect one. It looks to the future for its own fulfillment and rounded life. Its very greatness and capacity are the guarantee of something higher to come out of it. For the greatest homage we pay human nature lies in the direction of what it may do, rather than in the direction of what it has done, — its future, and not its past. Therefore we look to see humanity's life uplifted and glorified by some process yet to be revealed, some phase of creation yet held in reserve. But clearly such a step forward and upward can only mean one thing. It can only come through the same process and from the same force we call upon to account for whatever has gone before. It will simply mean more of God given forth into the creation. It will be a larger bestowing of the divine life imparted to the world. It will be the uplifting of the human soul into a closer share in the life of God, the outpouring of God's life so as to expand and perfect a human nature. It will be the fuller manifestation of the indwelling God. This is the only consistent ground that theism can take. And it does not appear that there is anything in it to which a scientific mind can take exception. If

there is to be a new type of life added to the long series which still seems to lack completion, and if that new type is to be "not a new physical form, but an elevation into a new spiritual world," and if it is to come in the old method and order of evolution, through a selected individual, then we shall look for it in the direction of a divine man. We shall expect to see this divine energy, which is back of all life, and which has worked up and through all types and forms, display itself in larger measure in some human nature. There shall be a new man, and the new man shall be the old man, made after a diviner manner, filled with a larger measure of the life of the indwelling God. So that he shall be a divine man, God insphering himself in human nature, a God-man, the incarnation of God.

It does not appear that in this statement we in any wise strain any of the propositions which we have gathered one by one from the consenting thought of our age. It does not seem as if we overdrew upon the beliefs of theism, nor the admissions of the scientific philosophy. We have simply followed the pointing of these converging beliefs, and passed on to the point where they all meet and coincide. And where does that bring us? Are we not back at the old and familiar standpoint of Christianity, the centre from which the gospel starts, the very seed-thought of every creed in Christendom? What these strengthening faiths of men justify us in believing might occur, the New Testament asserts has occurred. It is the essential doctrine of Christianity that the indwelling God has crowned the work of the ages by bestowing upon a human nature the fullness of his own. He who has given himself in a measure to man now pours the fullness of his spirit and power into a human soul, so as to fill it in all its parts, — affections, volitions, and consciousness. This is that great fact declared in John's gospel: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." That it is which Paul announces, saying: "In him dwelleth all the fullness of the godhead bodily," and declaring that "God was manifest in the flesh." The God who is "above all and through all and in (us) all," after the successive revelations of himself to which the unfolding creation bears witness, at length in the fullness of the ages, throws all the abundance of his love and wisdom into the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and in Him creates at once the second Adam, or the Son of Man, and the first-born of every creature, or the Son of God.

Now it ought to seem neither startling nor strained in a world whose government is a single head, and whose laws and forces all lock and interlock and stand together, that the very earliest processes in the progressive development of that world should forecast the latest; for in the well-planned building the foundations imply the superstructure, the corner-stone predicts the capstone. At every stage in the process of construction the observer ought to be able to see how every other stage was a preparation for the last. So in this process of creation-building, this evolution of a spiritual humanity, there should be, as indeed there does appear, a clear and indisputable connection between the earlier and the later manifestations of the divine energy. The very nebula, glowing in its fiery heats, and whirling off great rings of vapor to be condensed into worlds, sheds its shining light down the shadowy deeps of time, and shows the white figure of the coming man, the sinless soul, waiting the lapse of the long cycles of preparation for the fullness of time, and in which He shall be revealed.

As we stand at this late point in the creation, and the long procession of life winds before our eyes, we are conscious of a high and mysterious power, in whose presence we must stand with hearts abashed and awe-struck, moulding the successive forms of life into higher and nobler types, in whose unbroken continuity we can discern the way gradually opening for the advent of humanity. Nor is it too much to say, when the first human being steps upon the stage of life, that all the lines of this great drama were written with Him in view, that all its scenery was arranged to culminate in him. For the nebula foretells the glowing sphere of the earth, and the hot globe foretells the hardening rocks, and the rocks as they shrivel into hollows and ridges foretell the waters which are to flow in these river courses and ocean beds, the silt of their torrents and chafing tides hardening into other rocks or ploughed up into soil. The soil, in time, foretells the plant which is to grow up in it, the plant foretells the living creatures which will build in its branches or browse on its leaves, and every form of animal life, fish, flesh, or fowl, has in view the erect figure, the straightforward eye, the dextrous hand, and intelligent lips of man, the crown of the physical creation. The universe is a unit. It has unfolded according to one steadfast law. The beginning had the end in view, and the end has its root in the beginning. All the early creation which has not yet even found a voice to utter itself, nor a consciousness to perceive itself,

is filled with prophetic signs of the coming Messiah, with reference to whom every rock fell into its place, and every bone was set in the skeleton of the beast.

Does it seem to overweight the doctrine of the unity of the race to say all this? It were impossible to say anything without saying so much. Go the mile with the evolutionist when he insists on the "continuity of life," the interdependence of present and past, and you must go another mile with the Christian theist, when he affirms that the whole lower order of creation points to the coming of the spiritual man. For in the plan and purpose of the world it is indisputable that the whole life of the past is summed up in man, and it is the contention of every theist that the only real significance in man's life is his devotion to the highest moral ends. But if the moral aim is the goal of man's life, it must be of all life, and of all the rest of the series up to his own soul. "If mechanism reigns in nature," says Paul Jenet, "it reigns everywhere, and in ethics as well as in physics." And contrariwise must we not say that, if the moral aim dominates the human race, we must trace it back through every step and stage of the long way from chaos to the Christ, and assume that this goal has been in view from the first; and so the very law of gravitation, and the chemical affinities of matter, prove to have been tributary to the Ten Commandments and the law of love. As everything in the creation tends upward to man, so man tends constantly to a state of spirituality. Under the leadings of God his senses lose their way, his lower affections weaken, his reason, his conscience, his manifest sentiments acquire larger control of him. The process of creation does not end with the physical man, nor in his intellectual or moral life, when that is inharmonious and deranged by a sinful will. There is a higher mark still which lies along the line of man's spiritual nature. There is a higher man possible than these poor warring creatures who shed one another's blood on fields of carnage; a better man than he who debauches body and soul with poison drink and licentious passions; a better than he who accumulates goods for himself and leaves his brother to rags and hunger. The carnal man is the forerunner of the spiritual man. The trend of life is toward obedience and spirituality and love. Creation looks forward in expectancy, not only of man's soul, but also of man's soul become disciplined and reconciled to right and to God. And just as the creation was looking and waiting for the appearance upon earth of one who should carry up the organism of the animal into some

finer form, the body of the first Adam, so when the soul of man was called forth, creation waited again to see that soul regulated, harmonized with divine law, subject to God's perfect will. There was a prophecy in all the organs of the lower creatures of that splendid organism which is in the service of humanity. The eye of the fish was the forerunner of the wonderful lens that turns with equal power on the stars and on the dust-mote. The paw of the tiger was prophetic of the flexible and versatile hand, finest of all machines which nature makes. In like manner all the lower forms of life bear in them a prediction of the noblest of physical forms, the body of man. So man's narrow, weak, and warring passions, by their very imperfections, look forward to a completeness in some riper age. Jesus the Christ is the sign of this life for all mankind. In Him we see a new influx of divine creative power, or, if you please, a new type in the creative process, as real and as marked as when the first man was called into being. He comes to humanity, the first-born of its new, its spiritual men. With Him begins a new epoch in the evolution of life.

It does not seem in any wise foreign to this argument to note how mankind has ever been reaching out and desiring just such a type and realization of its own ultimate and highest life. The craving is universal among enlightened beings for some soul to show the way unmistakably to the highest, the divinest life. All men make unto themselves some Christ. The whole world has felt this need of a Messiah, some Anointed One, bearing on his spirit the grace of the higher life, and the shining of the divine nature. The human fondness for heroes is not a weakness, but an ineradicable instinct of the soul. Carlyle truly says: "Faith is loyalty to some inspired teacher, some spiritual hero." An earlier philosopher, no less a mind than Seneca himself, acknowledges man's need of a moral ideal, a pattern by which conduct may be shaped. It has been well said that every night since man left the Garden of Eden he has been looking into the throbbing heavens for the Star of the East. Go to farthest Cathay and you find that one of the most authentic sayings of Confucius discloses a longing and an expectation that a higher and a better soul would come to our race: "Out of the West," were his words, "shall come the true saint." The Hindu waits the tenth and last incarnation of Vishnu. The Parsee expects the advent of the divine man. All through the past men have seized with eager joy upon any nature a little larger in its proportions, a little

grander and more dignified than the common type, and have called him a hero, demi-God, son of God. "The birth of a God-man," says some one, "has been the expectation of all history." Even where this craving of mankind has been attenuated into a vague and shadowy ideal of "a coming man," and a "perfected humanity," there is the same earnest expectation, the survival in the midst of much shipwreck of faith and religious feeling, of an imperishable, constitutional want of human nature, the need of a diviner form than we have in ourselves, or common lives about us, to realize for us the type and spirit of that which we are to become.

Thus it is that we have a right to say to him who cites this common instinct of human souls as an evidence that Christianity is only one more of man's schemes for supplying himself with an ideal, "Not so, Rather do these universal cravings of the awakened spirit create a presumption in favor of the special claims of the Christ of Christianity." All through creation we find it true that a constitutional want in any being is always met by something in its surroundings which satisfies that want. Why should it not be true, then, of man's highest developed want? The wing of the bird implies an atmosphere for it to beat. The foot of the mammal corresponds to a solid earth on which it may stand. The voice of a man tells of an ear into which it may utter itself. Why should not this great unquenchable need of human nature imply a satisfaction somewhere and somehow in God's economy? Thomas Carlyle said: "No nobler feeling than that of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man. . . . Religion I find to stand upon it, not paganism only, but far higher religion, all religion hitherto known. Hero-worship, — heartfelt, prostrate admiration, burning, submissive, boundless, for a noblest, Godlike form of man, is not that the germ of Christianity itself?" Even so. "The desire of all nations" is an earnest of the Messiah who shall fulfill it. There is a prophecy of the Christ, not only in the word of Hebrew seers, strong and unmistakable though that is, but just as truly in the inextinguishable longing of mankind for one who shall satisfy their aspirations with a new and eternal impulse of life. Not the eastern magi alone, but a long procession of seeking souls have traversed earth's deserts and sought in her cities watching strange stars, and careful of signs and portents, searching for the Christ the Anointed One. Is it strange if God should satisfy this craving of the soul of man, and at last raise up the

new man, a human spirit "filled with all the fullness of the God-head bodily"?

All that is thus said of the fulfillment of a universal spirit of prophecy in no wise weakens the force or the significance of Jewish prophecy. As it is said of Darwinism that it creates more arguments for teleology than it destroys, so it may be said of this interpretation of the Christ and his relations to the creation; it creates a broader faith in the prophets of Israel than it destroys. The belief in the prophetic insight of Israel's seers does not rest on the narrower and literal theories of Messianic prophecy. It is not shaken by the proof that any given passage commonly applied to Jesus really means somebody or something contemporary with the prophet who uttered it. You may prove that he who wrote the words which Matthew applies to Him whom all men have since called Immanuel had not the remotest reference to Jesus. You may show that the words of Jeremiah, which Matthew quoted in connection with the slaughter of the innocents, were but a lamentation of the sad prophet over the sorrows of his people. You may even insist that the graphic words of the unknown prophet (attributed to Isaiah) describe not the man Jesus, but only an ideal, the coming man of Israel. Still you have not touched the great and vital truth that there was a spirit of prophecy in Israel, a looking forward to the future with a conviction that the golden age was yet to come, the world's evil lived down, and its conquest wrought through one whom this despised nation should give to the human race. This is the spirit of Old Testament prophecy. Israel's great minds saw clearly, her lesser minds with dimmer vision, what mankind still lacked to complete his spiritual history. They believed in the intent of God to provide for this need out of their own national stock. They felt the need of a higher ethics, a larger knowledge of God, a closer walk with Him.

Most of all, they felt, too, the need of some human life which should portray to men the divine spirit in human life. And this need and imperfection of man they proclaimed should be met and fulfilled in one who should be of their own people, a Jew of the Jews, a son of Abraham, fulfilling all the traditions of their nation. He who was born at Bethlehem was the fulfillment, in an unexpected sense, but still in the greatest truthfulness of the yearnings of the Jewish heart and of all its bold faith since Abraham received the promise. His advent does not destroy these early prophets, nor discredit their insight, nor belie their

thought. As the fruit fulfills the prophecy of the seed and rootlet and leaf and branch, so does Jesus of Nazareth fulfill the prophecy of Israel, and justify the words of the angel in the Apocalypse: "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

Two thoughts seem to suggest themselves as fitting in this connection. One is that no other position of the view and work of Jesus Christ so well interprets and gives value to all the goodness and the holy life which was in the world before He came. When we unfold this revelation of fulfillment which Jesus sustains to man, there are always some to exclaim: "What, was there no goodness in human nature until his advent? Were there no good men, was there not spiritual life in noble hearts, before Christ lived and wrought?"

It ought not to be necessary to say that our whole argument rests upon the assumption that there was. The world was full of climbing, struggling, praying, self-denying goodness, and had been ever since God set the first soul on the way toward the kingdom. The great names which rise like the lonely peaks of earth's mountain ranges, solitary in their moral eminence, are glowing witnesses of the height to which humanity has risen. The countless saintly souls whose obscurity veils lives no less godly confirm the record. Yet one fact stands forever clear, and no amount of reverence for the splendid moral past of humanity can weaken it. The one conspicuous lack of the creation has been a type of what man is spiritually in God's thought, living forth that ideal in the flesh. There was an almost universal meaning in that saying of the apostle to Jesus: "Lo, all men are seeking for thee." All the spiritual attainment of mankind, and all moral character, were prophecies which He came to fulfill, who gathers in his own heart the aspirations and the strivings of our race. There was sight in the creation before the eye of man was formed. There was skill in touch before the hand was shaped. There are gleams of intelligence and reason, of memory and of foresight, of will, affection, thought, in the lower ranges of animal life. So there is virtue, love, righteousness, in all the world of human life and experience. Still, as we scan the elder world, we find no sign of any soul who might fairly be called *the type* of the new and spiritual life. Nowhere is there a spiritual ancestor, from whom all the sons of man inherit the diviner life in God. Our race lacked its spiritual Adam. It found him in the person of Jesus the Christ.

Mark, moreover, how truly his coming fulfills and carries on

the habitual course of the creation, which is to call forth the higher type, and begin the new variation of life, through some favored individual of the old. The line of progress in all the lower orders lies through chosen individuals. The common law of development has been to raise up and perfect an individual by means of a species, and then from that individual to start a new species of the higher grade. The gardener watches his beds, and selects the most promising and thrifty individual plants from which to propagate his new roses or chrysanthemums. The human race is engendered of some specially apt and susceptible stock, whose qualities fitted it to receive those crowning endowments which constitute the peculiar gifts of man. So, too, with this new life of the spirit, this age of holiness for which God was preparing this creation. That must follow this law of development. "It must have its beginning," says Matheson, "not in a general diffusion over the masses, but in the life of a solitary and single individual, who at first constitutes its only representative." And so we trace the beginning of the kingdom of God on earth back to one individual, to the advent of the divine life in a single human soul. There is a historic Christ. There is one person, who bears the divine image in unmarred beauty, in whose heart is the spirit which is to generate the new man in the human soul. He is Jesus of Nazareth, the carpenter's son, created to be "the first-born among many brethren," "the chief among ten thousand, and the one altogether lovely." He who for nineteen centuries has filled the eyes of the advancing world, who has challenged all the criticism and braved all the doubt and unbelief of the world, rising all the while to higher glories and more worthy praise,—He it is who is "the first-born of every creature." His soul is the chosen channel for the new influx of heaven's sweetest and finest life. He is the fulfillment, not alone of Israel's life, but of all the slowly forming ages which belong to mankind, and even antedate the human race. The world's Messiah has appeared. The morning twilight of man's life on earth brightens to a shining dawn, as Jesus the Christ comes forth from the manger at Bethlehem to take his place at the head of the human race, as it moves over into the confines of the kingdom of heaven.

John Coleman Adams.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

THE DUDLEIAN LECTURE FOR THE YEAR 1891.

SUBJECT : — “For the detecting, and convicting and exposing the Idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickedness in their high places, and finally, that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that man of sin, that apostate church, spoken of in the New Testament.”

I HAVE in my possession a programme of the dissertations presented for the Master's degree at Harvard College in the year 1758. Of the twenty-one subjects, fourteen are clearly theological; the rest are mainly of a philosophical or speculative character, suggesting the close possibility of a theological treatment. President John Adams, a political philosopher of twenty-three, replied affirmatively to the inquiry whether civil government be absolutely necessary to men. Samuel Locke denied the proposition that the human reason is sufficient unto salvation. Moses Hemenway, who was, perhaps, a radical in his day, denied that miracles, of themselves, prove a revelation.

These three subjects, printed in bold type upon the programme, were, I suppose, those parts which were actually delivered. Other topics were: Whether the star which appeared at the birth of Christ was a comet? denied by David Sewall; Whether the phenomenon of rain proves a Providence? affirmatively maintained by Joseph Stockbridge; Whether it is consistent with the divine justice that the whole race of man is subject to death for the sin of one? Samuel Dana in the affirmative. The only topic which could not by some twist be given a theological turn is: Whether commerce be as much injured by excessive duties as by a predatory war? Henry Appleton thought it was.

I find this programme very instructive as to the point of view of the community, which, from that day to this, has found in Harvard College the expression of its best thought. Theological speculation of the most eager and the most abstruse kind was the chief occupation of the best trained minds in New England, and the drift of this speculation was overwhelmingly towards the support of the faith of the Fathers. There was but one youth among the Masters of Arts of Harvard College of that year who — so far as our programme indicates — ventured upon the defense of a plainly unorthodox opinion: Jacob Eliot denied the proposition that we are bound to believe as the Church believes.

We must not suppose, however, that unorthodox ideas were un-

known to the men of New England in that day. One can easily detect in the topics chosen by these young warriors for attack or defense the reaction of movements of thought in the greater world, which were imperiling some of the dearest inheritances of New England Calvinism. In that year, 1758, Voltaire, at the height of his incredible productiveness, with twenty years of work before him, was the most admired, the most feared, and the most hated man in Europe. David Hume, a man of forty-seven, was just winning recognition as the foremost champion of a system of thought which, if carried out as it was sure to be, must change the whole method of approach to the profoundest problems of philosophy and religion. Rousseau was captivating the world with revolutionary theories of education. Adam Smith was soon to put forth that wonderful summary of the principles of national house-keeping, which was to create a new school of thought in the world of material production and exchange; and Edward Gibbon, a youth of twenty-one, just returned from a residence on the continent, was beginning those studies which, by the method of calm, historical analysis, were to subject the institutions of the Christian organization to the same frank inquiry as would be demanded for those of any other human organization.

The air of Europe, and of America as well, was alive with revolution; a generation more, and it was to burst forth with uncontrollable energy in every field of human activity. The stage of that Harvard Commencement, then as now the mimic reflex of the life in its own community, shows the answer of a keen and acute generation to the stormy challenge from without. These men were not all blind conservatives, — their record in the coming struggle proves it, — but they were men who expected to found all the activity of their lives, revolutionary as much of it might be, upon the solid traditions of religious faith in which they had been reared. Even John Adams, sturdy fighter in the cause of political innovation, and opposed to the extreme Calvinism about him, suffered the assaults of infidelity, with which he took every pains to make himself familiar, to pass harmlessly by him.

It was in this community, six years before, that Paul Dudley, chief justice of Massachusetts, had closed his long and active life. Himself a layman, an eager student of natural science, Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of numerous treatises in the transactions of that learned body, he, too, like the rest of his contemporaries, was drawn into the current of theological speculation and controversy. The result of these studies, acting upon a positive

and vigorous mind, was that certain fundamental principles of the Puritan doctrine and organization acquired for him a supreme importance, — so that in his will, bearing date 1750, he gave to Harvard College the sum of £33 6s. 8d., “in like money, . . . for creating, maintaining, supporting, and continuing an anniversary sermon or lecture to be held or preached in the said College once every year successively. . . .

1. “For the proving, explaining, and proper use and improvement of Natural Religion — as it is commonly called and understood by divines and learned men.”

2. “For the confirmation, illustration, and improvement of the great articles of the Christian Religion, properly so called.”

3. “For the detecting and convicting and exposing the Idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickedness in their high places, and finally, that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that man of sin, that apostate church, spoken of in the New Testament.”

4. “For the maintaining, explaining, and proving the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and so their administrations of the sacraments or ordinances of religion as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it and so continued to this day.”

In the statement of three of these subjects there is a noticeable calmness and clearness of language. In the wording of the third there is a vehemence and passion which to the ear of our day can sound only grotesque. Evidently, in providing for an exposition of the weak points in the Roman Church, Mr. Dudley was giving expression to most profound convictions. Evidently, he felt, as did many others in his day, the shadow of a danger always impending over the Christian world, so long as the great Roman organization should exist with its present aims and methods. A light is thrown upon Dudley's feeling here by the words of the Introduction to a treatise of his, printed in 1751, on “The Merchandise of Slaves and Souls of Men, — with an application thereof to the Church of Rome.”

He there says: “If any should inquire what occasion there is at this time of the day for an oration against Popery; is the Protestant Interest in any danger from that quarter? I answer: the Church Militant will never be out of danger, and therefore she has Watchmen set upon her walls.” “And though our Lord Jesus Christ will certainly make good his great promise, that the Gates

of Hell shall never be able to prevail against his Church, yet I know of no other Charter that any of the Protestant Churches in particular have for their Security, than what runs with a '*quam diu se bene gesserint*,' or in the words of the Prophet Azariah, 'The Lord will be with You so long as You be with Him.'" This apology of Dudley in 1731 may perhaps suffice also for the year 1891.

During the years from 1755 to 1857, when the Dudleian Lecture was temporarily suspended to allow the fund, become insufficient, to accumulate, the third subject took its place in the cycle as arranged by the founder, and now again, in the resumption of the foundation, it comes up for treatment in its turn. In its harsh and violent terms it reflects the Puritan spirit of jealous intolerance of all outward spiritual domination. It is the utterance of an age which saw in the Roman organization the chief agency in the repression of that great intellectual ferment out of which the revolutions, political, social, and religious, of the next generation were to be born.

Let us inquire into the causes of that alarm, and ask ourselves whether they have entirely passed away with the growth of liberty and enlightenment.

The lifetime of Paul Dudley covered a period which appears, according to the point of view, as the triumph of Protestantism, or of the Roman Catholic reaction. England, by the great Act of Succession, had secured forever, as far as legal enactment could secure it, a line of Protestant rulers. Northern Germany, rising gradually out of the desolation of the Thirty Years' War, under the leadership of Prussia, had gained in Frederick II. a man capable of rising above the petty detail of sectarian strife — the man who, by his winged word, "Let every man get to heaven after his own fashion," had sounded the first note of the gospel of religious toleration. But when we have said this, we have mentioned the only solid guarantees then visible for the future of European liberty. The Low Countries had come out of their magnificent fight with Spanish tyranny burdened with allies who were ready at any moment to become their bitterest foes, and thus bring to naught the great work of enlightenment that had been done there.

France, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had, so far as its governing classes were concerned, set itself squarely upon the side of Roman orthodoxy. Spain, just passing over the height of its greatness and sinking into insignificance under the double

burden of Roman Catholicism and a foul administration, had completely purified herself from every taint of heresy, and still maintained her Holy Inquisition, languishing only because its work had already been so thoroughly done.

Italy, only a few generations before the leader of Europe in every field of human effort, — mistress of learning, fertile in political theories, genial in every form of artistic production, leader as well in industry and traffic, — Italy had given up the fight, had surrendered her precious liberties to a band of “legitimated” tyrants, warring with each other, united only in one concerted effort to crush out every motion of the human mind which seemed to threaten that admirable order of which the Roman papacy was the central and controlling figure. Galileo, silenced by the Holy Office, had died just a generation before Paul Dudley was born.

The whole south of Germany, led by Austria and Bavaria, had come out of the Thirty Years’ War determined to wipe out every stain of heresy left upon it by the vigorous local Protestantism of the early Reformation. A dozen years before the birth of Paul Dudley occurred that expulsion of thirty thousand Protestants from the Austrian territory which gave to Goethe, the prophet of a new age, the motive of his most charming poem.

To one looking over the possibilities of the future on both sides of the Atlantic in the year of grace 1750, it must have been perfectly clear that the two great forces were still in conflict, and that the victory of the new, so far as it went, must be won inch by inch from an enemy which had from age to age changed the outward fashion of its weapons, but had not changed in any essential way the spirit which kept these weapons in action. It was, indeed, too late in Paul Dudley’s time for another St. Bartholomew; the New England Puritan had no fear of being murdered in his bed. What he dreaded was a more subtle assault. He saw, still in active operation, as they are to this day, two great agencies of repression, and he knew that one of these at least might gain a foothold in the community he had helped to establish. The Order of Jesuits and the Index of prohibited books, the former especially, were ever present reminders of the attitude assumed by the Church of Rome towards all innovations in matters of thought.

The fear of the Jesuit haunted the Protestant imagination of the eighteenth century. The Puritan saw in him the embodiment of that Rome which had defined itself at the Council of Trent. He knew well the tremendous struggle through which his own

Motherland had passed. He remembered that in the course of that struggle a king and a queen had been sacrificed, and still, though the law was fixed, the conflict was not ended. He dreaded, lest in some unforeseen political combination the great Catholic powers might once again make common cause, and all that England had gained be put at stake anew.

Thus we see that Paul Dudley's vehemence had its roots deep down in the consciousness of his day and of his class. Let us examine a little more carefully — still holding by such threads of historical fact as may most surely guide us — the reasons for this dread. Perhaps nothing will be more serviceable to our purpose than to define as accurately as possible, in the light of a brief historical review, the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant."

We use these terms freely, without often giving ourselves account of what they precisely mean. It helps all our notions to turn, from time to time, away from the heat of controversy and the confusion of partisan definitions, and, in the calm, cool atmosphere of simple historical inquiry, to set ourselves right upon fundamental points.

To go back for a moment to the very earliest stages of the Christian organization, we are forced to admit that, for a long time, — for two or three hundred years at least, — it was not at all clear what Christianity was or was going to be, either as to its doctrine or as to its discipline. There were, almost from the beginning, two chief directions of opinion on these points. There were those to whom Christianity seemed to be only a new system of philosophy, trying to make a place for itself by the side of Epicureanism and Stoicism and New-Platonism and all the rest. Naturally these were what we should call "the best minds" among Christians, — men who thought that they could take the central idea of Christianity, the salvation of the world by a God-man, and by grafting this on to prevailing systems of thought produce the final philosophy, a philosophy so complete as to embrace all the others, and make all future speculation needless. Such men were called, or called themselves, Gnostics, the "knowing ones," and their Christianity was a lofty abstraction. If it had prevailed, there would have been one more philosophy to study, but surely we, descendants of northern barbarians, should never have been Christians.

Then there were others, men of feeling, as the former were men of thought, who said that Christianity was essentially a thing of special divine inspiration to the individual. Far from being a

philosophy it was a breath of the divine Spirit, moving as it would, employing the humblest as well as the highest agencies, speaking truth out of the ecstatic utterances of certain men and women, and calling upon all believers to gather about these chosen agents of the divine will. Whatever tended to put any limitation upon the free working of this Holy Spirit, be it the reason of man, the written word, or the rules of any human institution, must be, in so far, hostile to that which was essentially Christian.

This is the theory of Christianity known, from that day to this, in its countless manifestations, as the "Montanistic." If it had prevailed, Christianity would simply have taken its place among the other fanaticisms of the world; its priests would have been howling dervishes; its membership would have been limited to a little community of saints, and its standard of authority would have been the loose interpretation of oracles more fantastic than those of Greece and Rome.

These two principles, the gnostic and the spiritual, starting from utterly opposed ideas, contained curious elements of similarity. Church membership, according to either, must necessarily have been limited, and even within this limit there was another, an esoteric membership, the brotherhood of the wholly learned or of the wholly spiritual. Each contained, also, the germ of that ascetic ideal, which, essentially unchristian in its origin and its spirit, succeeded, nevertheless, in stamping itself upon the church, and, during a thousand years, dominated the imagination of Europe.

But, happily for the future of Christianity, there appears from the beginning of our knowledge as to its workings a third tendency, which I may describe as the educational. According to this view Christianity was to be thought of as a great scheme for the moral and spiritual regeneration of all men everywhere. It was not a philosophy; it was not a scheme of perfection for a community of more than human beings. It was an institution of men, ordinary mortals, joined by a common belief into a great organization for the salvation of souls, — not of some souls, but of all souls, good, bad, and indifferent. Its membership was to be limited only by the limits of humanity. It could have no esoteric membership, for all Christians were alike in the fundamental fact that all had been redeemed from sin and its consequences by the new covenant of the God become Man.

If it be proper to call the first of our three groups the Gnostic or Learned Church, and the second the Spiritual, or Puritan

Church, it becomes very clear to us why the third was early called the Catholic Church. It stood for that view of Christianity which demanded for it universal acceptance, as it offered to men a universal share in its benefits. If Christianity was to become a regenerating and reviving force among men who had lost hold upon the ancient faiths and were groping about darkly for some new foundation on which they might build, this view, and no other, was the one which promised a future to the nations.

A philosophy could not satisfy the East, already sick from too much philosophy; Rome, dominant throughout the West, had never had a head for that intellectual hair-splitting which was as the breath of life to the Greek, and centuries must pass before the great barbarian masses, already hovering upon the horizon of both the Greek and the Roman world, could be taught what a philosophy was.

Almost the same might be said of the spiritual or Puritan view. The doctrine of specific revelation carried its own destruction with it. Men had not deserted the shrine of Apollo to take up with the ravings of Montanus, or of any mad follower of his, who might claim for himself or herself the prophetic gift.

Leaders were wanted, but *such* leaders could not claim the allegiance of men. So far as the Eastern world was concerned, the solution of the problem was to be sought by the method of stormy partisan warfare, with no better centre of authority than the corrupt and fickle court of Constantinople. In the West it early became evident that much, if not all, depended upon the attitude of Rome. Her preëminence in the West was marked as was that of no city in the East. The Western populations, as inferior in culture to the Romans as the Romans were inferior to the Greeks, and accustomed to receive from Rome all that pertained to their higher life, laws, manners, art, discipline, turned naturally to her for leadership in religion as well.

I know of few things in history more impressive than the consistent and determined energy with which Rome faced this great demand. While the Eastern church was tearing itself to pieces in the warfare of endless sects, Rome was calmly taking one side and sticking to it. The great dispute of Arian *vs.* Athanasian found hardly an echo in the West. Rome saw from the beginning where the promise of the future lay, and quietly took her place on the winning side.

While Oriental fanatics, giving literal interpretation to certain words of Jesus, were living in hourly expectation of that second

coming of his which should be the end of this world and the beginning for them of a new era of blessedness which they had not earned, Rome was calmly putting her house in order for a long life here on earth among all men everywhere.

Out of the dense fog of vague tradition and deliberate fabrication which envelops the early history of the western patriarchate one thing shines out clear to brilliancy, — Rome, never the parent of great ideas, never the fountain of generous enthusiasms, was still the most effective agent in marshaling the real forces of Christianity into line of battle with the evils of society. That same quality which had made Rome once mistress of the civilized world in arms and in law came now again into play, making her the guide in this new and greater conquest.

Let us notice one or two illustrations.

In the cruel stress of persecution it could not fail to happen that many a poor soul, half convinced perhaps at the best, or drawn by conflicting motives of duty, made his peace with the authorities as best he might, and saved his life. Then when the storm had passed, and he came to himself again, he naturally sought a reinstatement in the Christian community. How should such an one be met? The sterner critics would have closed the doors upon him, or have opened them only upon hard conditions. Rome said: "No; Catholic is Catholic; if this frail human being sincerely desires to try his fortune with us again, let him in, in God's name, and give him his chance once more."

So, again, in a still more doubtful case: In the multitude of sects, each claiming the name of Christian, it must often have been the case that a man received into the church by some body of believers described as "heretical" would claim Christian fellowship with others defining themselves as "orthodox." There must be some rule to govern his admission. Where should we, knowing the later history of the "only saving church," expect to find her in this matter? It was a bitter struggle, involving the whole Western church in schism and loss of influence; but out of the struggle Rome came forth committed to that grandly catholic view which prevailed, that, no matter how a man had got into the church, if he renounced his errors and sincerely desired fellowship, the taint of an heretical baptism should not prevent his reception to the full enjoyment of Christian privileges.

By this liberal and truly catholic policy, the bishopric of Rome won its place in the regard of the Western world, and profited thenceforth by every turn of affairs to increase its hold upon the

allegiance of men. Its claims upon the gratitude of the world for this vigorous leadership are enough to entitle it to every respect. If it had been content to rest upon these claims and make them the basis of its demands, it seems, humanly speaking, as if it might have gained a lead in the religious advancement of Europe, which would always have been gladly acknowledged and easily maintained.

If, for example, we set aside, once for all, the childish fables of the Petrine supremacy as unworthy the serious thought of sober men, and look at the Roman bishopric as it was at the time when England first came under its direct influence, we get an indication of what a noble function awaited it. The papacy of Gregory the Great, at the beginning of the seventh century, represents an ideal of Rome as the spiritual guide of Western Christendom, not as its dictator. The churches of England and of the Frankish state were then truly national churches, working out upon their own lines the redemption of a barbaric society. Everywhere guidance and direction from Rome; nowhere, as yet, domination.

Then came the splendid development of the Frankish people, culminating in the European empire of Charlemagne. Again we catch a glimpse of what Europe might have had,—a great Christian state, completely independent of the papacy in all its own affairs, yet appealing to it with profound respect upon all religious questions,—even then not bound by its decisions, but frankly repudiating them, when it did not approve them.

But what were the conditions of life for either of these ideals, for either a group of independent national churches, or a single imperial church? Clearly that the political power should remain in the hands of men conscious of the danger which might threaten them from Rome and determined to resist it at all hazards,—supported, further, in this resistance, by the leading forces of their own peoples. Now the ninth century offered precisely the opposite of these conditions. The nominal rulers of Europe, the enfeebled descendants of Charlemagne, were conspicuously incapable men; its actual rulers, the great military aristocracy, were wholly absorbed in building up the feudal framework of mediæval society, while at the same time the affairs of the papacy were passing into exceptionally vigorous hands.

It seemed as if all the foundations of Europe were being broken up. The idea of centralization of power, which had seemed to prevail in the empire of Charlemagne and to be the natural inheritance of the new kingdoms, was everywhere giving way before

the new principle of feudalism, whereby every landholder was coming to feel himself a sovereign within his limits. While the doctrine of the inheritance of fiefs was becoming everywhere fixed, the inheritance of kingdoms was being everywhere repudiated. An hereditary nobility must necessarily come to feel itself more permanent than a merely elective monarchy.

Then came a curious reaction of the political upon the ecclesiastical life. The principle of nationality, weakened at every point, lost its hold upon the church as well. What was there to take its place? Again we must seek an analogy in politics. The feudal imagination, leaping over the narrower limits of nationality, found a singular comfort in that political chimera, the Holy Roman Empire. So the church, passing all limits of race and political allegiance, found its strength and support in the grand ideal of the Roman papacy.

It is at this point that the definition of the word "catholic," which we have thus far followed, deserts us. The papacy of Gregory the Great ceases to be, and gives place to a new conception. Henceforth the church of Europe stands committed to a theory of papal control, unknown to the earlier time, and to be known in history as the "Decretal System," — that is, a sovereignty founded upon the authority of so-called "Decretals," or edicts of the popes. The Catholicism of the Middle Ages cannot be understood without a clear conception of what this decretal system implied.

Admitting the necessity of organization in the church, it is evident that this organization might have assumed various forms, determined by the principle of authority, which should prevail. There might have been a congregational system, corresponding to a democratic society, or a conciliar system, corresponding roughly to an aristocracy in politics, or an ecclesiastical monarchy, answering to a highly concentrated political system. Down to the ninth century there had been room in Europe for any one of these systems, and in fact all three were more or less well represented. The rising nationalities had already developed the conciliar theory into effective practice, and, while admitting the guidance of the Roman papacy on the one hand, had on the other allowed an almost dangerous independence of individual churches. A healthful variety, we should say, which ought to have had good results in stimulating activity by every possible means.

But now this national principle, holding a middle ground between Congregationalism, on the one hand, and a strongly cen-

tralized church monarchy on the other, was growing hourly weaker, as the feudal principle grew stronger. It could no longer stand as a bar to Roman pretensions, and Rome, under the leadership of Nicholas I., was ready for its opportunity.

The monumental witness to this new development is found in that most stupendous of the many forgeries by which Rome imposed upon the mediæval imagination, the "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals." Evidently, if the principle of papal authority was to be made the sole resort for the government of the church, this authority must be traced as far back as possible. The argument of "as it was in the beginning" was the most powerful conceivable. To clinch this argument for the decretal principle, it was necessary to point to a series of decretals, or papal enactments, reaching back to the beginning. Unfortunately there were no such documents in existence dating from a time earlier than about the year 800. Here was an obstacle, but a slight one. If such documents were demanded in the interest of the Christian world, they must be produced; if they could not be found, they must be fabricated.

I am well aware that the elevation of the Roman primacy may not have been the main purpose of the authors of this great deception, but, practically, its effect was to give to the most extreme claims of the papacy a legal foundation, which had hitherto been lacking. Henceforth, in every case of doubt, the Bishop of Rome needed only to point to this unquestioned record of precedents, which, liberally interpreted, gave to him almost unlimited control over all the interests, political as well as moral and religious, of the European world. How thoroughly this programme was carried out, the history of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII. is ample evidence.

I have said that this principle of authority was unquestioned. So far as that applies to the canonical precedents gathered in the Isidorian forgeries, it is true; but it would be far from true to say that the claims thus raised were not opposed. Advanced as they were in the beginning to meet a certain opposition, they continued always to call forth new protests, which, however, until the time of the Protestant revolution, they were always able to overcome. To go no farther back than the time of Dante, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we find in his famous treatise, "*De Monarchia*," a conception of an universal empire, which should be entirely independent of papal dictation, while at the same time guaranteeing to the church organization the fullest

exercise of its religious function. A few years later appears that singular group of writers, gathered at the court of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, for the express purpose of defending the rights of the civil state as against the invasion of the organized priesthood under the leadership of Rome. Even so mighty a force as the Franciscan Order, the pet of the papal household, found itself compelled to lend all its great influence to the defense of the same cause.

Here begins the appeal to and the demand for a general council, to be summoned by the papacy, if possible; if not, then by some lay power, having the will and the force necessary to command the attention of Europe. For a hundred years this cry for a council which might take into consideration all the manifest evils of the papal system goes on, resisted steadily by the papal power itself, because it saw that if it should yield for one moment the principle that it, and it alone, had the right to the final word in all human affairs, the prestige of centuries would be gone, and the earlier principle of authority, the right of a representative body, would infallibly assert itself.

The issue of this great struggle of principle between the decretal idea and the conciliar idea is the best proof of the tremendous hold of the papal system on the mind of Europe. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the papacy had just passed through the open scandals of a seventy years' residence in France, under the dictation of the French kings, and for a generation past had involved the church in all the confusions, and still worse scandals, of a double, then finally of a triple, schism. It seemed as if the patience of Europe, especially of the northern countries, had had all it could possibly bear. The first enthusiasm of that splendid revival of ancient learning, which was to give a new content and a new motive to its intellectual life, had prepared men's minds to be shocked by the disparity between the actual and the ideal papacy. The spectacle of two or even three divinely commissioned vicars of Christ, overlooking all their proper functions in the more pressing business of anathematizing each other, exhausting the resources of the faithful in a frantic effort to maintain themselves in power, was too much. The ablest leaders in the church determined to put an end to the situation. England, France, and Germany united in a vigorous effort to bring out the council into its proper place as the only effective reforming agency. They saw the evil, and protested as they could,—but note the result.

At the first council, held at Pisa, in 1409, two rival popes having promised to retire, a third was elected, not by the council, but by cardinals, and the unity of the church appeared to be restored. But, no sooner was this new Pope dead, and a successor to him put forward, a scheming politician, stained with every crime, than the two former popes reasserted their claims, and the state of things was worse than before. Then came the Council of Constance, the first north of the Alps, brought about, not by the papal party, but by the irresistible indignation of the North, finding its voice in the Emperor Sigismund. Again a new Pope was chosen, this time by a combination of cardinals and members of the council. The schism was ended, — heresy, in the person of John Hus, was disposed of, — but how about the great reforms, for which chiefly the council had assembled? The papal party declared that now there was but one Pope again, the reforms were his affair, and the first reform he accomplished was to send the council home.

All the efforts of the best churchmen in Europe, seconded by the authority of the empire and of the national states, to bring the conciliar principle into effective action, had simply ended in establishing, still more firmly than ever, the opposing principle of the decretal system. Christendom had gained one Pope in place of three, but, curiously enough, that very fact was at once made use of to strengthen the hold of the institution at its centre. Still, the impulse to protest, once aroused, could not easily be repressed. The execution of John Hus, at Constance, had kindled a flame in Bohemia which not all the resources of empire and papacy combined could quench, and once again a council came to the rescue. Again it met in opposition to the papal will, and again it was on Germanic soil. At Basel the election of a Pope, which the Council of Pisa had committed to the cardinals and that of Constance had only partially assumed, was frankly taken in hand by the council itself.

This was an innovation which might have been the starting-point of a reform that would have made the Protestant revolution unnecessary. A Pope elected by representatives of all the nations, sitting, not by papal appointment, but by right, as the makers of opinion on church law and polity, — this was a very different thing from a Pope elected by a limited body of cardinals appointed by the papacy itself, and committed from the start to maintain its policy.

Here was a splendid opportunity for Europe. The material

for a reform of the church in head and members was all at hand. No element of such a reform was wanting except the power on the part of those most concerned to recognize the real issue. Men refused to understand that all effort was but wasted, so long as the foundation principle of the decretal system of authority was left intact. If one looks only to the immediate results upon the papacy itself, one is tempted to believe that all the effort of the three great councils had been thrown away.

The hundred years following the Council of Basel are the most brilliant in the papal history. They correspond to the period of the Old Régime in France. In this interval, the papacy identified itself as never before with the life of the world about it. It was a territorial state among others, and its rulers were princes among others, increasing and defending their territories by the same means, making up for the lack of legitimate descendants by providing on a liberal scale for their relatives and their bastards. The papacy, as Luther said afterwards, built a triple wall about itself, so that it could not be assailed, and the foundation of this triple wall was the principle that it alone, of all earthly institutions, had the sole right of judging its own misdeeds. Admit this, the logical outcome of the decretal theory, and all criticism becomes impiety, all opposition becomes treason, and all divergence heresy.

I am aware that this decretal principle may be expressed in quite other words than those I have employed. It is not unusual to hear that the essential idea of the Roman Church is that of a continuing and progressive divine revelation of truth to men, as opposed to that of a single divinely inspired book, or the unaided voice of human reason. There is something very attractive in that idea of a continuing revelation. If we compare it with that of a single authoritative Scripture, literally interpreted, it is full of life and promise. If we compare it with that of the sole authority of human reason, it seems to offer a supremely useful check upon the vagaries of the individual mind. It is a principle which Protestants have been all too prone to neglect, and towards which they have again and again been forced to struggle up out of the errors into which such neglect has led them.

But — and this seems to me the gist of the whole matter — to assert a continuing divine revelation of the truth to men is one thing, and to claim this revelation as the sole property of any human institution is quite another. In so far as the Church of Rome has defended the cause of humanity against the cruel literal-

ness of Calvinism and the later Lutheranism, or against the wild vagaries of Montanism, in all its forms, we owe it profound gratitude ; but, on the other hand, in so far as it has ignored the principle of life and progress, which runs through all these diversities of interpretation, it has, historically speaking, been a burden and a drag upon advancing humanity.

We have thus traced the growth of the central idea of Roman Catholicism, the Decretal System, down to the point where it was to be put upon its defense more distinctly than ever before, and come now to consider historically the development of the Protestant principle as we have done that of the Catholic.

At first thought, it seems like a well-nigh hopeless task to discover any principle whatever in the mass of contending sects into which Protestants have divided, and, indeed, one might well despair of success, if one did not believe that through all these diversities there run certain common lines of agreement, more important than the differences, so important, in fact, as to make the differences insignificant.

The first principle which I should describe as a Protestant one is that of hostility to any form of mechanical religion, the interposing of any necessary barriers between the human soul and the God whom it desires to worship. From my own study of the Reformation, there remains no impression clearer than this, that the aim of the reformers was not primarily the removal of external abuses in the church. That such abuses existed was patent to every one, and no historian has yet been found bold enough to deny them. Priests led evil lives without rebuke ; enormous impositions of money were laid upon the peoples of Europe to maintain an army of idle or half-employed mendicants in ease or luxury ; a shameless traffic in all sacred things had become so much a thing of custom that men generally failed to see its enormity. All these were visible evils, and they had been attacked by faithful friends of the church from Dante down. Even the papacy had from time to time roused itself from its wars, its politics, its building, its patronage of learning and art, to take notice of one or another gross violation of morality or of canonical precedent. The striking thing is that, so long as the reformatory efforts proceeded on these lines of outward improvement, it was ineffectual. Even so clear a head as Erasmus, the brightest intellect of his day, failed to grasp this point. He scourged the church with the lash of his wit and his learning, but he did not touch that deeper spring, waiting to respond to the hand which should discover it.

I emphasize this point because the latest systematic historical defense of the Roman system, that of Janssen and Pastor, proceeds precisely on this line: that the Reformation was a colossal mistake; that the evils of the church, which no one admits more frankly than they, were all in a fair way to be removed by the simple process of letting the good have its own way; that revolution simply produced confusion and violence, obscured the real points at issue, and lamed for generations those noble activities which were already doing so much towards bringing about a new and better time.

The answer to this is twofold. It is found first in the swift response of the conscience of Northern Europe to the great word of Luther, "The just shall live by faith," and it is found again in the reply of the Roman organization, through the Council of Trent, to the challenge it had received.

That word of Luther had often been spoken before, but never with such direct appeal as now. Men seemed to feel that here was offered them instantly the key to the whole problem. They no longer needed to look to Pope or Council to mediate between them and God, — a new principle of thought and action had been furnished them which they could apply to every evil of the religious life and expect a remedy. Wherever this principle was accepted, the whole great machinery of a mechanical salvation fell to pieces as if by magic.

Throughout northern Germany, thence to Denmark, Scandinavia, England, Holland, and Switzerland, a revolutionary impulse carried away the leaders of the nations. Even the more southern peoples were roused enough to excite the alarm of all their rulers, and urge them to measures of reaction. The swiftness of this answer to the word of Luther shows that it had a new meaning for men. It proves that they had despaired of reaching a solution of the religious problem by the ordinary methods of peaceful reform. They remembered the results of the age of the councils; they remembered John Hus and Savonarola; they saw what an effective machinery had gone into operation to crush out in its beginnings every form of protest, and they believed that the only method left was that of revolution. Within eight years from the publication of Luther's theses against indulgences, those nations of Europe which were to be the leaders of reform had already declared themselves. It was not the reform of this or that outward evil that was now demanded; it was a complete denial of the Roman principle of authority, and the substitution therefor of some other standard.

This seems to me the first proof that the Roman system would never have reformed itself. The second is in the Council of Trent. If it be true that the dominant forces in the church of the sixteenth century were working in the direction of a purer and higher conception of religion, we should expect to find these forces welcoming the efforts, even though hasty and violent, of more eager reformers. We should expect to find a great moderate party, which would gladly go half way in meeting this new enthusiasm, as the Roman organization had already met and utilized so many other enthusiasms, and in shaping it to the good of Christian Europe. Nor are we wholly disappointed. There was a great moderate party, headed by the purest elements of the Italian church, which was willing to go as far as possible in meeting the demand of the reform for a general council, and in harmonizing what might prove after all to be only minor differences. But what was the result? From the first call of Luther for a general council to the first meeting of the Council of Trent was a generation of men, and it was twenty years longer before the council could be brought to formulate its position on the burning questions of the conflict. Not until the forces of conciliation had spent their strength in hopeless struggle, and the papacy found itself strengthened by a new impulse of reactionary zeal, did it allow its position to be declared.

And what was this position as the result of internal reformatory action? A few of the outward evils of the clerical life and of church administration were disposed of, so far as words could do it, but upon all those fundamental points against which the protest of the Reformation had been directed, the Council of Trent reasserted everything. Above all, the Decretal Principle, by which the papacy was made the one central authority in all matters of church doctrine and discipline, was absolutely maintained.

The Council of Trent, which has given the tone to the Roman institution to this day, fell back absolutely upon that idea of a specific revelation, placed in its sole charge, which lay at the bottom of the Isidorian system. All the great movements of human thought, which make the era of the Reformation the most interesting, as it is the most important in European history, were deliberately repudiated. The printing-press, which had already shown its enormous power during the religious conflict, was henceforth to be absolutely under the control of the organized priesthood. The order of Jesuits, devoted by its very nature to the

blind service of the papacy, was confirmed in its organization, and endowed with privileges which were to become practically unlimited. The Holy Inquisition, already beginning its hideous career of purification, was recognized and confirmed as the most effective weapon against the action of the human mind. It is not to our purpose to criticise these methods. Repression was the natural attitude of authority in the sixteenth century, and it was applied by one and another party as it saw its opportunity. But it is the gloomy distinction of the Roman Church to have reduced repression to a system. These were not the mad excesses of a reckless tyrant like Henry VIII. of England, nor an outbreak of dogmatic zeal such as inspired the Genevan church, in the burning of Servetus, but the deliberate expression of the highest will, in an institution claiming divine authority for its acts. They were the declaration, not of a momentary attitude, but of a policy for all time to come, and that policy has been faithfully adhered to.

Henceforth the issue was clearly defined: on the one hand an elaborate mechanical system of intermediary agencies, through which alone salvation to the individual and to the community was possible; on the other, in spite of all diversities, the principle of a direct relation between the individual human soul and the God whom it would fain understand better and worship more devoutly.

The second principle, which I should describe as Protestant, is the right of diversity, as opposed to the Catholic principle of the absolute necessity of uniformity. Unquestionably there was a time when it was as useful for the church to live up to certain uniform standards, as it is for an army in the field to wear a uniform dress, and to move according to a prescribed system of tactics. During that time the Catholic principle found its proper application, and did its great work; but that time passed. Men began to demand free play for the individual mind, and then it was that the demand for uniformity began to clog the wheels of human progress.

Then came Protestantism, divided from the very beginning into different lines of activity, yet united in the common aim of helping the world toward clearer conceptions of its highest interests. Their quarrel with Catholicism was not a doctrinal one. It is a fact too easily forgotten, that with the exception of those movements known as Unitarian, Protestantism accepted every one of the fundamental doctrines of the church from which it seceded. The real point of division was, that men would no longer agree to submit their opinions to the dictation of any one single authority.

Undoubtedly Protestantism has had its own follies and weaknesses to answer for. The great principle I am trying to define was anything but clearly defined in the minds of its greatest leaders. Each of its groups believed itself to have discovered the one true way of differing from the common antagonist, and was inclined to emphasize its diversities from its allies even more sharply than those which separated it from Rome. "Rather than say with the fanatics," said Luther, speaking of the Eucharist, "that it is nothing but bread, I would say with the papists, that it is nothing but flesh."

True it is, again, that Protestants were as eager to build their opinions upon some authority as ever Rome had been. True that they put forward the authority of a written book, which could not be changed, and which, therefore, seemed to bind them to a more cruel and rigid literalness than ever. But, in fact, this very literalness destroyed itself. Men at once began to interpret for themselves the meaning of this book, and along the line of this study and interpretation of the documentary evidence of Christianity, they came out into the clear light of modern scientific calmness and confidence.

It was idle for men who had taken the early steps along the road of a reasonable religion to demand that no one should dare to go beyond them. The impulse once given could not be checked, and therefore it is that Protestants may, with entire confidence, maintain that all the energy of modern, as distinguished from mediæval life is inseparably connected with their attitude towards the whole body of attainable truth. Deny the right of diversity; insist that only in uniformity is safety; refuse to the individual soul its right to approach the source of its higher life without human mediation, and the modern world, with all its achievements of the human will, would disappear, and the scheme of Hildebrand would be the only one suited to the state of society that would ensue.

We are living to-day in an era of good feeling. Enthusiasm for religious beliefs is unfashionable. We feel that the truly religious man is he who contributes most to the present welfare of humanity, and we declare that the really important thing is the common content of religious sects rather than their points of difference. We say, lightly perhaps, that dogmas have had their day, and can never again assert their power over the minds of men.

In all this there is a something splendid which may, in a few

choice spirits, arouse a new enthusiasm in place of the old, — the enthusiasm of humanity. But it would be idle to blind ourselves to the fact that superiority to dogmas may be, after all, only indifference, both to the dogmas and to the greater truths which they represent. For what are these dogmas of the sects but the crystallized thought of ages upon the profoundest problems of man's nature, and his relation to the universe which surrounds him? They have become contemptible only because they have so often obscured the greater truths instead of illuminating them.

The real problem of our day in this matter is to be solved, not by despising dogmas, but by understanding them. Men will demand support in their beliefs; and if we say, dogmas are no longer worth our serious thought, we may be sure that those organizations which have not lost respect for their own dogmas will attract to themselves ever-increasing masses of those who find in them even an apology for a support to their unaided thought.

The conflict of the early church is repeating itself in our midst. Now, as then, we see a great Gnostic element, declaring itself the true interpreter of Christianity through the medium of the intellect. Now, as then, we have our element of ecstatic fervor, proclaiming from time to time a direct revelation of divine truth through the medium of some inspired prophet, a new manifestation of the Eternal Logos.

And so, again, we have in our own day the great theory of a Catholic Church, — not a church of the learned, not a community of saints, but the Church of Christ, existing, a new pedagogue, to lead men from the life of the body into the life of the spirit. But where is this Catholic Church of our time? I hold it to be the chief sin as well as the chief weakness of Rome today, that it still claims for itself the sole possession of that title, — just as it would be a sin and an unfailing source of weakness in any other body which should claim it for itself.

In defining the true Catholic principle, we must go back again to the early time of Christianity, when this incubus of the decretal theory had not yet fastened itself upon it, when Rome guided the nations, because it had really something to offer them; because Rome actually was the mediator between the civilization of the past and a new half-barbarous Europe. The mission of Rome ceased when Europe had learned to think for itself. The Reformation was Europe's proclamation of its majority.

At the opening of the Council of Trent there was yet time for that early definition of "Catholic" to be reasserted by the Roman

organization itself. At the close of that council, twenty years afterward, it was too late. From that time to this the Catholic principle has found its true expression in no single source, but throughout the Christian community, wherever men have risen above the interests of sects and classes to that original conception of Christianity as giving to all men, everywhere, a higher and truer idea of God, — a more profound sense of man's relation to God, — define Him as men will, — and a more effective love for his fellow-men.

Of that Catholicism, this University has no fear. Against any narrower definition, — especially against any definition which places a limit upon the right and the duty of every man to seek for truth wherever and however he can and will, — she will protest in the future as she has protested in the past.

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VIEWS OF DR. A. BAER ON DRUNKENNESS.

THE simplest things are not the most simple when studied. The good and sincere total-abstinence advocate has a high moral aim in view, and shows his loyalty by his sacrificial spirit, and thinks his case so clear and simple that he never doubts it.

To insist on total abstinence from wine in France and beer in Germany is like objecting to the use of coffee and tea in England or America. The question of total abstinence is manifestly a local one; it is relative to the country, or even state, city, or town. To insist that drinking is either right or wrong in the absolute sense is an attempt to make the relative absolute, which is a contradiction. There are two distinct questions, the purely ethical and the purely scientific; and while they are separated for convenience, they are in reality together, for in the end the facts decide the "ought." The practical ethical question seems to turn on this point: to what extent the use of a thing should be prohibited when it is abused. Many ethical difficulties are not between good and evil, but between two evils, as to which is the lesser.

It will be interesting to follow one of the recent European investigators, Dr. A. Baer,¹ of the Imperial Board of Health, and Chief Prison Physician at Berlin.

¹ *Die Trunksucht und ihre Abwehr*, von Dr. A. Baer. Wien und Leipzig, 1890.

In the past, wine was used almost wholly by the well-to-do classes, and beer was of such a nature that harm was out of the question. Excessive use of alcohol first began with the art of distillation, and with the obtaining of strong concentrated whiskey from corn, potatoes, and the like. With the universalizing of the use of whiskey, a series of phenomena have appeared, which are designated by the word "alcoholism."

The climate is an important factor. Drunkenness is more frequent in cold than in warm countries, and is more brutal and injurious in its effects as we go north. Yet this is not always true, for within the last ten years alcoholism has greatly decreased in Sweden, and increased in southern France and northern Italy. In tropical regions it is at present spreading fast, and with great injury, especially in newly-discovered lands. The accustoming one's self to the use of alcohol causes, sooner or later, a feeling of need for it; alcoholism is not, therefore, an inborn instinctive need, but an acquired one. Experience teaches that the longer this vice exists in a nation the greater the vice becomes. Persons who misuse alcoholic drinks, especially whiskey, often become sick and die sooner than the moderate drinkers and non-drinkers. When alcohol is taken habitually, and when misused, it injures the whole constitution: all tissues and organs, and especially the blood; suffer sooner or later a pathological change, with which susceptibility to disease is increased. Alcohol intoxication not only calls out diseases and disturbances that the non-drinker does not have, but it gives rise to a greater morbidity. It is an old experience that in epidemics of cholera, dysentery, and small-pox, drinkers are attacked in larger numbers, and with greater intensity, than non-drinkers. The bad constitution of the blood, the weakness of the changed heart-muscles, the sunken energy of the nervous functions, and the frequent accompanying disease of the brain, give a bad course to every disease, and a high mortality. The greater mortality of drinkers, as compared with non-drinkers, is shown by the figures of the "United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Association," an insurance company founded since 1847:—

Year.	TOTAL ABSTAINERS.		GENERAL DIVISION.	
	Deaths Expected.	Actual Deaths.	Deaths Expected.	Actual Deaths.
1866-70	549	411	1008	944
1871-75	723	511	1268	1330
1876-80	933	651	1485	1480
1881-85	1179	835	1670	1530
1886-87	553	390	713	700
	3937	2798	6144	5984

In the "Total Abstainers' Division," 71 per cent. of the expected deaths occurred; in the "General Division," 97 per cent. Other companies give similar figures.

Sweden, which, up to recent times, was considered the most drunken land, owed this state of things principally to the excess of small saloons and to a very small tax on whiskey. The great decrease in the number of these saloons, in connection with an increase of the whiskey tax and with a temperance movement, has lessened drunkenness to a great extent. As the use of whiskey decreased, the number of sick and dead from alcoholism lessened also. In Norway, also, a bad legislation had a similar effect in spreading drunkenness. With the decrease of consumption of whiskey, that of beer increased; and no land has shown more improvement through the decrease of drunkenness than Norway. In Russia, the alcohol consumption is great in certain parts, but in Russia as a whole, it is not so considerable as one would expect from the amount of alcoholism. The results of the abuse of alcohol are in a great measure due to the climate and the social condition of the masses. Besides the raw climate, there is an insufficient nourishment, almost wholly vegetable, which drives to whiskey; which is not taken in small quantities, and regularly, as in other nations, but seldom, and in large quantities, on holidays (ninety-six yearly), in family celebrations, in market-days. Recently, alcoholism has decreased. In Holland, with its wet, foggy climate, and great number of seaports, there has always been a large consumption of alcohol, increased by the exceedingly large number of licensed places, and especially from the fact that whiskey is sold in many kinds of business (baker's, hairdresser's, etc.); as a consequence, there is a great increase of insanity through dipsomania and delirium tremens. In France, in former centuries,

alcoholism was hardly known so long as wine was the alcoholic drink. But by the great exportation of wine, and by the recent appearance of oidium and phylloxera, and a like alcohol production from turnips, corn, meal, and potatoes, the alcohol consumption has gradually increased, and its consequent misuse has followed. The consumption of alcohol has more than trebled within fifty-five years. Where wine is least used, there is the greatest consumption of whiskey. The number of suicides is directly proportional to the increase in alcohol consumption. The number of fatal accidents due to alcohol has shown a constant increase.

In Italy, the consumption of alcohol is, on the whole, very small. It is larger in the northern provinces; more recently, it has increased as the consumption of wine has decreased. In Austria, it is a sad fact that the consumption of beer is decreasing, while that of whiskey is increasing. In Germany the consumption of both beer and whiskey has been increasing. The use of beer, as compared with whiskey, varies very much in different provinces of Germany: in the east and northeast much whiskey and little beer; in the west and northwest, much of both; in the south, very little whiskey, but a great deal of beer (Bavaria); the increase of the consumption of whiskey is mainly due to its large production and very great cheapness. The consumption of alcoholic drinks within the last ten years, especially strong drinks, has been aided by the rapid increase in the number of saloons.

The relation between drunkenness and crime is not always a parallel one. Crime is not alone conditioned by the quantity or intensity of intemperance, for it owes its rise to many social conditions also; but all these unfavorable conditions are aided by drunkenness, and in this sense the abuse of alcohol increases crime very greatly. It can be said that with the increase of intemperance and of drinkers (by no means identical with the increase of alcoholism), the number of criminals and crime increases. Misuse of alcohol means poverty and pauperism, which are the main sources of crime. The injury of drunkenness to family life cannot be reckoned, but daily experience teaches that nothing disturbs the family life as much; the boys fall into idleness, slothfulness, and finally into crime; the girls become the booty of prostitution.

Some of the preventive means against intemperance are: (1.) Education of the children of the working-classes in an orderly, industrious, and economic life. (2.) Construction of healthy dwellings for the working-classes, so that an over-crowded room

may no longer encourage the workingman to seek the saloon. (3.) Better food, so that he may not be tempted to make up for this want by a temporary supply of whiskey, which deceives him in causing him to suppose that he is gaining strength. (4.) Public coffee-houses, with home-like surroundings, papers to read, etc., etc. (5.) Formation of temperance societies, which in many ways warn others against the evils of intemperance. While the total-abstinence societies have done much good, yet a very practical organization exists in Switzerland which has three categories of members: (a) Those who are total abstainers; (b) those who take the pledge for a certain length of time; and (c) those who assist the society in a financial way. In this way a unified action can be gained, without losing the aid of those who are in favor of all efforts against the evil of drink, yet are not so rigid personally as to be total abstainers. (6.) The establishment of inebriate asylums, where the habitual drinker may be rescued.

The state should limit the consumption of whiskey to the smallest quantity possible, by (1) the lessening of production, and the imposing of a tax. From experience in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, and France, this has lessened the so-called small house-distilleries, which have been one of the greatest causes of house-drunkenness; here whiskey is made for local consumption, and, on account of primitive methods, is of very bad quality. (2.) As to the extreme measure of prohibition, it cannot be carried out in thickly populated States, where the intemperance of the people is really great, and it is not necessary where drunkenness is not extensive among the people. (3.) A high tax on whiskey. The consumption of alcohol increases in proportion to the cheapness of whiskey. (4.) A moderate tax on the lighter alcoholic drinks. Beer is the greatest enemy of whiskey; it must, therefore, be of good quality, and not dear, but strong alcoholic beers should be taxed very high; coffee, tea, chocolate, and all necessary articles of food should be made cheap, and of good quality. (5.) A lessening of the number of licensed places. The need for whiskey is not a natural one, but artificial. To increase the saloons increases the number of drinkers. The whiskey trade does not follow the law of supply and demand, but rather that of demand and supply. The easier it is for every individual to find whiskey at all times, places, and prices, the more he will drink, until it becomes his unconquerable vice. The lessening the number of licensed places, in connection with a high tax on whiskey or other strong drinks, is the best means that the state can em-

ploy for the control and repression of drunkenness, and it is in those lands in which political and industrial freedom is valued the most that the severest measures against the whiskey business are undertaken. (6.) Punishment of the saloon-keeper, when he sells to persons already drunk, or to minors not accompanied by relatives. (7.) Inspection of the liquor traffic, both as to place and time of sale. The sale of whiskey in groceries should be absolutely prohibited, because women with a tendency to drink are here very easy victims.

The repression of public drunkenness by punishment of the drinker has been tried in many countries, but with little success. Many things are forbidden in the interest of public order and well-being, and though not necessarily in themselves immoral, produce conditions which easily lead to immorality, or are otherwise dangerous to society. Yet it is rather cruel to permit saloons at every corner, and cheap whiskey, and then to punish drunkenness.

Measures against the habitual drinker are: (1.) Placing the drinker under guardianship. This course would not differ materially from doing the same in case of the spendthrift and the insane. It would lessen the chances of wife and family becoming paupers, and would not only be for the good of the drinker, but a warning to others. (2.) Placing in inebriate asylums. In the later stages of habitual drunkenness, there is a considerable number of cases of insanity, and the insanity takes the most different forms, as chronic mania, epileptic insanity, delusional insanity, general paralysis, and other phases of incurable insanity. In other cases, alcoholic excess is a symptom of a diseased nervous system, where there was insanity before drinking commenced. In the first stages of mania, melancholia, and general paralysis many are driven to the use of alcohol. Dipsomania is a form of insanity, and is periodic. Besides all these, there are a number of drinkers on the border line between health and disease, who, on account of their inherited mental weakness, and consequent irritableness, through overwork, are given to alcoholic excesses. There are a still greater number of habitual drinkers who are not insane, but, through long abuse of alcohol, cannot resist drinking; they reach such a degree of volitional and intellectual weakness, of irritability and stupidity, indifference to customs and position, and mistrust and carelessness towards their family, that it is a question whether they are not a common danger to society. The number of these persons among those suffering from chronic

alcoholism is by far the greatest, and Gauster¹ says that they are the most dangerous, because their condition is latent, and attacks can appear suddenly. Should such drinkers be left to go free in life?

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REFLECTIONS OF A PRISONER.

THE prisoner, who has forfeited so many of the common possibilities of mankind, has still one of them to a rare degree, — that of reflection. Opportunity, as it were, turns her back on him, yet holds out behind her this parting boon. Often it seems anything but a privilege; to me it has proved a call from heaven. And since as a writing man, I was born, not made, it is you that I beg to be my confidants, O pen and paper! Any other confidant of what I am about to say would be impossible.

Though a prisoner, and justly so, I did not come of the so-called criminal classes. My people were stanch New England Puritans. I inherited many of their traits, and was brought up in their traditions. At twenty-five I was what is called a promising young man, vigorous in body and mind, pure in my aspirations, refined in my tastes, and with the beginning of a liberal culture. Neither my family nor myself perceived the dangerous weakness of will which my conduct afterwards revealed. But the Devil did. That is, if there is a Devil. I have never given much attention to the likelihood of his existence, feeling a more pressing need for faith in other directions. But of late, as I have realized the subtle correspondence between our temptations and the natures they beset, the thought that there may be an arch-tempter has grown upon me.

However that may be, temptation came to me on just the side where I supposed myself secure, in just the form which I least expected, and with the most adroit mode of attack. Had the summons to my final crime been sudden and open, it would have had no allurements for me. A habit of indecision in trifles, of which at that time I was hardly conscious, proved my enemy's strongest ally. In pondering over the matter since, I have come to feel more and more urgently the vital importance of training one's self to firm

¹ *Jahrb. für Psych.* 1839, VIII, Heft III.

decision, followed by prompt action. I have come to understand that every time I, as a boy, lay abed in the morning, speculating as to whether I would get up or not, — every time I yielded to the charms of the doubtful book which I had previously concluded not to read, — every time I followed another person's unwise suggestion because assent was easier than opposition, — I was making myself less incapable of committing a great sin. This might seem to some people overstrained. I know that it is true.

For two or three years I gave way step by step. All the time I kept my allegiance to goodness in feeling if not in action. I said in my heart, "I shall never do that wickedness. I hate it with my whole soul. This strange, new course of mine, which certainly seems as if it might lead other men there, men who had a leaning toward that sort of thing, is safe for me. Moreover, it is justified by my exceptional circumstances. True, I am stepping outside the common track of integrity, but society cannot always judge for the individual. I am a radical. I make my own customs."

Thus did I taste of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Thus did the tempter say to me as to the first transgressor, "Thou shalt not surely die." And thus did I "look on truth askance and strangely."

This last seems to me, after all, one of the most appalling results of sin. Among the deepest instincts of humanity, I take it, is that of loyalty to truth. More and more, as a man grows toward Christlikeness, that is, toward supreme naturalness, the love for truth becomes a passion to him. But as soon as he takes a step towards evil, a dire conflict begins. His righteous instinct and the sophistry with which he tries to justify himself join in mortal combat. As he obstinately supports the sophistry, the instinct is overmastered and trodden down. Then we have the horrible spectacle of a soul which can no longer distinguish between truth and falsehood in itself. At least, so it was with me. I verily believe, as a wise old physician once said to me, that every sinful choice is a step toward insanity. Through all my years of repentance, my spiritual vision has been dimmed and distorted by the shadows of that lying past, which even now are slow to lift.

I experienced, also, a growing isolation. I could not, of course, commune freely with my relatives and near friends, because my "exceptional circumstances" stood in the way. I explained to myself that they could not see things as I did. I laughed and

chatted with my neighbors, feeling all the while that instead of an old acquaintance they were meeting a stranger, — a stranger even to himself. There was a painting in my office of a dear, dead uncle, who had been one of my boyhood's inspirations. In these days, when my glance fell upon it, my heart sank with a sense of its own aloofness from his simple ideals. I had always been a hero-worshiper. Now the great communion of saints, living and dead, seemed as if standing on the other side of a steadily widening abyss.

In proportion as this isolation deepened on the one hand, on the other I came to recognize the latent evil in the world. Surely, cursed are the impure in heart, for they shall see sin. In the faces that I passed on the city streets I read hitherto unnoticed prints of wrong-doing. Casual phrases forced ugly double meanings upon my shrinking ears. Instances of the special crime toward which I was drifting came up with singular frequency in conversation or in the newspapers. I was surrounded by a poisoned atmosphere. "And it is you who have poisoned it!" I cried to my own soul. For I had lost my plain self-respect; willfully deceived, I yet suspected the deception; in my deepest consciousness I loathed the man I had become; truly, it was the very essence of insanity which drove me onward in the face of so many warnings.

At last the crisis came, and I, who had felt so safe, was overpowered in a moment by the mutiny of my own selfish desires, grown to full strength by long indulgence. In that one moment the cup of sorcery from which I had so blindly drunk spent its potency, and I awoke to what I had done. I, trained by such noble teaching, consecrated to such high endeavor; I, who had dared call myself a Christian soldier, and dream of helping on the grand progress of righteousness in the world; I had failed with the worst failure a man can make. I had cheated and ruined a friend who trusted me, and in so doing had foully betrayed the holy cause I had most at heart, had hindered the coming of Christ's kingdom, and stabbed afresh the heart of the Eternal Love. Ah, no one can imagine that depth of anguish save him who has felt it!

Men talk about suffering! I have known, since that fatal day, many of the sorrows which are reckoned great. But its black experience taught me what is the one essential, enduring sorrow, — what hell is. Let men thank God from the depths of any other agony, that it is free from sin!

Of course there was but one thing to do, namely, to give myself up to the authorities. It might be thought that the same overwhelming reaction from my crime which showed me my true character would have had sufficient impetus to drive me to this obvious step; but such was not the case. Not that I was hindered, in the first instance, by the public exposure and shameful punishment whose shadow was already descending upon me. It was rather the terrible habit of indecision, grown almost to a monomania, which kept my will swaying pendulum-like from one perplexity to another.

At last, in my extremity, I resolved to make a clean breast of it to the one man upon earth whom I honored most. He had been my father's pastor and my own; and now, like the aged St. John, added to the burning devotion of an apostle the large charity which comes only with ripe experience. To deserve his friendship had been one of my chief aspirations. Now, seeing clearly all at once the full width of the gulf which separated me from his well-nigh stainless spirit, I yet longed to tell him the whole truth; to be honest with him, at least. I felt sure, also, that his judgment in the matter would be just what my own would have been, if rid of this wayward madness which possessed me, and I fled to him as to my "external conscience." That phrase, stamped upon my memory from a book which I had read long before, repeated itself again and again in my thought of him.

So I told him all. The pain which my recital gave him was evident enough to add to my remorse. What he said was brief and clear. Seeing me still in suspense, he asked me to seek with him the divine enlightenment; and as we rose from our knees I knew that my earthly doom was sealed. It is not easy to explain even yet. But I had thrown my weak will into the current of a stronger one, from which there was no escape; nay, with which mine was even now identifying itself. And I had done so freely, because I knew that this stronger will was in no whit despotic, but was itself ever striving to be absorbed more completely into that Perfect Will which governs all things.

It was late at night when I left him, and I went home with a clear understanding of what I was to do in the morning. But when I was alone in my own room, the billows of my agony overwhelmed me. Exhausted, heart-broken, blinded by sin and maddened by remorse, I asked myself whether there was any hope for me in the universe; whether there was any truth anywhere which made it reasonable for me to seek to save my soul; whe-

ther, of all the sacred teachings which I had heard from infancy, and to which I had tried to shape my boyhood's growth, there was any jot or tittle of which I was so sure that I could rest upon it now. Then through my storm and darkness shone the divine figure of the ever-loving Christ. But about it, in the same moment, gathered the questions and doubts and denials of the ages. I was incapable of reason or discrimination. With an utter sinking of the heart I was yielding myself at last to — who knows what? when there sounded in my soul the simple words of the sweet old record: "He had compassion on them." Yes, He, who at any rate must stand for the best and truest that the world has known, had compassion on them; his whole history evinced it. And it was borne in upon me that He had compassion on me. It was the saving thought of my life. It came to my bleeding spirit like heavenly balm. I lay until morning wholly bereft of strength in body and mind, realizing that I must shortly rouse to the hell of my own making, but realizing, too, that even there the pitying hand of the Christ had found me.

Then I gave myself up. The sense that I could not go backward, that I was held to my course by the iron will of the old pastor behind my own, was an inexpressible relief. Through all the subsequent nightmare of public disgrace, trial, and condemnation, I found it so. But I will not let myself dwell longer upon that time. Its phantoms of misery and shame have come back again and again to lure me to despair. At first I felt that these frightful images were the merited punishment of my sin, and were to be faced as such. But now I see that they are subtle forms of temptation, whether minions of the Devil or expressions of my own worse nature, I know not. Now I accept only the results of those bitterest days of my life, and turn upon the remorseful self-hatred with a "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

I was sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years that leaves me little to hope for when it is ended, so far as this world is concerned, and I came here with no illusions. Once I was constantly looking into the future; now I live rigidly in the present, except for an added sense of the reality of that eternal future which seemed so dim and unessential to my happy childhood. But until this mortal shall put on immortality, I hope for little external change. About me will be the four walls of my cell, or the cheerless monotony of the work-room, with an occasional glimpse of heaven from the prison yard. For the noble companions whom I might have had, I have substituted my silent jailer and the crimi-

nals who are my worthy mates. The grand profession in which I had started, with all its high opportunities for growth and service, is irrevocably sealed to me. I make chairs in the work-room instead. The clean and helpful influence that I might have had among my fellow-men is become an offense and a byword. And yet, I hope; my soul is at peace.

I came here with one settled purpose, — to retrieve, by God's help, such remnants of life as were left me. My experience with the old pastor gave me a clue to the right way. I saw that as my faltering resolution had been made firm in his, so the weakest will could be held to strength and sufficiency by being cast upon the current of God's will, which is ever ready to succor and to support. I saw that my deathful failure had been made through neglecting Him and the voluntary consciousness of my real relation to Him. I threw myself upon his mercy. And though I have not yet learned to maintain that unbroken union with Him which is my soul's supreme desire, I am growing slowly towards it.

The most agonizing thought to me is that of the evil I have wrought, going on in evil consequences, making life harder and truth darker for men yet unborn. In the face of that thought I am powerless. I dare not let myself apprehend it fully. I take it as the most terrible of warnings. I pray God, with all the earnestness of my penitent heart, that, according to the fullest measure of his power, He will convert the evil into good. He knows that I would give my life — twenty lives! — to have it so.

I turn from my wretched self to Him. I have learned something of his ineffable beauty. As a child I feared Him; as a youth I honored Him vicariously in the persons of my saints; as a despairing man I clung to Him; but as a penitent I love Him. I think sometimes of the best people I have known or read of; of their most exquisite and magnanimous deeds; and then I look to Him, as far above them as the heaven is above the earth. I think of Him manifesting his divine tenderness in the life-long, never-failing, transcendent sacrifice of the Christ. I picture to myself, so far as I may, that matchless face, lighted from within by the glory of infinite love and the strength of unbroken self-mastery, and my whole soul becomes one cry of longing toward Him. I think of Him putting his marvelous loveliness into the world of nature, of which I was too true a devotee to be wholly a loser, even within prison walls. I dream of Him dimly along the farthest borders of my thought, a consummate splendor at the centre of all that is, ordering it in an unthinkably intricate har-

mony, governing all intelligences to their own highest ends, drawing all to himself by the sublime fascination of perfect beauty, love, power, affinity. Then, again, I hear this Divine Perfection saying even unto me: "This my son was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found."

Oh, the rapture of forgiveness! Men who have never known sin and remorse can never know one side of the Father's nature so fully as we, the pardoned. I used to accept it as a form of words, that "He forgiveth all our iniquities;" I used even to apply it to other people; but when it came to my own case, I went to the depths of anguish before I could at all grasp the actual fact. It was too great for me. There are times, even now, when my demon of despair renews his assaults upon my heart, when my hold upon the wonderful certainty is shaken. Then I turn to my New Testament, and read those repeated assurances, once a matter of course, now pulsing with life and shining with whitest light: "When he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him." "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance."

There is in our prison chapel a memorial window, representing the Good Shepherd at just the moment when He has found the wandering sheep, which is caught about the neck by the cruel thorns of a dense thicket. I have seen in my earlier days many pictures of somewhat the same design; but from its application to my own life this one has made an undying impression upon me. I can feel the relentless thorns and the bewilderment of despair. The Shepherd's tender eyes and outstretched hands of help affect me with an almost unbearable pathos of joy. Out of the black core of my sin itself the divine Transmuter has plucked this pure seed of holy experience.

Moreover, in his great bounty He has given me a new understanding of my fellow-men. When I was innocent, or supposed myself so, I believed the good people whom I knew to be incapable of certain depths of sin; the bad people, incapable of certain heights of virtue. The good men's souls were white; the bad men's souls were black. If I have come to a sorrowful sense that the highest among us may possibly fall, I have learned also the great lesson that the worst sinner may, by God's help, attain

purity, and reach the very summits. The white-robed multitude in the Book of the Revelation, the picture and vision of holiness, are those who "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." When I consider the most hardened criminal in this prison, I dare not in the least look down upon him, for my own wicked deed has taught me my real kinship with him. Nay, if my training had been as evil as his, is there not every likelihood, in the light of that deed, that I should have done worse than he? On the other hand, as I know myself capable of righteousness, and now steadfastly purposed to attain it, capable of loving the Highest, and catching glimpses even of the Beatific Vision, dare I hope less for him, if he lay hold of God's help?

Such thoughts go with me into the routine, the shadow, the disgrace of my daily life. In my little, fettered activities, I try to show to my most merciful Father my sincerity at least. I make my chairs as well as I can; if I can in any way lend a hand to a fellow-prisoner, I am thankful for the chance. I feel my unnatural surroundings dulling all my powers. But my punishment is just; and, as I said, I look far beyond it.

I realize constantly that I am started upon an eternal life. My weary prison days are to me only a brief delay, a lesson in patience, before the doors are flung wide into an endless possibility. I dare not outline to myself what duties, what disciplines, what clear visions, what reunions, what crowned cups of joy I shall find there, but I know that the Lord of that future is the inexpressibly dear Lord of this present, and that whatever He has in store for me will be best.

PESSIMISM'S PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY.

"MY child, thou art born to endure: therefore endure, suffer, and keep silence."

With these words, it is said, the Mexican people were accustomed to counsel their children and youth. This is but one instance of that practical recognition of the suffering of earthly existence which has always been so real a factor in the experience of men.

In our century, this conviction has been embodied in systematic form by the so-called pessimistic philosophy. Of Schopenhauer, its great representative, we often read and hear. But it is not often that attention is drawn to the emphasis which Schopen-

hauer's philosophy, by both contrast and agreement, places on the fundamental principles of our Christian religion. It is this — and especially the emphasis of agreement — that I have now in mind.

Many will remember the metaphysical basis which underlies the pessimistic conception of life. All that we need here is a glance at its fundamental theses, which, very briefly, are these: Space and time are subjective forms of the receptive intellect. Intellect is a function of the brain. The principle of sufficient reason is the form of the understanding in all being, becoming, knowing, and acting. This world is idea or representation: it is phenomenal, — continually becoming and passing away. But the world is not only idea: an ineradicable conviction assures us that there is a somewhat, a thing-in-itself, back of all the phenomena. This ground of all being is just what we know in our self-consciousness, namely, will. The nature of this will is irrational, impulsive, striving for objectification, or life. Individual immortality is a foolish dream. The soul is an invention of man's fertile brain. Freedom of the will, in the ordinary sense, is a fiction. There is only a freedom of being. We share with all will in ceaseless striving and endless dissatisfaction. Thus life is essentially evil, "swinging like a pendulum, backward and forward, between pain and ennui." At the end, after all our deep interest and solicitude, death, having played with us for a little while as his prey, swallows us up.

In view of these truths — concludes pessimism — man may follow one of two courses, either of assertion or of denial of the will. In assertion of the will, he affirms in the light of reason, the choice previously made by blind will. In denial of the will, the will, guided by the intellect, sees the evil nature of life and the folly of its assertion, contradicts its own phenomenon, and wills not to be. The way of salvation is not, however, as might be supposed, by suicide, but by voluntary asceticism or the suffering inflicted by fate.

We thus reach that practical side of Schopenhauer's philosophy, on which we find him claiming for his teaching the support of the Christian religion. "Christianity," he says, "is the doctrine of the deep guilt of the human race through its existence alone, and the deliverance from it through an entire reversal of human nature." "The power . . . of Christianity lies solely in its pessimism, — in the confession that our state is exceedingly wretched and sinful." It is not hard, of course, to detect radical

errors in these and like statements. The words "world" and "flesh," and the teachings of Christ concerning "self-denial," "forsaking all," and "bearing the cross," are quoted with audacious literalism, and then made to assume, from their position in Schopenhauer's writings, a meaning quite peculiar to his philosophy. But neither the material world, nor the physical body, nor the earthly life, is ever spoken of in the Scriptures as essentially evil. It is the *over*-assertion of the will, — the selfishness which Schopenhauer so vividly describes, that is evil. For selfishness is the essence of all sin. Christianity is, indeed, "a revelation of the deep guilt of the human race," but *not* "through its existence alone." There *is* a Christian "deliverance through an entire reversal," yet this is *not* a contradiction of self, but a true self-development through subordination to God. Thus the Christian religion is not, as the pessimistic philosophy would have us believe, virtuous and irrational, but virtuous and rational and hopeful; while selfishness is wholly irrational, and its necessary correlate a life of pessimistic despair.

Having by these distinctions saved ourselves from the philosopher's confusion of himself with Christ, — other thoughts, just now more neglected, but stronger and, if possible, more true, come to us as we read Schopenhauer, — thoughts arising from the *agreement* which exists between Schopenhauer's philosophy and the Christian teaching.

This agreement is real. It is not in the metaphysics. Schopenhauer's metaphysics is untrue to man's inner consciousness, and hopelessly inconsistent. It certainly is not in the basis of ethics. The two systems can scarcely be placed too wide apart. It is not, once more, in the verdict they pass upon life. The New Testament is anything but pessimistic in the real sense. It *is* in the genuine and deep appreciation, common to both, of the reality and enormity of evil; of the value of suffering in sanctification; and, most of all, of the hopeless delusion of selfish indulgence. All life which is dominated by desire, of whatsoever sort, all life which has its supreme object in *getting*, of necessity "swings like a pendulum, backward and forward, between pain and ennui." This is the great truth of Schopenhauer. Positively, he leaves us little. But negatively he flings out to our thoughtless and often shallow optimism this significant warning. And the warning finds its counterpart to the full in the teachings of Jesus and of Paul.

Extremes meet. Most men to-day are not genuinely hopeful.

Unphilosophical, they yet have a philosophy; and Schopenhauer, though they do not know him, is their interpreter. They are unwilling to substitute a future of which they know little for a present of which they know much. And in this they are right. But the meaning which the future might lend to the present, and the meaning the present contains for high-minded men — future or no future — is despised. The spiritual is despaired of. Its demands are too great, and its promises to pay doubted. There is little conviction of guilt; but slight sense of responsibility; almost no thought of being “made perfect through suffering.” Physical evil is everywhere and real. To escape from it in every possible way, — this is the ambition borne in upon men daily. The result is pessimism, enervating and deadly.

Then comes the reaction. In the confusion, the jangling demands of the sense-life only are heard. Sensual gratification leads every other. Drinking and drunkenness follow closely in its train. To be amused is the fashion of the day. The passion for wealth seems to swallow all higher aspirations. For this, and such as this, men gladly live and toil! This, in one form and another, is confidently relied on, as containing the happiness sought, and forever expected — to-morrow. The result is an unthinking and fraudulent optimism. Optimism in the phenomena of life, based on pessimism regarding the realities!

To such a condition of thought and of action the pulpit of to-day is not bringing what it ought. A pessimism which, though erroneous in itself, is yet founded on awful truths, is not to be met by a religious optimism as shallow and almost as thoughtless as that of the world which it hopes to convert. Misinterpretation is not to be corrected by no interpretation at all. Schopenhauer's sneer at the Protestant ministry and their “degenerate doctrine of a loving father, who has made a very pleasant and beautiful world for his children to enjoy, and promises them a still more beautiful one if they will conform to his will in certain respects,” — is unjust to the facts, but yet far from groundless. The truth of the love and fatherhood of God we will hold to through all the mystery of evil. It is the light of the world. But a disregard for the awful reality of evil, a shrinking from the discipline of suffering, and a failure to emphasize the ruinous absurdity of indolent self-indulgence, — are no real part of this doctrine, and tend far away from a true understanding of the nature and value of life.

Our ultra-orthodox theology, in relegating heaven very largely to the future, and then making the condition of eternal blessedness

there the acceptance of certain specified articles of intellectual belief here, has assigned, with unblushing arrogance, all but a fraction of our poor human race to eternal damnation, and cast a gloom of despair over religion, more pessimistic than all the pessimism that Germany and Italy and the East can ever hope to produce.

Our so-called new theology, on the other hand, has sometimes made the future seem vague and unreal. Not infrequently it has substituted elegant disquisitions on unfortunate environments of evil and desirable educational virtue, for the preaching of sin and righteousness and judgment, which the appalling condition of men guilty before God and miserably sinful demands.

Neither always points very clearly to the absolute necessity of a deep and immediate revolution in life, of holy self-denial and subordination to God, or to the hope which lies in this truly essential Christ, and in no other name given under heaven.

It is very easy, I know, and very fruitless, for those of us who stand near the beginning of life's real activity to seize at new philosophies of life, or novel schemes for winning men to God. I offer none. Only it comes to me more and more, that if this guilty, suffering, sorrowing world is, in our day, to know more of Christ, it will be because of a practical recognition, on our part, of this old, old truth the Master taught: "If any man would come after me, let him *deny himself*, and take up his *cross* and follow me." And when men say, as they have said, that the clergyman of the future will find himself unable to reconcile with modern civilization — with the German worship of nature, and the British worship of wealth, and the French worship of pleasure, and the American worship of progress — the doctrine of self-renunciation; it is time that the pulpit should make clear what that doctrine of self-renunciation is, and then, in practice and in preaching, urge it, with the authority of the Lord Christ himself, against all of these degrading, pessimism-breeding forms of modern idolatry.

At all costs, let us be honest. If denial of ourselves means nothing more than conforming to the requirements of polite society, let us acknowledge this and exchange our New Testaments for books on social etiquette. If the command, "If thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off and cast it from thee," contains nothing binding upon *us*, let us renounce our allegiance to the Christ who gave it, and openly cease to follow Him. If, once more, the words, "Whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple," have become so extremely

"Oriental" as to have no application to our Western, worldly life, — then there *are* no conditions of Christian discipleship; and we might better preach and labor and pray, if at all, under some other name.

Let no one misunderstand me. I plead for no foolishly literal interpretation, but against that explanation which explains altogether away. I write in behalf of no cruel or ascetic requirements, but rather for that true self-development which "counts all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord." We may not need the *dies stationum* — the sentry days — of the Christians of the early church; but we do need more retirement from the world, more thinking alone with God. We shall gain nothing from a selfish seclusion, like that of many of the anchorites of old; but we shall gain infinitely much if we learn what it means to be "in the world but not of it."

Ascetic monasticism, however laudable its aim, condemned itself in the fanatical pride, anger, uncleanness, and despair of its devotees. But the revulsion has been rude and extreme. And we need, our country needs, helpless, sinning, suffering men need, those to whom plain living and high thinking have become worthy means to noble ends, — who "scorn delights and love labors in the high endeavor to make earth like heaven, and every man like God."

Thus let the spirit of the *suffering* Saviour be our spirit, and men shall know that the power of Christianity lies, as the philosopher has said, in its "confession that our state is exceedingly wretched and sinful;" not, as he would have it, because it ends in this confession, in pessimism; but because, with this, man's spiritual nature shall experience God's redemption of the world unto himself, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

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MISSIONS WITHIN AND WITHOUT CHRISTENDOM.

In this age of rapidly advancing missionary enterprise, it is of vital importance to consider for what classes of missions alone we can claim the interest of all Christians, and can found our claim upon the New Testament. I say, it is of vital importance to consider, not to inquire, for inquiry is surely superfluous.

The only object of missionary activity known in the New Testament is, the communication of the message, that "God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son," and the only men addressed by this message are those who do not know it, or at least who have not accepted it. Everything beyond that is not properly an object of apostolic, but of pastoral activity.

Of course, concrete reality will never accommodate itself very closely to abstract logical lines. The apostolic function includes not only the founding of churches, but the development of faith among them on all its theoretical and practical sides, and the guarding of it against essential depravations. Indeed, the whole later life of St. John was pastoral, rather than missionary, in its immediate form. Nevertheless, in the first age, all pastoral work was but an aspect of missionary work, for the churches were continually extending the Christian message into the midst of a pagan population. One limitation there assuredly was. Mutual intrusion of Christian teachers into one another's fields of labor, with the presentation of bewildering varieties of view, was not acknowledged as a legitimate form of apostolic activity. We know how much Paul suffered from such intrusions, and how bitterly he resented them. And though he nowhere accuses the Twelve of such encroachments, his language leads us sometimes to believe that he thought they might have supported him more vigorously than they did against them. On the other hand, keen as was his sense of the dangers to evangelical faith and life involved in the Judaizing tendencies, it never entered his mind to plan missionary excursions into such churches, on the plea of "bringing the gospel to them." If the name of Christ were acknowledged, and his law taken as the guide of life, he was content, and the more entirely content the farther he advanced in life. "I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

How entirely different is the present principle of proceeding in a great part of Christendom! The Roman Catholics, more than half the Christian name, declare that no Christian communities which are not obedient to Rome have any legitimate right to exist, or that if a part of them, the Oriental churches, by the possession of valid orders and spiritual jurisdiction, have a right to exist, they have no right to continue in their present independence. They are objectively, and it is to be presumed in large part subjectively, in rebellion against the supreme authority of Christ, as embodied in his Vicar. Therefore, although they are by no means regarded as *infideles*, and although the expression *partes infidelium* has been

exchanged for another on the express ground of its liability to be misunderstood as applying to heretical or schismatical countries, yet they are regarded, no less than Jews, Moslems, or Pagans, as being in the strictest sense objects of missionary activity. The great Catholic hierarchy of our own country is, perhaps not quite as immediately, yet quite as fully, subject to the *Congregatio De Propaganda Fide*, as the humblest missionary priest in Borneo or New Guinea.

The Greek Church, it is true, makes no such exorbitant pretensions, and, on the other hand, develops no such various missionary activity.

The Roman See may thus be compared with the Church of Jerusalem, so far as this had fallen under the Pharisaizing influence, and availed itself of its supreme metropolitan dignity to harass and oppress the free evangelical life of the churches of Paul's foundation, maintaining that his converts were only a kind of half believers, who could find no assured entrance into the Messianic salvation except by abjuring their heretical and rebellious founder, and submitting themselves to the only legitimate central authority.

How far do the Protestants, in return, act on Paul's principle, repelling such arrogant claims, and vindicating their immediate relation to Christ, manifested in the fruits of the Spirit, but abstaining from all corresponding intrusions on the territory of the elder churches? The different sections of Protestantism differ widely as to this. The Lutherans, more than half the Protestant world, may be supposed to accept Luther's affirmation, made after a generation of conflict, that the Roman Catholic Church is a true church, and may, by *synecdoche*, be rightly called a holy church. I am not aware that, after the final clarification of results, they have ever dreamed of undertaking missions in Roman Catholic or Greek territory. They would as soon, I suppose, think of repeating Roman Catholic or Greek baptism. Where Lutheran congregations are found in the territory of the elder churches, it is only such as are made up of emigrants, and if a few, or a good many, Roman Catholics or Greeks should attach themselves to them, it would merely be because they had used their liberty, not because the Lutheran churches have been in any way laid out as centres of propagandism.

The Calvinistic churches on the Continent, although more intensely hostile to Catholicism, yet, after the three great confessions had come into a relative equilibrium, accepted, were it only from

the force of circumstances, substantially the same policy. Any recent changes of this will be considered farther on.

The Church of England, in reforming herself, expressly and officially declared that she had no intention of separating herself from the communion of the churches of Southern Europe. If they separated themselves from her, that was their responsibility. The act declaring that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction within this realm" was not a declaration that he was Antichrist, or a denial of his principal rank in Christendom, but simply a withdrawal of that appellate authority over English Christians with which these had, now in greater measure, now in less, seen fit to invest him in the past. Even Mary Tudor made little difficulty over this, regarding it merely as a point of order, not of doctrine. The subsequent return to the Roman obedience was, with her, as with Gardiner, rather that they found this indispensable than that they believed it obligatory. The Articles, it is true, denounce various opinions and usages still maintained in the south as "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." But as the English people did not imagine themselves to have been pagans when these superstitions prevailed among them, so they did not suppose the churches of Southern Europe to have thereby lost the rights of Christian communion, nor have they ever prescribed to Roman Catholics any form of abjuration as a condition of being admitted to the Eucharist. The Articles, moreover (which have no application to the laity), have always been rather a sop to the Cerberus of polemical Protestantism than a substantial part of Anglicanism. Polemical Protestantism, it is true, has often, and for long stretches of time, prevailed in the Church of England, and I cannot positively say that even the two Convocations may not sometimes have collectively described the Pope as Antichrist and the Roman Catholics as idolaters, though I am not aware that they have. It is certain, however, that no such positions have ever been obligatory on the conscience of a priest or a layman of the Church of England. She has sometimes signified her readiness, as in the correspondence between Archbishop Wake and the Gallicans, to render sisterly help to any Catholic churches which might wish to secure national independence of Rome, or to reform their doctrine or use; but she has never dreamed of organizing missions among them, as if they were aliens from Christ.

In Scotland, where the Catholic Church had become peculiarly worthless and corrupt, the reaction was thoroughgoing. Presbyterianism here not only denounced the Pope as Antichrist, and

his subjects as idolaters, but treated as an intolerable heresy the assumption that a Roman Catholic could ever be in a state of salvation. Edinburgh ministers declared themselves ready to pray for the conversion of the Queen precisely as if she had been a worshiper of Jupiter or Odin. Few, I think, accused her of being a worshiper of the chaste Diana. It is true, the continued recognition of Roman Catholic baptism, if not of Roman Catholic ordination, was a silent witness against these violent assumptions. But its implications were disregarded, and the Church of Scotland took a position which would have been perfectly consistent with organizing precisely such missions in Southern Europe as in Turkey or Hindostan, had either effort then been possible. Modern Scottish Presbyterianism, therefore, although it has receded from the extremes of its earlier attitude, might easily regard Italy and Spain as being at least admissible missionary ground in the more rigorous sense.

Of course, so far and so fast as the English Puritans detached themselves from Anglicanism, they, in their advancing grades of intensity, as Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, took up the Scottish position, and denied to the Roman Catholics all right to the Christian name. Whether the Independents rebaptized Catholics, if any joined them, I do not know. American Congregationalists, we are aware, do not incline to this. But their traditional position, notwithstanding the great mitigation of its earlier assumptions, renders it not very hard for them to treat Roman Catholic and Oriental Christendom essentially as if it were in one category with Islam or Paganism.

It is true, Archbishop Leighton, a Calvinist of the Church of Scotland, to which his relations were not essentially changed by the accident of his episcopal consecration, held that a true Christian life could be led under the most defective form of Christianity known in Great Britain. Richard Baxter, no less, steadily exposed himself to the hostility and misinterpretation of his brethren, to vindicate to Roman Catholics the name of fellow-Christians, partakers with us, as he declares, of one faith, one baptism, and one covenant of salvation. But these two lofty-minded men only characterize their associates by contrast.

Methodism has, from the beginning, been noted for its violent antipathy, not to say ferocity, to its great rival, Catholicism, whose competition it justly regards as a very serious obstacle to the realization of designs often avowed by its ministers of "bringing the whole world to the foot of the Cross," in other words, of swallow-

ing up, or reducing to entire subordination, all other activities of Christianity, designs which it seems somewhat difficult to distinguish from those avowed by Rome, all thoughts of coercion apart. Methodism, accordingly, does not by any means confine its missionary operations, within Christendom, to the Roman Catholic world, but subjects equally and indifferently to the authority of its Propaganda every Protestant region, from the most rationalistic districts of Prussia to the most warmly evangelical districts of Wurtemberg.

This extension of the character of missionary ground from the Catholic to the Protestant parts of Continental Europe seems hitherto peculiar to Americans. However American Methodists may be regarded as preëminent in a joyous unscrupulousness of contempt for any objections that may be advanced by their fellow-Protestants of the continent on the ground of brotherly comity and ecclesiastical right, they are not alone in it. The Baptists, also (though apparently, in the north, rather as aiding native movements than as endeavoring to force their way in) represent, in their missionary reports, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Sweden, alongside of Burma and Teluguland, as the objects of one and the same missionary activity. And at last the Congregationalists, in the keen delight with which they are extending their hands to the Waldenströmian movement in Sweden, seem to have entered themselves as contestants in this eager race of ecclesiastical ambition.

Now the perfect right of everybody to propagate any opinions in which he is interested, from the worship of a sunflower to the canonical shape of a cassock, is incontestable. Yet a society formed to bring the gospel of God to nations that have not known it, or have not yet accepted it, may well be excused for not caring also to send out delegates to promote the cultivation of sunflowers, or to exalt the popular estimation of chasubles, important as both these interesting objects undoubtedly are in themselves. And though questions of church government, and, far more, profound questions of Christian thought, immensely outrank all the intricacies of pontifical wardrobes, or the endlessness of baptismal disputes, yet high above all, in another heaven of essential and eternal worth, rises this: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

How, then, can we possibly allow that it is legitimate to combine with this great object objects to be carried out in parts of the

world where Christianity is admitted and inculcated, and where all spiritual and moral aspirations rest upon it as upon the established standard? Is it the promotion of the Protestant doctrine of Justification by Faith? Excellent, and most important. If an association can bring this again to its due honor, it thoroughly deserves that one should be formed, which might well begin with some of our principal Protestant divines, and end up with the Pope. Is it to oppose the excessive honors rendered by the Romanists to Mary? Good, though, as was remarked to me once by Professor Karr, hardly so immediately important as to work against the excessive honors rendered by the Protestants to Mammon. Is it to protest against the dangerous efficacy allowed to a mere attrition in securing forgiveness of sin? This is very desirable, and so is it also to protest against the dangerous efficacy for the same end attributed to subjective states or emotional experiences. The whole life of each Christian, of each church, and of universal Christendom, is to be one long endeavor to rise out of crude beginnings, and dangerous misapprehensions, into the pure simplicity of the light of Christ. But surely the effort to render Christendom ever more worthy of its name is essentially distinct (however fundamentally congruous) from the effort to bring outlying territory into the avowed allegiance of Christ. A society which undertakes this end confuses all apprehensions by coördinating ends to be wrought for on this assured foundation, with the laying of the foundation itself. Send out three men under the same authority, to China, to Spain, and to Sweden, and either you discredit the vital importance of evangelizing the heathen world, or you raise into a pernicious equality with it the endeavor to proselytize your fellow-Christians, or even your fellow-Protestants, or even Protestants whom you recognize as thoroughly sound in doctrine, and godly in life, to your own particular sect. Evangelization is fundamental. Proselytism may be legitimate, but to put it in one category, to rate it as belonging in the most distant sense together with evangelization, is, I will not say what I do not believe, a sin against the Holy Ghost, but it is a direful though unconscious blasphemy against the Son of man, as if any of our halting interpretations of Him were to be compared with the being brought to the loyal recognition of Him as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, the Head of the eternal Kingdom of holy brotherhood.

Still, we must not forget, in comparing the present Christendom with the Apostolic Church, that there is one sad development for which this afforded as yet hardly either space or time, namely, the

virtual apostasy of great regions from everything but the mere name and form of Christianity, and the failure of other great regions ever to rise into its reality. Are whole countries, like southern Italy, Mexico, Brazil, to be forever exempted from all attempts to teach them a gospel of living faith and righteousness, merely because the old heathenism, hardly disturbed, nay, in some respects even aggravated, is covered by a veil of Christian profession and ecclesiastical observance? No. We are to look for the reality of things, and to act according to it. Mr. Howells will not be accused of dangerous zeal for Protestantism against Catholicism, for although personally he dislikes the latter, and is keenly sensible of the immense alloy of mere magic in it, yet somewhere, in terms almost identical with those of Chalmers, he describes it with expressions of respect and hope, as the greatest organization for doing good in the world. Yet this does not prevent him from expressing the satisfaction he felt in attending an examination of Protestant school children in Italy, to see that these little Italians were now taught a religion not to be separated from ethics. Lasaulx also, the brother of Sister Augustine, intense Catholic as he was, assured his sister once of his belief that the ripest fruits of Christianity can never be gathered in a Protestant country without a large activity of Catholicism, and in a Catholic country without a large activity of Protestantism. Our Catholic brethren are certainly not unmindful of their half of this responsibility, and it becomes us to be not unmindful of our half. Associations for the spread of Protestantism in the Latin countries are therefore a privilege and a duty. But we have no right to fuse them with associations for preaching Christ to those who do not acknowledge Him, unless we are willing to take the responsibility of declaring of a certain Latin or Slavonic country that it is actually heathen.

Can we take this responsibility as to *any* country? The Mohammedans have not shrunk from a similar one. The Sunnite authorities have pronounced a formal decision, that the Shiite Persians are to be accounted as not Moslems at all, but as simple Giaours, infidels. Such a decision, cutting off an important fraction of the Mohammedan world from all recognition whatever, on account of subordinate variations of belief, affects us with disgust, and appears to us supremely silly besides, because it dangerously divides the forces of Islam. *De nobis fabula.* As to a decision that a Moslem region was so negligent of the precepts of the Apostle of God that it was to be held as Giaour, I do not suppose such a thing was ever thought of. Supreme folly, like

supreme excellence, is reserved for exhibition within the Christian pale. If a Mohammedan region were found very negligent of the spirit of its religion, the true believers might well send a deputation into it, to bring it up to the right level, but they would not crown this with the honors of a mission to the unbelievers. And as to nominally Christian countries, we should be deterred from setting ourselves up as a tribunal which Christ has never authorized. If we will do it, we are almost sure to find that the most disparaging judgments expressed by high authority are afterwards essentially mitigated by high authority. Thus, a French priest (I forget his name) says that the people of Mexico are Catholics, but are not Christians. On the other hand, a missionary of the American Board, who certainly had a stronger temptation to confirm such a judgment than the first author to form it, says, that while Rome has been in Mexico woefully remiss in her duty, she has not suffered the gospel message to remain altogether void of fruit. Robert Southey, again, says that before the rise of the Wesleys the common people of England had been Catholics and were Protestants, but had never been Christians. But we can imagine Southey's feelings, or Wesley's, if an association of German Christians had been formed, "to introduce the gospel into Hindostan, China, and England"!

I have understood (for I did not follow the proceedings at the time) that the American Board was very reluctant to take up work in Roman Catholic Europe. It is no wonder. We are conscious, in coming from the consideration of pagan and Mohammedan lands to papal lands, that we have to throw our minds into another attitude, and to summon up a range of motives, partly the same, indeed, but largely different, and of an essentially inferior cogency. It is really an incongruous work, which ought never to have been taken on, and the sooner it is remanded to an avowedly proselytizing society, the sooner the primary motives which appeal to Christians, as such, will have their unembarrassed force. To Protestantize is a good work. Could one tenth, nay, one twentieth, of the Spaniards or Italians be Protestantized, even in a loose and vague sense, we cannot doubt that it would give a vast upward impulse to those countries, spiritually, ethically, socially, intellectually, and politically. Nevertheless, to Protestantize is one thing, and to Christianize is another. To put the two undertakings into the same category is to dishonor Christ, in the same way in which it is done by the High Lutheran motto: *Gottes Wort und Luther's Lehr' Vergehet nun und nimmermehr*, "The

Word of God and Luther's lore, shall perish now nor nevermore." Every way, shape, and manner of coördinating even an apostle, much more a reformer, with our Redeemer is a blasphemy against the gospel.

The next thing in order will be to require the American Board to add to its rubric of "Papal Lands" another rubric, of "Lutheran Lands." Why not? Put together all that has been written against the Church of Sweden by the champions of the Waldenströmi-ans (who, no doubt, are very worthy people), and all that is said by the same persons against the German and Scandinavian Lutherans of the West, and it is easy to gather the impression that to Congregationalize Sweden is but little less important than to Christianize China, or at least a Chinese population of the same amount. The method of their propagandism evinces at times either a lack of intelligence or of ingenuousness unworthy of Christian men. Thus, one conspicuous writer of this school speaks with contemptuous bitterness of "Lutheran priests." Does he not know that in Danish and Swedish the word for "minister" is "priest"? He uses this invidious term — which he would have to use of himself if he addressed Scandinavians — to stir up in his readers' minds vague associations with the sacerdotal claims of the old Church, and he wholly ignores the fact that the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood is evangelical to the core. Swedish ministers, indeed, like English, are more domineering than American, but not from any false doctrine concerning priesthood. So the same writer endeavors to stir up a factitious zeal for his sectarian propagandism by expressions of pious horror against the looseness of discipline that will admit saints and Sabbath-breakers to sit down together at the communion, the Sabbath-breakers, of course, being those Christians who follow the doctrine of the Lord's Day which Luther and Calvin taught, and which the most saintly Protestants of the Continent have followed from their day to this. Surely we, who have sat down at many a Puritan communion-table, alongside of the purest saints, with usurers, with oppressors of the poor and defrauders of the widow and the orphan, and who know very well that there is not vigor of discipline enough in the bulk of our churches, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, or Methodist, to cast out the worship of Mammon in its thousand ramifications (if even so coarse an instrument were apt for such an end), may well excuse ourselves from hypocritically affecting an obligation to enter on a crusade against our fellow-Protestants who think that Martin Luther's exposition of

the Decalogue is as good as ours. As for this, the writer knows of a church, made up of German Lutherans, and occupying quite a metropolitan position, which, in doctrine, rite, manner of living, observance of the Sunday, relation to amusements, he has thoroughly authentic testimony, differs in nothing essential from other Lutheran congregations, and yet, because it has chosen to call itself Congregational, and goes to swell the Year Book, is looked upon as quite a triumph of evangelical grace. Fie upon such endeavors to cover the selfishness of sectarian schemings with the mantle of zeal for the kingdom of God!

We have known, on the other hand, a revival to break out almost spontaneously among a community of Swedes, who shaped themselves with the least possible interference from without, into an extensive Methodist congregation, which has been for years a fount of blessing, spiritual, moral, and social, for miles around. Wherever the life of God is deepened among a people, then, whether the most appropriate vehicle to contain it turns out to be Lutheranism, Methodism, Congregationalism, or anything else, this is to be hailed as a subordinate factor of the good work. But if anybody can believe that this is the motive most distinctly imprinted on a large part of these proselytizing enterprises in Christendom, above all in Protestant Christendom, we wish him joy of his faith.

There is, however, another terrible fact, prompting to efforts which do not in the least come under these animadversions. In every country, above all in every Continental country, and most of all in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Spain, there are vast numbers of men who have fallen away into avowed unbelief. They are within the limits of Christendom, but they no more belong to it. They are therefore just as much the objects of a true missionary activity as if they lived in Japan, with the advantage that they are of our own European race, and are still surcharged with Christian remembrances. It by no means follows, indeed, that such a work ought to be done by our Foreign Missionary Societies. It is as profoundly different from theirs as efforts to recover the lapsed must always be from efforts to bring in the aliens. But it need not be tainted with the stamp of proselytism, which dishonors its deep and awful solemnity. And as one great reason of this lapse is apt to be that the hereditary religion of the country has become too stiff to adapt itself to new developments of character and thought, there is often as distinct a call to foreign Christians, "Come over and help us," as if it were raised by the man of Macedonia in the apostolic vision.

The most perfect type of such a work is the McAll Mission. Doubtless there is abundance of deep and pure Christian life in the Catholic Church of France, its laity, its priesthood, and its episcopate. There are, we hear, promising revivals of religion going on in France, especially under the direction of the Dominicans, those adherents (so far as Rome will allow) of the nobler Augustinian theology of eld. Cardinal Richard, the present Archbishop of Paris, appears fully worthy to stand by the side of those other *forestieri* in the Sacred College, a Lavigerie, a Manning, a Newman, a Taschereau, a Gibbons, whose appointment reflects so much honor on the contemporary papacy. Besides his deep interest and active supervision, accorded to reviving faith in atheistic Paris, he energetically summons his brethren to appropriate fearlessly the best fruits of Protestant Christianity, especially the Sunday-school. He draws a speaking picture of this great institute as it is found in the Protestant Anglo-Saxon world, of the innumerable multitudes gathered, after or before the public worship of God, from the hoary-headed judge to the humblest waif of the streets, to study the Word of God together, and calls on his own people to imitate them. Other clergymen, under episcopal authorization, are helping such a work by putting out vernacular editions of the Scriptures, calling on their fellow-Catholics to reject "the disastrous novelty" which discourages the universal use of the Bible. No: the Church of St. Louis, of Gerson, of the Mère Angélique, of Fénelon, of Lacordaire, is not dead, and we may well hope that, as Dr. R. D. Hitchcock augurs of the Roman Catholic Church at large, its noblest days are yet to come. Nevertheless, the fetters which its subjection to Rome still compels it to lay on thought, the multiplicity of doctrines which it imposes, couched in the hard terms of Roman law and scholastic philosophy, the mediatorial position which it ascribes to its priesthood, not by virtue of their personal union with Christ, but by virtue of a half-magical consecration, the burdensome redundancy of the mere "instrumentalities of religion," — to quote from the "Catholic Review," — the encouragement given to a lawless sentimentality and credulity in shaping Catholic faith, the childish veneration bestowed on trumpery images, accredited by whimsical legend, not to say sometimes by imposture, and, above all, the strange mixture of a presumptuous confidence in sacraments with an unfilial distrust of God's justifying grace, have alienated multitudes of virile minds, not least among the working-classes, that have no patience to wait until, perchance, the inward fire

of faith and love may some time or other burn its way through these huge encumbrances, and warm them into life. Multitudes have become thoroughly tired of the Catholic Church, who have not become at all tired of the gospel of Christ. Therefore, when a quiet Scotchman and his quiet wife, in rude French, in a rude hall, made known the pure gospel, "the unorganized Christianity of the New Testament," — in Quinet's words, — it ran like wild-fire, and from that little centre the work is branching out into every part of France. There is no interference with Christian Catholicism, but really help, unless Catholics insist that no one shall bring to God those whom they cannot. The more such missions spring up on the Continent, the greater blessing there will be. If any considerable fraction of the present masses of unbelief can be redeemed to Protestantism, it will only be through being redeemed to Christ. Such a work is as distinct from proselytizing on the one hand as it is from missions to the unevangelized on the other. It certainly, and most happily, greatly helps Protestantism, but it helps Catholicism, if less extensively, no less truly, for it helps all the children and all the churches of God. It discourages superstition, heavy dogmatism, virtual heathenism, childish ostentation of rite, it is true. But Roman Catholicism can endure to be vastly lightened of all this pernicious rubbish, and be so much the better for it.

This leads us to speak of the rapid increase of aggressiveness on the part of the French Protestants themselves, which was witnessed a few years ago. I do not know how far this has been maintained, but it certainly has been so in a measure. This is almost a vital necessity for Protestants in France, especially since they have been so extensively weakened by the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine. Against the tremendous pressure of superincumbent Catholicism they can hardly live, except by manfully vindicating their right to live. This work is essentially the same as that of Paul and his disciples against the Judaizers. Vindication here, indeed, can take no other form than that of positive aggression. And yet even this directly impinges much less upon Catholicism than upon the same mass of unbelief upon which the McAll Mission acts, or, rather, the mass of chaotic readiness to believe, waiting for a satisfying and unembarrassed message of salvation, and for a definite mould into which its indeterminate spirituality may be cast. Essentially the same thing is true of the activity of the venerable Waldensian Church in Italy. And of all forms of assistance rendered to these evangelical move-

ments in Latin Christendom, the intimate relation between the Waldenses and the Church of Scotland is one of the purest and most unreservedly to be commended. This assistance rendered by a foreign to a native church, to secure its existence and to aid in its legitimate, healthy extension, includes every element of good, and is free of every element of evil, to be found in these missions within Christendom.

Closely related with this is aid like that rendered by Episcopalians, notably by Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, to efforts for constituting churches in the Latin countries on the historical foundations of Catholicism, but free from papal despotism, Tridentine dogmatism, the moral dangers involved in compulsory celibacy and a compulsory confessional, and that darkening and deadening exuberance of outward observance of which the Roman Breviary complained bitterly three hundred years ago, but after a generation ceased to complain, because apparently the papacy, having tried so long a struggle with it, found its energies inadequate to cope with the flood of sacerdotal and popular externalism. The legitimacy of such efforts of reform, even from the Roman Catholic point of view, cannot well be denied, for the most exaggerated Ultramontanism is still so far governed by the essential Christian consciousness, that it cannot but often restrict papal authority to that which is essentially reasonable, and conducive to the ends of the gospel. The doctrine laid down by St. Alphonso Liguori, and confirmed by general theological consent, that a notoriously unjust sentence of the church deserves no attention, or, as Bellarmine puts it, that Peter has no power to bind that which ought not to be bound, seems to require no great pressing to expand into still broader conclusions. The mere brute power of the Curia has hitherto crushed all free initiative of reform, to the great grief, as is well understood, of Leo XIII., but the papers of Dr. Langdon and of Dr. Nevin in this "Review" and elsewhere, the works of Father Curci, and other means of information, show how far the Catholic conscience of Italy, and of other countries, daunted as it is by the imperious usurpers of pontifical thunders, is from being quieted, and how much authority it finds in great saints and doctors, even of the later times, for going on in directions, which are now denounced as schismatical and heretical, but which they hope Rome may yet be constrained to absolve of censure, as she absolved Savonarola's memory seventy-one years after his death. We cannot say to what these faint beginnings will amount; but we can say that

they are well worthy of a helping hand, even on specifically Catholic, I might almost say, on specifically Roman Catholic principles, and that those pedantic High Churchmen who complain of Archbishop Plunket and his associates, betray sympathies which are likely in the end to find a more congenial home than the Protestant Church of England. It is to be hoped that her genuine bishops, priests, and laymen will not be deterred by antiquated canons, passed in a different world, and even as such not bearing out the objectors, from stretching forth their brotherly hands to enable Spanish or Italian Catholics to lead an ecclesiastical life on historical lines, without the necessity of forfeiting evangelical freedom or civic franchises. Under such anachronistic scruples there lies hid a sullen sacerdotal hatred of Christian liberty, which is far worse in its effects, and little better in itself, than the most rancorous anti-popish malevolence.

The missions of the American Board, and of the Presbyterian Board, in Turkey, as well as Persia, are a very admirable transition from intra-Christian to extra-Christian work. Operating within churches whose inferior numbers have withheld them from cherishing the almost inaccessible pride of Roman Catholics or Greeks, they have been enabled to help in a far more eminent measure than any have yet been enabled to help in the larger churches, while, at the same time, as they are in the full sense *in partibus infidelium*, they are ever ready to open out into the immediate unmixt work of evangelization. The "Guardian" may, indeed, in its arrogant English High Church pride, affect to "pity" those Greeks who have joined Presbyterian churches in Syria, — of heretical Armenians, no doubt, it takes less account, — but these doubtless know where their Christian life finds its best nourishment. It does seem, however, as if there were some men that would rather see Oriental Christians canonically damned, than uncanonically brought to a living faith. Of such men Bishop Blyth seems to be not an absolutely incongruous representative. It is much to the honor of the archbishop and four bishops who have acted as arbitrators in the vexatious controversy which he has forced on the Church Missionary Society, that though most of these prelates are by no means of the school chiefly represented in the society, they, in simple equity, and loyalty to the position of the Church of England, decide for the society, and against the bishop. The Church Missionary Society takes a very sound position. Its missionaries in Palestine and Syria are expected to use every opportunity to evangelize the Mohammedans,

and they are neither expected nor permitted to try for the conversion of Greeks into Anglicans. But their preaching and services are to be open to all comers, and if Greeks wish to become communicants with them, they are at liberty to receive them, without affecting to be living in the fourth century, and holding solicitous consultations with Oriental bishops who dislike their doctrine and doubt their orders, and whose dispositions towards them are, for the most part, such as to make an anxious parade of comity on the part of the Englishmen rather ridiculous. I do not mean that the Evangelicals have not a somewhat narrow disposition to exaggerate unfavorable signs in the Oriental Church. But where spiritual stagnation is so gross, open, and palpable, to insist that every formula and ceremony of spiritual parity shall be anxiously stood upon, seems to be by far the greater fault of the two. But sacerdotalism always prized the shell above the meat, and always will.

The reader will not have failed to note that the various positions assumed in this paper by no means fit together with the precision of mosaics. I have endeavored to follow reality, and the surgings of reality are not always rhythmically harmonious to our mortal ears. I believe the general principles laid down to be sound, and fundamentally important, as they certainly represent the general consent of Protestant scholarship in our day. Abstract principles are not the less imperative because they are abstract, but the more so. Yet, as theoretical mechanics must accommodate itself to the reality of friction, so must theoretical Christianity. Christendom is too vast, its history is too ancient and complicated, the great chasm of divergence opened in it by the Reformation is too wide, the angles of vision are too many, to allow of a categorical summons to every church and society to wheel suddenly about, and throw all its operations, views, habits of thought and speech at once out of their old gearing. Nevertheless, as the animosities of the great conflict of the sixteenth century gradually die down, its uncharitable exaggerations must be corrected, and it must be acknowledged more and more emphatically, in word and in policy, that no chasm between the followers of Christ can ever, without grievous sin, be treated as if it were the impassable chasm between Abraham and Dives, that there is a fundamental distinction, which must ultimately express itself in the whole form of outward activity, between *Missions Within Christendom* and *Missions Without*, between Proselytism and Conversion.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

EUDÆMONISTIC ETHICS.—A REPLY.

THE December number of this "Review" contained an article by the Rev. William Forbes Cooley, criticising a paper of mine which appeared in the September number. Doubtless unintentionally, my courteous critic has somewhat misrepresented my position. Thus, after quoting my language regarding the aim of life, he ignores what immediately follows, where the perfection to be aimed at is described as "the realization of the possibilities felt within and pressing for fulfillment. . . . As implying the realization of all the possibilities of humanity, it is broad enough to have a legitimate place for science and art, and all those large and impersonal interests, without which life is necessarily narrow, and therefore dull and joyless." Is it quite just to intimate that, in my treatment, the moral instincts "have been carefully stripped of all reasonableness?" When I asserted the Father of spirits to be the source of infinite inspiration for human effort, is this making "the Most High a Martinet" or a "Procrustus" (*sic*), "insisting upon conformity to rule at whatever cost?" Perhaps I have adduced from my former paper enough to show that my position was as far from the asceticism which sacrifices nature to morality, as from the epicureanism which degrades morality.

Mr. Cooley and I would agree so far as to find the ultimate end of existence in the "largest life and truest well-being." There is, however, a radical difference between us when we come to define or measure "well-being." What is the standard which determines it? Mr. Cooley says, happiness. To be sure, he expressly disavows hedonism. He pleads, however, in favor of eudæmonism. What does that word mean in distinction from hedonism, as applied to an ethical theory? I do not recall its use in so recent and comprehensive a work as Dr. Martineau's "Types of Ethical Theory." Mr. Cooley nowhere defines the term. We are left to gather, as best we may, what he means by it. He expresses agreement with me as to hedonism, "in so far, that is, as earthly horizons limit the view." He is, then, somewhat of a hedonist beyond the earthly horizons. His eudæmonism would seem to be equivalent to a heavenly hedonism. Be good, and you *shall* be happy hereafter.

Let it be observed, Mr. Cooley is in agreement with me as to terrestrial hedonism. Goodness for its own sake is, he implies, here the better rule. But, as to the hereafter, he believes in an-

other rule, which makes happiness supreme. Now, I ask, are the ethics of heaven opposed to the true ethics of earth? Is not goodness the same here and hereafter? If here the character is the higher which is loyal to virtue for its own sake, without regard to the pleasure of reward, is it not so there, beyond the earthly horizon? If not, when and at what point is the law reversed? Where does the repudiated hedonism end, and the advocated eudæmonism begin? The argument is not invalidated because the happiness, not directly sought, indirectly attends upon a disinterested life. That affords no reason for making happiness the aim of the life. What is true here of the pleasure of satisfaction is true hereafter. Because pleasure is a result, it does not follow that it is the cause. As well say your hunger is caused by your enjoyment of your dinner. The pleasure presupposes a desire for something, and the fulfillment of that desire. But something quite other than pleasure may have been the object desired and the motive. Strongly significant was Stuart Mill's recognition of "a sense of dignity which all human beings possess in one form or another." That sense of dignity implies a desire to be worthy rather than to feel the pleasure of so being. When Mr. Cooley adduces St. Paul's explanation of suffering, "that we may be also glorified with" Christ, does he mean to make "glorified" equivalent to being happy? Surely that glory, the shining manifestation of the sons of God, will consist not in what they shall enjoy so much as in what they shall be. It is not only to be with Christ, but moreover to be like Him. Mr. Cooley implies all that I contend for, when he speaks of Jesus "winning perfection through sufferings." There it is: perfection as the end, suffering as the means. In that same subordination I place both pleasure and pain, as the means whereby the Father educates us toward his perfection, dealing with us as with sons. That reward goes with virtue, as the shadow follows the substance, does not make it less true that the virtue is the substance and of the primary worth. The goodness is not a mere ministrant to the happiness, but happiness is the attendant. This recognition of a due precedence of goodness over pleasure seems in accord with the teaching of Christ. And I would borrow the words of Dorner, touching eschatology, "the perfection which He brings is not of eudæmonistic, but of absolute worth, and brings the spirit to its truth."¹

My criticism of hedonism was with a view to showing its inadequacy as a defense against pessimism. It is instructive to

¹ *The Person of Christ* (Clark's), vol. i. p. 146.

observe how early in the history of philosophy appears the natural transition from hedonistic to pessimistic views. The extreme hedonism of the Cyrenaic school had its development in Hegesias, "the orator of death," who taught the renunciation of life as the source of all illusion.¹ Indeed, it should be remarked that Mr. Cooley says: "If existence is to be vindicated on the arena of this world, it is to be feared the champion of pessimism will ultimately bear down all opposition, and ride victorious over the field." Now on this very field, which Mr. Cooley would thus surrender to the enemy, I sought a position which might be successfully held, ground whereon existence might be justified, the mind satisfied, the spirit braced. Immortality the pessimist would usually pronounce a dream, the "second stage of the illusion," as Hartman calls it. How, on his own field, may the pessimist be met and vanquished? There is something more universal than the conviction of immortality, and that is the recognition of moral obligation. Here, in the moral order, I found a position which, while incalculably strengthened by the hope of immortality which that moral order involves, yet has in itself the promise of victory against pessimistic attack. The attack is based upon the predominance of pain over pleasure. My position is that the purpose of life is not pleasure. It is character, perfection of nature, in Mr. Spencer's words, "the highest life," which may be resolved, as he admits,² into virtue as the aim. Even were we to grant the predominance of pain over pleasure in this life, yet, if the purpose of life be that nobility and completeness of nature, having for an ideal the divine perfection of One to whom we are related by natural kinship as sons; then, as I hold, life, even within the present sphere, is vindicated. It is invested with dignity, that is, worthiness. It is seen to be worth living. Only from that standpoint has this life such dignity. Thence viewed, furthermore, immortality becomes something far more than an expected reward. It is a necessity of the spirit that has thus already here laid hold on eternal life.

The position taken in my paper, that the true aim of existence is the highest life, consisting in virtue for its own sake, may, I think, notwithstanding Mr. Cooley's assertion to the contrary, be justified to reason. The limits of this reply oblige me to refer him to the late T. H. Green's "*Prolegomena to Ethics*," where that acute and noble thinker argues for "the theory of ultimate

¹ Janet et Séailles, *Histoire de la Philosophie*, p. 414.

² *Data of Ethics*, sec. 62.

good, as a perfection of the human spirit resting on the will to be perfect, which may be called, in short, the theory of virtue as an end in itself." My doctrine, which is substantially the same as Professor Green's, rests upon the possible dignity of human beings as the children of God, and upon their capability of striving toward the ideal of the divine perfection. The aim of their being is the realization of those possibilities, a certain type of character approaching conformity to that divine ideal. However far we may be below that ideal, still it is that Best that prompts and sustains the struggle after the better. It is its divine pressure that impels men upward and onward. The inspiration of goodness for its own sake, as itself the ideal, is the impulse of each step of earnest endeavor and real advance in true morality. Thus I would meet my critic's pleasantry, where he compares my ethics to climbing a mountain simply to be high up. I am not careful to defend myself against the imputation. Certainly, as a moral being, man aspires and climbs, because "to be high up is what he was made for," it is the design of his being as the child of the Most High. That divine perfection, forever above and beyond, is yet no mockery, but the sublimest of realities. To its imperative inspiration, "Be ye holy, for I am holy," human nature's response is the thrill of the noblest of aspirations, Nearer, my God, to Thee!

The promises of reward, the joy of heaven, the joy of our Lord, have their authority in the moral element, that invests them with their sacred spell and their inexhaustible preciousness. Surely in the moral background this life finds its import and its value. To the pessimist, and to my critic, who, so far as this life goes, is ready to surrender to the pessimist, I would say, Let us thank God, and take courage, because human life is so rich in possibility of moral beauty, so glorified by manifest moral purpose. Pleasure and pain are not ultimate facts of sovereign authority. Beyond them, and giving them their color and significance, is the moral fact of human personality with its divine kinship. Beyond them we may look, setting our faces toward the realization of our possibilities as sons of God:—

"Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain!"

Such aspiration implies strenuous devotion to that divine design and ideal. It demands loyalty to that purpose of life, which is other than pleasure because it often has to include pain, but which

suffuses life with a radiant light, wherein the inevitable pain is transfigured, until it becomes ever and again something to be chosen before anything else, because the soul sees it to partake of the highest and best, to be nearer the ideal, more like Him, the Perfect Man, who revealed the Father, and the aim of their life, to the children of God.

Chauncey B. Brewster.

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EDITORIAL.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY.

RECENT discussions have given a renewed interest to the subject of authority in religion. We take advantage of the occasion to indicate the nature and sources of religious authority, as we understand them.

The need of some authoritative source of truth and law for the religious life has been so generally felt in all centuries and in all lands that either sacred books or a sacred order of men have been looked to as furnishing the needed rule of life. Are we in modern times emancipated from this need? Are the enlightened conscience and reason sufficient guides, so that no objective, established standard is needed? Can each man guide himself aright, without the aid of any external authority? It may well be doubted if such a condition has been attained. While external truth must be appropriated in life to have its power, the word on the page becoming the word in the heart and mouth, yet in a condition advanced far beyond the present state, some objective reality of truth would still be needed to present the ideal character and the ultimate destination of man. A certitude is needed other than the speculations and convictions of individuals. Is there, then, any objective standard of religious truth, having authority over all men, and carrying certitude for knowledge and life? And, if so, what is that authority, and where may it be found?

What is the nature of religious authority? It is the authority of truth; nothing more than that, and also nothing less than that. It is an authority which is without external coercion. The authority of the state is supported by the arm of power, and many laws which are moral are thus enforced, such as the laws which pertain to life, property, reputation, and the like. In former times religious beliefs had the sanction of the state, and heresy or forbidden forms of worship were punished. But coercion, in respect to religion where it has existed or still exists, is an anomaly. For religion pertains to those higher aims of life which transcend civil relations in which alone the state properly has control. It should interfere less and less in that which is distinctively religious, protecting citizens in the exercise of their religion, but neither prescribing nor enforcing it. Therefore, the demand for religious authority is not the demand for that which has external sanctions and penalties, but for that which can be accepted as certain, and as furnishing the true rule of faith and practice. It is the authority, then, of truth, of objective truth, which is the same for all, and of which all may have certain knowledge; of truth, the sanctions of which reside in the constitution of man and of society, and in such anticipations or apprehensions as may be awakened concerning the future. These sanctions may have a mighty influence, but are not enforced by any positive coercion. If there is religious authority, it must be the authority of truth, and those are authoritative sources

which record unequivocally the truth concerning God in his relations to men as Lawgiver, Governor, Father, Redeemer, and Judge. That book is an authority on astronomy which accurately describes and explains the actual movements of the heavenly bodies. That man is an authority on geology who is believed to have correct and extensive knowledge of the rocky frame of the earth. Jesus spoke as one having authority, because He spoke as one who knows. That source which can give us correct knowledge of the truth is authoritative, and religious authority in the only proper sense resides in the truth which can thus be known.

The interest of our inquiry is, therefore, the interest of certitude concerning the truth which pertains to belief, character, and destiny. Can we gain such certitude? Is there any source to which we may look for the truth which is final and authoritative? Is there such truth which has been preserved in knowledge?

The inquiry may be still further limited by the assumption that in Christianity, if anywhere, such truth is to be looked for. Whatever truth there may be in other religions is embodied or implied in Christianity. And it will not be disputed that whatever religious truth may be found in the constitution of man and in the structure of society is taken for granted in Christianity. If our religion has not, certainly no other religion has the character of finality and universality. Jesus Christ declared the truth and was the truth. His teachings concerning God, duty, and destiny, and himself in his character, his sympathy, his sacrifice, as a revelation of God and the power of deliverance from sin are the truth which has authority. He stands superior to all others as teaching and exemplifying those truths which constitute religion. We will not take time to point to the reasons (which constitute the evidences of Christianity) for accepting Jesus Christ and his gospel as the essential truth of religion, because nearly all those who are interested in the subject at all, and probably all whom we address, are agreed at that point. The question we propose to discuss is the question whether it is possible to obtain correct knowledge of Him and his teachings. Are the sources of our knowledge of Christianity trustworthy sources? The truth is the truth, whether we know it or not. But it can have authority over us only if we know it. Enough may be known of Jesus to convince us that He taught the final and sufficient truth, but we may think that in many respects our knowledge of Him is inadequate, or even that we are mistaken as to his person and words, and so we may feel that, after all, there is no authoritative source of knowledge concerning Him, which is the same as having no definite, objective, infallible religious authority.

There are only three possible sources of knowledge concerning primitive Christianity, namely: the Bible, the church, and tradition. Reason, as a source of such knowledge, is excluded. It apprehends truth. It tests new truth by existing knowledge or need. But it creates no truth. It is not the objective reality, except as it is one fact among others, a fact

of the human constitution. Reason is not a source of religion, as it is not a source of astronomy. The facts being given, it constructs a science of the facts either of astronomy or religion. But religious truth and power do not emanate from man any more than the material universe emanates from the astronomer who contemplates it.

As a source of knowledge concerning Christianity, tradition need not be considered, because, practically, there is, now, no tradition. For a time it was the only dependence. The writings of the apostles, as they became known, were tested by the accepted tradition of the life and teachings of Jesus and of the belief of the church, but being found in agreement, the writings were accepted as trustworthy and took the place of tradition. The Gospels embodied the traditions, and, as they came into circulation, were relied on as sufficient sources of knowledge, and no independent traditions were preserved as authoritative. Ancient creeds may be looked on as traditions of doctrine, and the earliest creeds may be more or less independent of Scripture, but they do not profess to add to it.

The church has authority only as derived. It preserves the Scriptures, translates, teaches, interprets, but is in no sense an original source of truth. It does not profess to have received any other revelation than that recorded in the Bible, unless in some matters of ritual, or the like, but which are not considered as essentials of Christianity. It has sometimes claimed the authority of judging whether conduct and belief are in accordance with the gospel, but has claimed little more.

The Bible, then, is the source of knowledge concerning Christianity. It is the earliest body of writings, and has long been accepted by the church. But is the Bible an authoritative source of knowledge? Do we find in it the objective reality of the truth? Does it give the only perfect rule of faith and practice? Can we accept it as our religious authority? Protestantism says, Yes. Nothing is to stand between the Bible and the man. In it he finds, and finds for himself, the Word of God, which liveth and abideth forever. Neither church nor creed nor priesthood may claim such authority. The Bible alone has authority. This conviction is admirably expressed by an eloquent preacher of New England recently returned from foreign travel. He had said of the Bible that the truth is there, and there is the seat of our authority, and continued: "With the strength and simplicity of this position I was impressed a few weeks since. I had been hearing of authority for religious truth. Men were asking where they were to look for certitude. Echoes of this discussion came to me from this side of the sea. I was in the eternal city, where Paul preached, where the church early had its place, and where it reigned in the amplest opportunity and with all its rich and abounding magnificence. Yet there was little in the ancient church around me to enlarge or confirm my faith, or make me feel that there were men who by their office could command obedience. One rainy Sunday morning I turned into a plain Scotch Church. Only a few per-

sons were present. There was no splendor, no show, but a reverent intelligence was quietly waiting upon God. The minister arose in his place, wearing the plain black gown of his order, and opened the book which lay before him. I had seen the same thing all my life. But that morning it came home with a new meaning. I said, there is authority. A wise man and the open Bible, it is all there. He will read, and his obedient mind will be instructed. He will read, and we who listen shall be taught. If he will have it so, we shall hear the words which shall make us wise. What does an intelligent man need more than is here, — a ready mind and the Word of God? Authority, certitude, truth, he has them all who has the Holy Scriptures which were read, enlarged, explained by the Son of God. To his friends they were committed, and his friends were committed to them. The grass withereth, the world moves, the times change, but the Word of our God endures forever."

The assumption of Protestants is that the Bible has authority because it contains the Word of God, and that this can be understood by plain people as truly as by scholars. But now, increasing knowledge of the conditions under which the books of the Bible were composed seems to many to weaken if not to destroy its authority. We shall therefore compare a theory of the Bible which is of long standing with the theory which is replacing it, in order to show that the *principle* of authority is unchanged, and that the Bible, with all the knowledge we have of it, is the authentic source of knowledge concerning Christianity, and therefore still the sufficient source of religious authority.

The theory which is slowly giving way, in the face of incontestable facts, a theory which became definite not long after the Reformation, and in consequence of the enthronement of the Bible in place of the church, is the theory that the Bible is true in every part, that its every statement may be relied on as correct. The inerrancy and complete infallibility of the Bible are maintained. It therefore needs only to be studied in the light of its own teachings, by comparison of part with part, and of each part with the whole. It is found that there is progress of revelation, a broadening of truth, prediction followed by fulfillment, law superseded by grace, and many other kinds of advance. But each and every part is authoritative because true, authoritative for the kind of truth it is. The Bible, then, it has been claimed, is an authority which all can accept and use intelligently without danger of being misled. It is a source of truth which can be trusted at every point, and which invites spiritual apprehension. Its advocates contend that it is not a mechanical theory placing all truth on a dead level, but a theory clearly recognizing truth as an organism in which the various parts are of unequal value. But it is maintained that inerrancy is indispensable to the authority of the Bible. It might, perhaps, be admitted that a specific error here and there would not destroy the authority of the book, for those minor errors could be bracketed, and would not impair the integrity of

the whole, though even then, in popular apprehension, its authority would be somewhat weakened. But any larger concessions would be fatal. If there is a human and an historical coloring of the truth, if some allowance must be made for refraction in the media, if doubts are raised as to authorship and date, the Bible may still furnish food to the spiritually hungry, but is no longer an authority to which confident appeal can be made. This is a fair account of the theory which has commonly been held.

There are, therefore, two things to be considered. One is, the inerrancy. Can this be maintained? If it can, the Bible would be the kind of authority described. If it cannot, does the inference follow that the Bible would virtually lose its authority?—which is the other thing to be considered. We need not remind our readers how earnest the contention has been at the first point, nor of the harmonies, the reconciling schemes which have been put forward, from explanations of the account of the creation of the world as given in Genesis to ingenious hypotheses to account for the contradictory details of the four Gospels. We need not refer to the concessions which, most unwillingly, have been made in respect to the science, geography, and history of the Bible. Nor should blame attach to such efforts in view of supposed conditions of authority. It is not necessary to show how unsuccessful these efforts have been, nor that they have now ceased to serve any good purpose. The recorded history of the ancient peoples has shared the fortune of all historical records. Some of the historians did not have the historic sense, some of them exaggerated the past, as in the later narratives of the Chronicles, the name of Moses covers much he could not have written, the completed system of ritual was not given in the wilderness. With all minor deviations of modern Biblical critics, some such conclusions must be accepted. In the first three Gospels the accounts do not precisely tally, the Gospel of John is not an exact report of the words of Jesus, Paul's principal theological treatise is more forensic than Christ's preaching of the kingdom was, there was a mistaken expectation of the speedy coming of Christ, the Apocalypse is an obscure prophecy, some parts of which are now impossible of fulfillment. Here, again, with some unimportant deviations, there is substantial agreement. Now and then an individual of some critical ability disputes these facts, and here and there a belated denomination contends for inerrancy as earnestly as it does for the faith once delivered to the saints, but, on the whole, that side of the alternative cannot be, and is less and less likely to be, accepted.

Does it therefore follow that the Bible is not the highest and final authority, and is not an authority which can be understood and appealed to? By no means. On the contrary, the same *principle* of authority holds under a correct knowledge of the Bible, as under the inerrant theory, and, moreover, the principle is disencumbered of conceptions which

limited and perverted it. That principle is the intrinsic truth and the saving power of essential Christianity, a principle which depends on no external support, on no particular theory of inspiration or of absolute inerrancy. This principle, as has been intimated, was really accepted under the former theory. That theory did not hold to the *equal* authority of all parts of the Bible. There was discrimination. Grades of authority were recognized. No one claimed that the Old Testament has equal importance with the New Testament, nor that the several books of the New Testament are of equal value. Some books were seen to have less truth, or less important truth, than others, the Epistle of Jude not comparing with the Epistle to the Romans, nor the Epistle to Philemon with the Fourth Gospel. A distinction was made between the doctrine of the apostles as a development from the teachings and work of Jesus, and the original, ultimate authority of what Jesus himself did and taught. That is, there was comparison, discrimination, a spiritual estimate. The most spiritual truths had the highest authority. Yet, all the while, there was the burdensome task of showing that all the parts are absolutely free from error, or even of finding a permanent value in the transient elements of the writings, and so, much fanciful interpretation. The spiritual authority of the Bible was thus weakened, because the claim of inerrancy had a tendency to obscure the important thing, the relative degrees of value and authority.

The authority, then, under the old theory, was in the spiritual saving truth of the Bible. And there it must be found on any theory. There it is found more surely than ever under the new theory. Prophets and apostles have discovered God's truth, and have declared it with such clearness that it shines in its own light. Jesus has lived and taught, has suffered and died and risen again, and stands before the world in those records which transmit his history, in those words which are spirit and life to all who will receive them, and so are self-evidencing as coming from Him who is the light of the world. If it were not so, the Bible could never have had its unsurpassed power. These revelations of spiritual and saving truth cannot be obscured by the media employed, for it is the fact that through the actual media the self-existing truth has continually been shining.

The critical sense does not disturb but aids the spiritual sense by guiding, and in some respects by correcting it. Criticism shows the historical grades of culture which conditioned the spiritual grades of knowledge. It shows the prophets as the real originators or teachers of the truth, and the ritual, in its technical completeness, as belonging in fact not to the period of origins, but to the period of stagnation which followed, — and thus what was always felt to be greater regains its probable and natural place. Criticism shows that ignorance and error, in some respects, were inevitable in certain ages, and that they are important signs of the reality and verisimilitude of that which is narrated, that we

should suspect later tamperings if modern knowledge appeared in ancient writings, that such freedom from error would be unnatural rather than supernatural. It is much more important that the picture of religious life and belief should be faithful, and therefore should have been taken, as it were, on the spot, than that it should be free from all blemishes. The paradox is perfectly reasonable that our confidence in the story rests, in part, on its untruthfulness. If there were no mistakes about the heavens and the earth and the nations around, we should suspect that some monk of the Middle Ages, or some officious Jewish scribe, had been meddling. Criticism shows the influence of personal media as refracting or even coloring truth, and thus promotes the comprehension of it. The old theory had to recognize such influences, and so, for example, distinguished the Pauline from the Johannean theology. But John rendered a service in amplifying the words of Jesus. Perhaps, as given, they were seeds which needed to fall upon the heart of a mystic, and to germinate in life, and to be reflected on through years in order to be preserved in the knowledge of later generations. Did Jesus really say this and that as written in the Fourth Gospel? Perhaps not, in precisely that form. But He said something like that. It bears marks of coming from the mind of Jesus as we know Him in the other Gospels, and we have, as it were, the commentary of the profoundest mystic who ever lived. The theologizing of John shows also how soon believers assigned a divine character to Jesus. An early doctrinal development is given us as flowing naturally from knowledge of the very self-consciousness of Jesus. And, on the other hand, if the style and mode of expression seem somewhat unlike the simplicity of Jesus, it is a relief to know that the thought is his, rather than its full development. We are studying Christ's words, in part as He uttered them, and in part through their effects on a man of deep meditation after years of reflection. Thus we are the better able to penetrate into the consciousness of Jesus. His authority stands out more clear and commanding than ever. There is not merely an iteration of words found elsewhere, but a development of the truth He spoke. It is not necessary to give other examples of the service criticism renders in restoring the living reality of spiritual truth.

There has been, then, an evolution of the principle of authority. There was always some recognition of grades of authority, corresponding with degrees of spiritual power in the truth itself. The principle was encumbered by the fancied necessity of maintaining the absolute inerrancy of all parts of the Bible. To distinguish seemed like pulling up tares at the risk of destroying the wheat. But facts will have their way, and inerrancy can no longer be claimed. Then criticism comes in and shows why there are grades of authority, that it is on account of the gradualness of religious education, the way in which literature grows, the historical and human conditions under which alone truth could be real to men. And it shows the wondrous thing, that, without overriding the

faculties and conditions of men, a divine gospel has been proclaimed, a divine person has been among men, a divine redemption has been achieved, that expectations were awakened early which had a growing fulfillment till the stream of prophecy widened into the verity of history.

Now, then, what shall be said to the people? How can we refer them to a Bible, part of which is no better than other books, and all of which has been subjected to the vicissitudes of time? There is only one thing to do. Tell them the truth. The honest course is the only safe and wise course. They already know the facts in part. It is useless, and worse, to keep on saying that there is no error and no imperfection. Insist on that, and they will soon think that nothing is certain. That very claim has given great occasion to the enemy. We ourselves are of the number of the people, and what we have been able to understand others may understand. It is a purely imaginary public which cannot be trusted with the truth, by no means the intelligent and teachable public of which we who write and you who read these lines are part. In a word, invite discrimination in the use of the Bible, a discrimination of the spirit from the letter, of the permanent from the transient. The letter of inerrancy killeth. The spirit of saving truth maketh alive. It is an advantage that apprehension of the modes in which truth was conveyed to the world frequently changes, for thus the necessity of searching out, in Scripture, the living truth which, in changing forms, abideth forever is laid upon all who would have eternal life. If the truth which has authority is not there, it is useless to look for it. If it is there, no fear but that it will be found and felt. The magnitude of truth as it stands reported in the New Testament is in no danger of being overlooked, or of being seriously misunderstood.

According to the report of a sermon recently preached on the decadence of authority, it was said that the authority of the Bible must be reasserted, but the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount were singled out as examples. It was quite evident that the preacher did not claim that the whole Bible is authoritative, but that final authority is to be found there, and only there, and that its saving truth can easily be known. This is all that should be contended for, but it is everything. The question is not as to the perfect correctness of every part of the Bible, but as to its being an authority at all. Does it contain *any* truth which is certain and authoritative? We claim that it does, and that all the facts of its origin, history, and composition make it easy to ascertain the essential truth of that gospel which Jesus gave to the world.

Then it will be asked (since not the whole, but only part, of the Bible is true), whether each individual may not take what he likes, disregarding the rest, and so recognize no objective authority after all, but follow his own fancy alone? Will not every one accept only the truth which he approves? Will he not decide for himself? Ultimately, yes. Certainly no other can decide for him. But it may be assumed that the truth

which is essential will be approved by honest minds. And the truth remains true, whether misguided man approves it or not. Let God be found true, but every man a liar. The individual must take the consequence of disregarding truth. No outward power coerces him, but he will be an unrenewed man, and will suffer the loss which comes from disregarding the law of God, which is the true law of his own being. Under the old theory of inerrancy there is no power which can oblige any one to believe the truth, and the final appeal for acceptance of it is to the reason and conscience of the individual. And when he has assented to the theory of infallibility, he has still to discriminate the spiritual from the literal. Under the new theory, as well as under the old, it may be expected that due respect will be given to the estimation in which the Bible has been held in the church and in Christian society through the centuries. But certainly, while reason and conscience have no authority as sources of truth, they are the authority to which the final decision of all beliefs and practices must be taken by the individual man.

We therefore maintain that the facts about the Bible should be admitted and explained, as suitable occasion offers, and that people should be led to make the necessary discrimination between the permanent and the transient. Some clergymen say they have no time to investigate on critical lines. That might be doubted, in view of the attention they give to many unimportant matters. But, if they have no time for original research, let them accept the agreeing results of competent scholarship, and not decry those who are capable of examining the sources of religious knowledge. We again emphasize what we have been glad to affirm more than once before, that preachers do more than any other class of men in maintaining the authority of the Bible, by impressing that truth which has spiritual power. It is their function to study the Bible for that purpose. The preacher holding the open book, as described in the passage quoted above, selects such portions of the Word as can make men wise unto salvation. The word which has authority is the word which can be preached, and the living preacher, such as, in an eminent sense, is he from whom we quoted, keeps the authority of truth alive. Such preachers do not handle the Word of God deceitfully, professing that it is what it is not, but by manifestation of the truth commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

The desire for a book which is superhuman throughout, and therefore free from all human error and imperfection, is the desire for some external sign of authority which is no real part of essential saving truth. With the demand for visible signs Jesus had no sympathy, but seemed to be discouraged by it. "And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek a sign? Verily, I say unto you, there shall no sign be given unto this generation."

Let it be enough for us that there is spiritual, saving truth, which is easily found by him who is willing to receive it. Our fathers said that

the Bible contains the Word of God. They were not thinking whether all the Bible, or only part of it, is the Word of God. They meant that it is contained in the Bible, and is not contained anywhere else. Enough that it is somewhere. Even if in the Bible it is as treasure hid in a field, we should search for it where it is to be found, and should search for it until it is found.

LEWIS FRENCH STEARNS.

PROFESSOR STEARNS, of the Bangor Theological Seminary, died February 9, 1892, after a short illness. The loss to that institution, to theology, and to the Christian church is very great. He was in early middle life, in the vigor of all his powers, and in the ripeness of culture, and had already given to the world some of the results of his attainments. His book entitled "The Evidence of Christian Experience," is a thoroughly wrought work on Apologetics in a line which had scarcely been opened in America or England. This treatise gave the author a wide and high reputation as a theologian. It will stand for many years as the best exposition of the fundamental argument for Christianity. He was engaged on a life of the late Henry B. Smith, and had finished the preparation of it for the press, so that, as we are glad to learn, it will soon be published. His address at the recent Congregational Convention in London was considered by some who heard it the best of the meeting. He was under appointment as preacher before the American Board of Foreign Missions, and had been elected to, but had declined, the professorship of Systematic Theology in the Union Seminary of New York. The appreciation in which Dr. Stearns was held, both by the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, at home and abroad, indicates how serious a loss to the cause he served his death must be considered. This brief notice is no attempt to analyze his character and methods, a task which we hope will be undertaken by one of his colleagues. We wish only to express our sense of loss, and our sympathy with another seminary of our own denomination. We cannot refrain, however, from mentioning the occasion when he received information of his election to the theological chair in Union Seminary. He was visiting the writer of this note, and had no definite expectation of being chosen at all, least of all at that time. After a protracted conference with two of the Trustees, he talked freely of the proposal. The transparent conscientiousness, the humility, the absence of any personal ambition, the entire satisfaction he felt in the work he was already doing, the consideration he showed for his associates at Bangor were simply beautiful. It was not easy to decline such an invitation from an institution of which his father was one of the founders, and to which he was drawn by many personal interests, as well as by the wide field of influence it opened to him. But he at once felt the force of objections growing largely out of theological opinion, and which

proved decisive in the end. And so he went on, with all his heart, in the work to which he returned.

When so rare a man dies in the midst of his usefulness, we may well believe that he is called to a larger intellectual and spiritual service, for which his earthly experience had been the best possible training.

THE CHRISTIAN ACADEMY.

THE prosperity which at present attends our schools of every grade is extraordinary. It is not alone the few great institutions that are thronged with students, but the smaller, and even the smallest, show surprising gains. There is much reason in the remark that our most prosperous institutions to-day are not the banks, the factories, the mines, the railroads, but our institutions of learning. The officers of many of these institutions say they cannot explain this large and unexpected increase. It is not the growth of the strong at the expense of the weak, nor the result of great prosperity in business, nor is it due to forced methods of securing patronage, nor to any sudden call for educated men. Learning, however, is becoming in some sense a fashion. The Muses which were silent amid the din of arms are again tuneful. A stable order of business and of government fosters the quiet pursuits of learning, and young men, being no longer led on by the dream of sudden fortune or swift promotion, turn into the sober paths which lead through discipline to power. The exaltation of character and of service, at the present day, makes the long, hard courses of preparation attractive to young men and women who take life seriously and who desire to live nobly. This clearer estimate of values and the desire to be morally worthy and useful have touched many minds, otherwise frivolous, and turned them to courses of study, long and severe.

The schools are not only thronged, they are also receiving great gifts. Columbia with nine millions, Harvard with seven, Yale with five, new universities springing up here and there with millions at the very outset, almost every morning bringing a record of some new educational benefaction, while multitudes of smaller gifts go unheralded to their unostentatious uses, — all this goes to show that learning is established already on solid foundations, and has won a large place in the benevolence of this generation.

But neither numbers nor wealth are sufficient to make an era or to mark an epoch. It is the growth of the scholarly temper, the love of learning, and, better still, the love of truth, the zeal and passion for research, the fearlessness of just criticism, and the patience of constructive thinking, which have made modern methods of education fruitful, and modern schools the centre of light and life, of a moral and intellectual activity such as has never been before so diffused and controlling, touching at once so many individuals and expressing itself in so many ways, through every range of human interest.

All this prosperity and all this life is felt measurably by the schools next below the colleges, although they do not touch the imagination like the colleges, nor have they developed a separate personality — so to speak — toward which memory turns back, and around which affection gathers. They have been so feeble, so small, so dependent, so inconstant, and have been used to answer so many distinct, not to say conflicting, ends, that, as a whole, they have never had the recognition which belongs to them as a separate group of schools, and only a few of them, individually, have had the recognition which they have merited on account of conspicuous service in a definite, difficult, and important field.

Under recent changes, however, — the evolution of the university, the higher education of women, the differentiation of the scientific and technical schools, and the general flow of benefactions to worthy establishments of every grade on the ground of their present usefulness or their promise, — many of these secondary schools, especially those which are distinctively preparatory, have acquired a new dignity and commanded popular attention. New ones have been founded, old ones strengthened, and languishing ones revived. It has been shown that the public high school does not meet every requirement, and that our diversified life calls for a variety of mutually helpful agencies.

Among those who regard education from the religious point of view, the recent discussion of the place and claims of the Christian academy has created special interest. "The New West Education Commission" has expended much effort in the planting of Christian academies at centres of influence in the newer sections of the country, and has conducted the experiment long enough to show substantial and satisfactory success, and the home missionary authorities in the new States have adopted a similar policy. By more recent action of "The College and Education Society," academies are taken into the fostering care of that organization. Many notable testimonies are cited as to the value of the academy in our educational systems. With only here and there a discordant note, the public schools have received their due amount of praise, and it is distinctly avowed that the academy is not to supplant or rival the public high school, but to supplement it, to cover ground which the high school does not reach, and to do work which is not provided for, and cannot be provided for, in a scheme of public instruction.

Another point not always guarded in the advocacy of the Christian academy is the use of arguments which would justify parochial schools, established by church authority, in distinct subversion of the public school system, and claiming a share of the public school money, or exemption for their patrons from taxation for the support of public schools. It is no part of the scheme of the Christian academy, as it is no part of the scheme of the Christian college, to make war upon the public school system, to impair its efficiency, or subtract from its financial support; nor to create or perpetuate class distinctions, whether of wealth, or family,

or nationality, or religion. Any argument which can be construed to the support of unpatriotic bigotry is not a sound argument for the Christian academy.

But the Christian purpose of the academy is a proper motive for its establishment. It is first of all to promote good learning, and no other inspirations to industry, order, sacrifice, devotion, equal those which are drawn from our holy religion. *Bene orasse est bene studuisse.* If it were consistent with the genius of our government, with our theory of a complete separation of church and state, to give distinctively religious instruction in our schools, we should ally all the forces of piety with those of morality to stimulate the intellect and to perfect the character of our youth. The Rev. Dr. Brand, in an excellent address delivered last May in Cleveland, — an address which has called out this article, — puts the matter extremely well : —

“ I gladly concede that the public school system indirectly aids religion ; for whatever promotes general intelligence helps in some degree the cause of Christ. The personal influence of Christian teachers is also a factor in the promotion of Christianity. But the school system, as such, is a function of the state, and theoretically has no reference to religion. Its aim in all its departments, as supported by taxation, is to promote general intelligence, in order to promote good citizenship and stable government. It proposes to Americanize foreigners, to assimilate heterogeneous elements of population to the spirit of our institutions, and to promote success and intelligent thrift in the individual. The State University, sustained and controlled in the same way, has substantially the same aim. The object of the whole system is largely political. It promotes civilization, and as such it has a noble and far-reaching influence. Its importance to the Republic cannot be overestimated.”

It is also to be said that moral training, which is something far other than training in minor morals, has been made a prominent feature in our schools, perhaps more prominent from the fact that in so many parts of the country religious exercises have been forbidden. The discipline of the will has become a distinct aim, and in recent teachers' meetings no other subject has received so full treatment or called forth more interesting and profitable discussion. It is not impossible that better results will be reached, than under the superficial and perfunctory religious instruction so often carelessly given under the old method, and that “ pure religion and undefiled,” Christianity itself, in its spirit and life, will be brought to bear even more effectively upon the pupils' minds and hearts.

The claim of the Christian academy is presented by Dr. Brand in the following eloquent paragraph : —

“ Historically, it is beyond dispute that the Christian academy has been one of the strongest bulwarks against materialism — one of the most efficient promoters of the cause of Christ in this country. New England owes quite as much to her academies as to her colleges. They are independent of political control. They are founded by Christian philanthropists, with a distinctly Christian aim, and taught by Christian educators. Their aim is not simply to

make American citizens, or quick-witted breadwinners, or smart politicians, but high-minded men. They believe in the idea of the symmetry of human nature, the proper adjustment of spiritual and material. They see that purely secular schools do not necessarily improve a sin-cursed race. There is a 'moral illiteracy' which is infinitely more dangerous than the intellectual, and which the spelling book and multiplication table cannot remove. The infinite evil which lies upon our nature is not ignorance, but sin. He is not a wise educator who trains a man's hand and eye and brain, and thus puts a club within his grasp, unless he can at the same time put a clear thought, a right heart under his blouse. The aim and influence of the Christian academy is not to supplant the secular with the spiritual, but to combine the two. Hence the beneficent effect of the New England academy in the past. It takes boys and girls at the most critical, transitional period of their lives, and equips them with secular learning and Christian ethics at the same time. It is a *private* school, so far as the state is concerned, but broad and unsectarian, and therefore unlike the narrow sectarian spirit of the Catholic parochial school. The Christian academy is on a basis similar to that of the Christian college, and its influence is practically the same. The profounder views of life inculcated at the academy, the greater thoughtfulness, the larger and juster outlook which it promotes, as compared with the ordinary high school, are always favorable to Christianity. The result is that revivals of religion are promoted as they cannot be under the public school system supported by the state. Hence the large proportion of boys and girls who have gone out from these academies, whether they entered college or not, have gone out with a Christian purpose, with broad and serious views of life and duty, and with a catholicity of spirit seldom attained in the more secular high school."

It is for reasons like these that appeals are made for the re-endowment of our academies, and for the establishment of new ones. Their importance is greater than formerly on account of the enlargement and enrichment of their courses of study. The colleges look to them for men well prepared for college life and college studies. The amount of work laid upon them, and the grade of it, requires a teaching staff and equipment not inferior to that furnished to our colleges a generation ago. The appeal for our academies, accordingly, is substantially the same as for our colleges. Their relations are intimate and their aims common. In some respects it is more important that the instruction in the schools be of the first order of merit, the encouragements to struggling talent even more ample and free than in the colleges. For the foundations of character and scholarship are laid in the schools. England has set us a noble example in the strong endowment of a group of secondary schools, whose teachers rival in distinction and influence those of the universities, and whose pupils enjoy the best that all England can supply.

HOW MUCH DID THE AMERICAN BOARD MEAN IN GRANTING TO THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE LIBERTY TO ASK "SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS"?

THE American Board, at its Annual Meeting in Minneapolis (1890), made the following changes in the doctrinal handling of candidates for missionary appointment. Those changes were adopted upon the recommendation of the "Committee of Nine on the Methods of Administration at the Rooms of the American Board." The two questions in the Manual for Missionary Candidates were modified to read:—

"Question 1. What are your views respecting each of the leading doctrines of Scripture commonly held by the churches sustaining this Board? In answering this question you may use your own language or refer to any creeds of acknowledged weight as to the doctrine contained in these creeds.

"Question 2. Have you any views at variance with these doctrines, or any views of church government which would prevent your cordial coöperation with the missionaries of this Board?"

The Report of the Committee then continues:—

"These questions being so amended, all application for missionary appointment shall be made, as now, to the Corresponding Secretaries of the Board. Without further correspondence on doctrinal matters the communications thus received by the Secretaries shall be presented forthwith to the Prudential Committee. In case the Committee desire further scrutiny into the theological opinions of the candidate, this shall be had through an interview with the Committee as a body; or, in case this in any special instance is not practicable, with a sub-committee appointed by them from their own number, and consisting in part of laymen. At such theological examination by the Committee or sub-committee, the doors shall be open for the presence of any members of the Board or personal friends of the candidate."

The matter, upon which we now ask for light, is contained in the following amendment to this report, to be inserted after the sentence, "In case the Committee desire further scrutiny into the theological opinions of the candidate," *they may address to him such supplementary questions as appear to them important, and if further light is needed, etc., etc.*

The occasion of our inquiry is the method of the Prudential Committee in two recent cases, showing its interpretation of the action of the Board at Minneapolis. Until these cases, we had not known what method the Committee were pursuing in its examination of candidates. We will outline them as they have come to our notice, that our readers may understand the ground of our disquietude.

November 16, 1891, A. B., of the Senior Class in Andover Theological Seminary, offered himself as an applicant to the Board for missionary appointment. His application was made in the usual form, and was accompanied by full personal statements in regard to health, and by an equally full statement of an examining physician. For his theological views the candidate referred, according to the suggestions of the Report adopted at Minneapolis, to the following creeds: The Apostles', the

Nicene, the Congregational Creed of 1883, and on November 28 he added the Burial Hill Declaration of 1865.

December 30, 1891, he received the following letter, enumerating certain supplementary questions : —

BOSTON, December 30, 1891.

MR. — — —, *Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.* :

MY DEAR BROTHER, — Your offer of service as missionary, together with similar offers from several other persons, was laid upon the table of the Prudential Committee some weeks since, but a great pressure of business has prevented the consideration of these papers till the meeting held yesterday afternoon. This delay has been much regretted, but could not be helped.

At the reading of the papers yesterday, notice was taken of the fact that in three cases, your own among the number, the creeds to which the candidates referred do not make explicit reference to some points upon which the Committee has uniformly asked an expression of the views of those who desire missionary appointment. The Committee, therefore, requested me, as clerk, to ask from you, as from others, a brief statement of your views on the following topics : —

1. The inspiration and infallibility of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The immortality of the soul.
3. The decisiveness of the present life as related to final destiny.

Please find inclosed a stamped envelope for your reply.

Trusting that the way will soon be opened for your entering the service of Christ in some foreign land, I am,

In behalf of the Prudential Committee,

Very truly yours,

E. E. STRONG, *Clerk.*

January 2, 1892, he replied as follows to the questions proposed : —

ANDOVER, MASS., January 2, 1892.

DR. E. E. STRONG, *Boston* :

DEAR SIR, — Yours of December 30, in regard to my application to the Prudential Committee, is received.

In reply to the queries regarding my doctrinal views, permit me to say, that in my application I expressed " hearty assent " to the two creeds of the catholic church of most " acknowledged weight," the Apostles' and the Nicene ; and, so far as I am aware, with the single exception of the Savoy Declaration, to the only two authorized Congregational confessions of faith, the Burial Hill Declaration of 1865, and the Creed of 1883. I know of no creeds of more " acknowledged weight " to which I could have referred.

As to the specific doctrines in question, I would answer as follows : —

1. The subject of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures seems to me to be covered in any fair interpretation by Art. V. of the Creed of 1883.

I believe that the Holy Scriptures were composed by men under the special inspiration of the spirit of God ; that they contain the only record of God's redemptive work in the world, culminating in Christ ; that they are vitally related to that work ; that, therefore, they contain the final and perfect revelation of the nature of God, of his will for man, and of the way of salvation ; that in this sense, and this sense alone, are they infallible.

2. The subject of the immortality of the soul seems to me to be covered in any fair interpretation by Art. XII. of the Creed of 1883.

I believe that the soul is by nature immortal ; that the issues of the judgment are in accordance with Christian character, and are final ; and I see no reason to suppose that the wicked and the righteous do not alike exist eternally, conscious of their state.

3. I do not believe that the Scriptures teach the universal "decisiveness of the present life as related to final destiny." I believe that they do teach the availability of the atonement of Christ for the salvation of every child of the race, and that salvation is through faith in Christ alone. Defining the terms Christ, salvation, and faith as they have ordinarily been defined in Congregational churches, the corollary seems to me inevitable that the offer of Christ will be made in the other life to those to whom it has not been made in this life. With this view the intimations which the Scriptures contain seem to me to coincide. Modifying the definition of these terms gives the "essential Christ" view, so called. I do not feel inclined to so radical a course as departure from the long-held definition of the terms, Christ, salvation, and faith.

But the conditions of the other life seem to me involved in such mystery, and to be so incompletely revealed in Scripture, that I hold no view on this subject dogmatically, or as more than a probability.

Hoping that these answers may prove satisfactory to the Committee, I am,

Yours respectfully,

January 13, 1892, his application was declined on personal grounds, including health.

On January 18, 1892, C. D., of the Senior Class in Andover Theological Seminary, offered himself as an applicant to the Board for missionary appointment. The application was made in the usual form, and was accompanied by full statements from himself and friends in regard to health, and by the statement of an examining physician. For his theological views the candidate referred to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Burial Hill Declaration (supplemented by the additions made at the Oberlin Council), which, we believe, Dr. Dexter characterized as "the flag of the denomination," and to the Congregational Creed of 1883.

February 10, 1892, the candidate received in reply this letter from the Prudential Committee : —

AM. BOARD OF COM. FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

CONGREGATIONAL HOUSE, 1 SOMERSET STREET,
BOSTON, February 10, 1892.

MR. — — —, *Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.:*

MY DEAR BROTHER, — Your offer of service and accompanying testimonials were presented to the Prudential Committee at its meeting of last week, February 2, but the docket was so crowded that they were not reached till the session of yesterday. On two or three points the Committee desired further information, and I am instructed, as clerk, to ask from you a brief expression of your views on the following topics : —

1. The inspiration of the Scriptures.
2. The immortality of the soul.
3. The decisiveness of the present life as related to future destiny.

Will you be kind enough to indicate briefly your views on these points, and send your reply to me in the inclosed stamped envelope.

I am, very truly yours,

In behalf of the Prudential Committee,

E. E. STRONG, *Clerk.*

To the points raised in this letter of inquiry the candidate made reply, February 13, as follows : —

1. I believe that the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only inspired record of that final revelation of God's redemption, which culminated in Jesus Christ, and are therefore of supreme authority in matters of faith and practice.

2. I believe in the natural immortality of the soul.

3. I do not minimize in the slightest the tendency of "the present life" to fix character and to decide "future destiny," but I believe that the final destiny of the soul is fundamentally determined by its personal relation to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, rather than upon its external environment in any point of time.

February 24, 1892, the application was declined on the ground of health.

The successive refusal of these candidates on the ground of health suggests two incidental inquiries. First, whether it would not be advisable, the candidate having made his theological statement, to suspend "further scrutiny into his theological opinions" until the question of his health has been settled, especially in cases where the health question promises to be serious. Second, whether, in view of the high standard of the Board in the matter of health, some special notification of health requirements should not be made to theological students. The second of the above cases was declined on the ground that the candidate would not be a first-class risk in a Life Insurance Company on account of *heredity*, the fact being that two brothers and a sister had died from causes which involved or suggested pulmonary trouble. But the parents of the applicant and three brothers and a sister are living in robust health, the candidate himself has the reputation among his fellow-students of an athlete, and an older brother, a student in Princeton Theological Seminary, has just been appointed by the Presbyterian Board with full knowledge of the same facts upon which the older brother was rejected. We do not charge that the Prudential Committee has made an unjust discrimination in this case, for we have no knowledge of the basis on which it has proceeded in recent appointments, but we would suggest that if Life Insurance rules are to be the standard of appointment it should be so understood, in order that applicants may present an insurance policy with other requisite papers.

But these questions are incidental. We make our present inquiry, because the cases which we have cited have uncovered a method of procedure of which we had no previous knowledge, about which at some points

we desire further information, and against which, so far as we understand its working, we desire to utter our protest.

We ask, in the first place, of those who are competent to answer, whether the method of "supplementary questions" was designed to be mandatory or permissive. The language seems to us clearly permissive. "In case the committee desire further scrutiny into the theological opinions of the candidate they *may* address to him such supplementary questions as appear to them important." But we understand that the position is taken that the action at Minneapolis calls for a more critical and extended theological examination than was formerly demanded by the Board; the assumption being that the somewhat elaborate machinery for examination which was there set up to guard against some questionable practices must be used to its full extent.

We ask, in the second place, what is the nature of the "supplementary questions" which the committee "may address" to the candidate for missionary appointment. This is a very vital inquiry in the light of the "supplementary questions" put to applicants in these successive cases, for it will be seen that these questions lie, in their intention, outside the working theology of the creeds, and within the region of present critical and philosophical discussion. Does the Board wish its Committee to enter this region? The questions actually proposed are as divisive as any which could have been asked. We cannot see that the Committee has passed by any subject calculated to raise a theological difficulty, except, possibly, the question of evolution. Does the Board wish its Committee to engage in this philosophical hunt after divisive issues? To be more specific. Does the Board desire to take part in the questions of Biblical and historical criticism which underlie the subject of the "inspiration and infallibility of the Holy Scriptures"? Does the Board wish to divide its constituency over the question of conditioned "immortality"? Does the Board wish to perpetuate the controversy over "the decisiveness of the present life as related to final destiny"? These are the precise issues which are involved in the putting of these questions.

Take the question about inspiration. What is the question of inspiration apart from the doctrine of Sacred Scripture to which the candidates had subscribed in the creeds referred to? The Congregational Creed of 1883 says of the Scriptures: "We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the record of God's revelations of himself in the work of redemption; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged." Each of the applicants in question had subscribed to this statement, and in the after statement called for could do no more than to substantially reaffirm it. What more ought to be asked? Who is prepared to give a philosophical definition of inspiration when the very material out of which such a definition must be framed is in a reformatory state?

And what of the second question, that of immortality, or as it evidently means of conditional immortality? As our readers are aware, the belief in conditional immortality is not a belief which we are inclined to advocate, but it is a belief which is held by a large and increasing part of the constituency of the American Board. It is held by its advocates as a philosophical interpretation of future destiny, respecting which the creeds make no affirmation. Does the Board wish to have its Committee raise this question as another question upon which to divide its constituency? We had supposed that by general consent this particular question was not to be pressed. If we are not mistaken, two of the Secretaries of the Board, one of them being the Home Secretary, were asked, under examination by one of the Committee of Nine, if, in their opinion, another applicant holding this belief (reference was made to an applicant from a neighboring seminary who had been practically rejected on this ground) would be rejected, and they both replied that they thought not, at least not by their advice. We see, then, no reason for introducing this question, except to prepare the way for the one which follows.

If these and like questions are asked in mere intellectual curiosity, as they are sometimes asked at councils, we submit that the action is beneath the dignity of the Prudential Committee. If they are asked as test questions, upon the answer to which the appointment of the applicant is conditioned, we submit that they are irrelevant to the purpose of the American Board. They are outside that great working theology which makes up the faith commonly held by the churches sustaining the Board. And the liberty even to ask such questions makes the Committee of the Board, as Dr. Hopkins used to say, not a prudential, but a theological committee, and he might now have added a philosophical committee. We believe that as the churches come to understand the significance of this kind of questioning, they will make themselves heard in a protest which cannot be disregarded.

As to the last of the "supplementary questions," that of "the decisiveness of the present life as related to future destiny," we qualify the general assumption, upon which we have thus far written, that all these questions as put lie outside the province of the Board. Without waiving our original and constant position that this question, because outside the creeds, is outside the province of the Board, we admit that the Board has brought it within its supposed province. We admit that it has passed resolutions advising caution in the acceptance of those holding the possibility of a Christian probation for all souls. We admit that these resolutions have not been repealed, and that the Prudential Committee have the letter of the instructions of the Board as their warrant for scrutiny into the opinions of candidates upon this point. But, having made these admissions, we ask, in the third place, does the method of the Prudential Committee, in putting these supplementary questions, including the last,

really express and represent the present mind of the constituency of the American Board? Events of no mean import have taken place since the resolutions, to which we have referred, were passed at Des Moines and reaffirmed at Springfield. Within its own history the meeting at New York has occurred and the meeting at Minneapolis. What was the moral significance of these meetings? Did they, or did they not, mean a substantial change in the theological policy of the Board, acting through its Prudential Committee? Unfortunately this is the practical question with which we are still confronted. It has, indeed, been generally assumed that the American Board question was settled, and in the interest of harmony and peace. Calls for men and appeals for money have been made upon this understanding. We ourselves have tried to believe, without any actual evidence to justify our faith, that the management of the Board was seeking to adjust itself to the change of policy which had been declared to be a fact. But the exposure of the method still pursued at the rooms of the Prudential Committee obliges us to conclude that there has been no real change there. The transfer of power from the Home Secretary to the Prudential Committee is seen to be nominal; the Home Secretary and the majority of the Prudential Committee are one and the same. We see no reason to suppose that if a case like that of Mr. Noyes or of Mr. Covell were to be presented there would not be the same conflict as in those cases. This at least is not harmony and peace within, and until there is harmony and peace within, there cannot be harmony and peace without. The spirit and tendency and method of the majority of the Prudential Committee, as accidentally brought to light in its use of the liberty of "supplementary questions," will awaken grave suspicions and fears on the part of many true friends of Foreign Missions.

NOTES FROM ENGLAND.

THE wide interest which Englishmen take in religious affairs is always finding fresh illustration. One fact of to-day is the increasing number of religious periodicals. A few months ago the "Review of the Churches" was started; it gives articles on current questions, has symposia by men of widely different views, and each month records the progress and chief events relating to the different denominations of the Christian Church in Great Britain; even the Salvation Army is not neglected. Besides, there is a notable feature in the editorial work being intrusted to six gentlemen representing the chief Christian bodies of our country, excepting, of course, the Roman Catholic. Two other magazines which are just appearing are "The New Era," which will be devoted to philanthropic and social work on broad lines; and "The Thinker," which will endeavor to keep its readers well abreast of the march of theological thought and literature, not only in our own land but in other countries;

it also makes itself attractive to the minister, who is pressed for time to compose his sermons, by being strong on the homiletical side. Judging from the first number, "The Thinker" may be reckoned not only as a scholarly production, but as an organ of progressive orthodoxy. It contains a very full notice of recent American theology under the heading of "Current American Thought."

The publishing record for 1891 shows that there were 520 new theological works (including sermons) published in our country during last year, and 107 new editions of theological works were issued. It is interesting to note that during the year 4,429 new books, and 1,277 new editions were published in all departments of literature. These numbers show a slight decrease from those for 1890, a result due, it is believed, mainly to the depression of the general trade of the country.

In recent theological literature we have three notable books, in Professor Driver's "Introduction to the Old Testament," Professor Cheyne's work on the Psalms, and Canon Gore's on the Incarnation. The first two of these show that the theological work of Oxford professors is not now entirely, as it used to be, along merely traditional lines and contemptuous of Continental scholarship; the third confirms the impression which was roused by "Lux Mundi," that the Anglo-Catholic movement, though it was in its earlier stages so disdainful of metaphysics, and professed to be so amply self-satisfied in having "the faith once delivered to the saints," is beginning to seek a philosophical foundation for the ecclesiastical edifice which it rears.

Another work which has just appeared, and is significant, coming at the present time, is Dr. A. Duff's "Old Testament Theology from 800 B. C. to 640 B. C." (Edinburgh, 1891). Dr. Duff discusses the theology and moral teaching of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, their relation to the Pentateuch, and their place in the order of divine revelation. Critical conclusions and deep spiritual and moral insight combine in a degree and manner not usual in theological writings: and perhaps the most valuable aspect of the book is in its showing that critical theology may be full of moral and spiritual enthusiasm.

The Salvation Army has been recently showing even more than its usual evidences of vigor. General Booth has been on a tour of our colonies, and has visited South Africa and Australia, where his reception has partaken of the nature of a triumphal procession or a royal progress. Meanwhile, the Salvation Army at home have been engaged in a struggle of great importance. At Eastbourne, a fashionable watering-place on the south coast, "the Army" has been prevented from, or at least hampered in its usual course of leading processions through the streets with music and banners and of holding open air services, by the fact that the corporation of the town, in obtaining a local act from Parliament, received the unusual powers of stopping such demonstrations in the public thoroughfares. As there can be no doubt that Parliament was not generally aware that such exceptional powers were being granted, and that the Englishman's feeling of fair play is against a special law, good only for one town, and surreptitiously passed in order to be used against a definite body of not unworthy citizens, the persistent determination of the corporation to prevent the Salvation Army doing there what it does without hindrance everywhere else has led to riots, criminal prosecutions, civil law-

suits, and an unenviable notoriety for the pleasant town of Eastbourne. How this matter will end, it is hard to say, but the circumstances have already shown that the Salvation Army are in grim earnest, not readily deterred from any course which they once adopt, and that among the quiet, respectable, and unenthusiastic portion of the community the religious worship of the Salvation Army is very unpopular, and worthy, if possible, of stern repression.

There has been published the first year's review of the work of the "Darkest England" scheme. That a very vast organization, with many ramifications, has sprung rapidly into being and is now in wide-spreading activity is amply shown. A few figures show at once how great is the philanthropic work of the Salvation Army: The Cheap Food Depots have supplied 2,606,548 meals, of which 25,000 have been free; at the Shelters the total number of cheap lodgings for the homeless has been 307,000; the number of visits to families in the slums has been 445,170. It appears that General Booth is asking for 30,000 pounds a year for the continuance and carrying on of his work, though the general impression was that the "Darkest England" scheme was to be self-supporting when once the initial sum was subscribed. This report, however, gives so much evidence of marvelous work done, that there can only be one feeling of hope, that this work will not fail for lack of funds.

The last few months of the year 1891 have been very full of interest in our political sphere. Great changes have been wrought by death amongst the leaders of the House of Commons; but in the second place, the questions connected with our rural districts and their population have come very strongly into prominence. These questions, indeed, are very complex: they are largely economic and social as well as political; our land is going out of cultivation; it is found more profitable to, or perhaps it is more to the taste of, the wealthy merchants who buy up estates in the country, to rear game than to grow corn or feed cattle. Wages are very low among the agricultural laborers, who are unorganized and often ill-educated, the pay of a full male laborer frequently being only eighteen pence (less than half a dollar) for a day's work. The life of the countryman is dull and monotonous, and he can take no part in local government or in affairs in which he is deeply interested, such as the administration of the poor law or the land law. Then our system of land tenure is avowedly intended to keep up the large estates of large land-owners, and to prevent the subdivision of these estates among the many; the country clergyman is often unsympathetic, or rather, his natural sympathies are by birth and education with the land-owner rather than with the laborer; the village school is not a centre of popular education, but a department of the clergyman's household. In fact, the country districts have hitherto profited little by the democratic progress of recent years. A notable conference was held in London in December, at which four hundred delegates from the rural districts met and discussed the situation. There was no definite policy decided on, but it was made abundantly clear that the great demands of the country laborers were for popular self-government in the first place, and, in the second place, for such a reform of the land laws as would enable the laborer to acquire rights over a piece of land which he might call his own. Whether the Liberal party, which promises to carry out reforms in these directions if returned to power, will succeed, or whether the country dwellers will be satisfied with the more

moderate programme which the Conservatives profess themselves willing to undertake, remains to be seen. At present the one fact patent is, that both parties are making a bid for the rural vote.

Another political fact which is exciting keen anticipation is the promise of the Conservative leaders to introduce early next session an Irish Local Government Bill. At present the local government of Ireland is as bureaucratic and centralized as that of France, or even of Russia; and a change is bound to be made.

Many Conservatives view the inevitable step with feelings of aversion, knowing that popular local government in Ireland means more power in the hands of the Nationalists, while other Conservatives regard the promise made on their party's behalf with the hope that popular local government in Ireland will destroy any reasonableness there may be in the demand for the statutory Irish Parliament of Home Rule. This political question is unfortunately confounded with a religious issue in the North of Ireland, where the Protestants and Catholics exist in almost equal numbers, and where the tension between the two parties is very great. Also in the minds of a not inconsiderable number of Englishmen the Irish question is regarded, not as a matter of political principle, but purely as a question of Popery or Protestantism. "No popery" has been a powerful political cry in the past, and there seem to be not a few who are led by it at the present.

Joseph King.

HAMPSTEAD, LONDON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

A Winter in India and Malaysia among the Methodist Missions. By Rev. M. V. B. Knox, Ph. D., D. D. With an Introduction by Bishop John F. Hurst, D. D., LL. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1891. Pp. 306. \$1.20. — This is a very lively work, full of all manner of interesting items. The author is a born ornithologist, and fills his Indian scenes with plumage and the whirring of wings. The missionary descriptions are, as the title signifies, almost entirely confined to the Methodist missions. There is hardly allusion enough to the fact that there are other missions to obviate the impression that the gospel in India is represented almost exclusively by Methodism. The author, of course, assumes that his readers are not without access to other books, but we can hardly praise this entire absorption in his own denomination, and somewhat over-effusive glorification of it, as a signal merit. But it is an interesting book for any one to read.

General View of the Political History of Europe. By Ernest Lavisse, Professor at the Sorbonne. Translated with the Author's Sanction. By Charles Gross, Ph. D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 15 East Sixteenth Street. 1891. Pp. viii, 188. — This little book is packed wonderfully full. To say that it is luminous as well as condensed is simply to say that it comes from an eminent Frenchman.

The writer — something we fancy unusual in his country — subordinates the Renaissance to the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, finding

in the former the national germs which have fully unclosed in the latter. He leaves to chance and human freedom a large scope as against the fatality of nature and of historical sequence. Very naturally, he makes France the chief representative of human freedom, which a century ago threw history into a new channel, and which, he not obscurely intimates, is in this century called to thwart historical fatality incarnated in Germany.

Going back to Greece, M. Lavissee well calls it "Europe reflected and condensed in a mirror." In its wider ultimate form of Hellenism, "It broke up Roman unity in the last days of the Empire. During the Middle Ages it was antagonistic to the ideas and systems of which the West made trial, and it destroyed the ecclesiastical unity of the Christian world." And in the Renaissance it rejuvenated thought, "and produced the intellectual development of modern times."

The author admires the profound effects of the Roman power, but has considerable misgivings as to how far they were all beneficial. The element of force, physical, hierarchical, intellectual, involved in the name of Rome, repels him. Centuries of unhappy experiences were needed before the nations which she had paralyzed could constitute themselves. She is always the same. And the nations which she did not conquer, leaving a heritage of mental limitation, seem to have the longer future before them. "It is not certain that Cæsar's conquest of Vercingetorix was a blessing to the world."

"The Empire was for a long time a piece of hypocrisy; for it did not dare to give to its rulers the first condition of stability, a law of succession. At length the monarchy had to be organized, but thenceforth it was absolute, without restraint or opposition. Its proposed aim was to exploit the world, an aim which in practice was carried to an extreme. Hence it exhausted the *orbis Romanus*." The Gospel overthrew the Empire. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," reft Cæsar from his apotheosis, and shook the immovable rock. In after ages the Church herself restored the Empire, but only as a magnificent, though potent illusion, for illusions are also facts.

"Like ancient Rome, the Church conquered and assimilated. The intellectual sap of the ancient would no longer produce anything but miserable flowerets without color or perfume. The Church, on the other hand, attracted intelligent men by her literature, history, dialectics, the philosophy of her dogma, and her words of eternal life." "The Rome of St. Peter began her conquests where the Rome of Augustus finished hers, in Britain and Germany." "Hence it was the papacy which first enlarged Europe." Yet the author is not too certain that the papacy was necessary. "One thing appears certain: if the past is beneficent, because it initiates new generations into the experience of bygone ages, it abuses its power. To the living some things in the past seem like impish pranks. One of these pranks was the reestablishment of the Empire, in the year 800, by a priest and a warrior, neither of whom knew exactly what the ancient Empire had been, and what the new one was to be."

The following sentence seems bewildered by a false translation. "Thus from the wreck of the two universal powers the various nationalities emerged. Just as Christianity had succeeded the Roman Empire, so Europe succeeded Christianity." We take it the original here (and in some other places) is, *Chrétienté* "Christendom," not *Christianisme*. Christendom is here regarded in its mediæval form, as a theocratic con-

federation. The author allows that Christendom, thus defined, was succeeded by states, but not by nations. "A nation is a definitely formed, conscious, and responsible person; there were no real nations on the Continent before our own times."

M. Lavissee acquits the mediæval papacy of offending against a non-existent Italian nationality. Nevertheless, like Gregorovius, he points out how the universal aims of the papacy and the national aims of Italy have never been reconcilable. Yet the comminution of Italy, as of Greece, found some compensation in the intense and various life of the parts. German anarchy, also, "was very energetic and fruitful." The Slavonic and Germanic complications are fully though compactly set forth, implicated also with the Magyars. "Hence there is at the present day a Hungarian question, as there is a Tsech question; and the Hapsburg, whose function it is to solve both, will solve neither." Like David Müller, he points out that the two German great powers, Austria and Prussia, were both "born in the midst of the enemy," both rest on conquering and assimilating colonies planted in the midst of the Slavs. But as Germanism gained in the East it lost in the West. "While margraves guarded the course of the Elbe, the Rhine became the 'highway of the priests.' German energy, so conspicuous in the East, languished in these principalities of archbishops, bishops, and abbots. By the close of the fifteenth century the Empire had lost almost all its western dependencies, while France was gaining ground in this territory."

The author gives a very interesting account of the slow formation of France, of how the lean phantom of decaying Carolingian royalty, amid a crowd of indifferent vassals, changed itself into flesh and blood when Hugh Capet, Duke of France, brought dominions of its own to the crown, while the unailing line of male offspring gave continuity to its aims, and by a judicious use of old remembrances and new inheritances and resumptions, and also by the help of the cities and of the bishops, the crowned shadow at length became proprietor of France. "The expansion of France in Europe during the Middle Ages was preëminently intellectual. Her intellect gave expression to the whole civilization of that period, — religious, feudal, and knightly. The French wrote heroic poems, built castles and cathedrals, and interpreted the texts of Aristotle and the Scriptures. Their songs, buildings, and scholastic philosophy verged on perfection. Already independent, already mobile and sprightly, the French mind freed itself from tradition and authority. It produced the aerial grace of Gothic art. It parodied its own heroic songs, and sculptured caricatures on the walls of its monuments of religion." "A proverb said that the world was ruled by three powers, — the Papacy, the Empire, and Learning; the first residing in Rome, the second in Germany, the third in Paris." France "existed at first in and through the king, who, in his living flesh and in his privileged blood, personified the idea, still too abstract, of a nation, a country."

The development of England is well set forth. "This good order of a well regulated monarchy and the power of the monarch produced an unexpected result, namely, political liberty. Just because the king had everything in his own hands," — in opposition to the vassal states of each continental monarchy, — "because the rights and duties of all were defined with precision, because each person easily came in contact with all, because people saw, knew, and elbowed each other, the resistance to a power that was too strong was easily organized, and with the first attempt at-

tained its object." "England of the fifteenth century was more than a state; it was almost a nation." "Her vocation abroad was not yet revealed; but she had various powers in reserve; the power of a sanguine, vigorous, and vehement temperament, and the power which is produced by freedom and by the spirit of independence. These she was at first to waste in her civil and religious wars; but eventually she employed them to found an Empire, the most extensive and flourishing that history has known."

The development of modern times is more complicated. We do not remember to have seen before so distinct a statement of the mischief which French feudalism, even in dying, left behind. "These empty structures — provinces, municipalities, and feudal lordships — cumbered France, and incommoded her life. The power that turned them into ruins would not, or could not, remove the débris, which caused much disorder in the constitution of France. The resistance of such vestiges of the past was encountered by the great ministers of France, by those of the time of her full glory, and by those of the close of the ancient régime; for example, Colbert and Turgot. The old monarchy shone in Europe with great brilliancy. It contributed to the sum total of the greatness of France the majesty of Louis XIV., which was a real majesty. But the monarchy did not establish a system of government and administration adapted to a unified country. It did not provide itself with a good financial and military system; it did not give the country a good judicial and economic system. To speak the truth in all its nakedness, French kings knew how to exact obedience, but they did not know how to govern."

The author puts, of course, France at the head of nations, because her unity is not fused with race, and has therefore the value of a moral personality. Yet he holds that Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism cannot long avoid a decisive struggle. He holds the papacy to be quite as dangerous to Italian nationality as any one has ever thought. "The Emperor of Germany is very potent, but when he visited the King of Italy, it was beyond his power to refuse to pay his respects to the Pope. The Emperor of Austria calls himself the good brother and special friend of Humbert I., but he does not visit Rome for fear of committing sacrilege."

German unity the author stigmatizes as a conquest by Prussia. The hearty willingness of the South German people to be "conquered" is not mentioned. As to Alsace-Lorraine, of course he is implacable. Does anybody imagine that if Sedan had been a French victory, the Germans of the left bank of the Rhine would have been asked if they were willing to be appropriated by France?

This book, in size a manual, is, in substance, a profound history. As will be seen, the translation is vigorous and free enough for an original.

English Colonization and Empire. By Alfred Caldecott, M. A. (Cambridge and London), Fellow and Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge; sometime University Extension Lecturer under the Cambridge Syndicate. "Of all the results of English History none is comparable to the creation of this enormous, prosperous, in great part homogeneous Realm, and it can be paralleled by nothing in the history of any other state" (Professor Seeley). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 743 and 745 Broadway. 1891. [All rights reserved.] Pp. viii, 277. — The fine but clear print enables a great deal to be put into this book. After slightly touching on Egyptian and Babylonian and Greek civilization,

and on the welding process of Rome, the author remarks that then, between the Carpathians and the Atlantic, was developed the first civilization which seems likely to become the common possession of mankind, and which England, principally, is now diffusing over the world. The community of mankind is forming. The great masses are all now in contact, — the Chinese mass of four hundred millions, the Indian mass of three hundred millions, the European mass of three hundred millions.

The author considers the colonizing enterprises of Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, and Britain. He quotes from Hegel the remark that the discovery of America by Columbus was an event of the same order as Julius Cæsar's crossing the Alps.

The author distinguishes between pure colonies, like Australia and Canada, mixed colonies, like South Africa or Jamaica, dependencies, like India, and mere outposts, like Gibraltar or Aden. Thus the English are brought into direct and effective contact with all the great nationalities of the world.

The glory of Prince Henry of Portugal, the father of all modern enterprise, is not overlooked. As to Spain, the author notes the extraordinary contradictions of character which produced "in Las Casas a flower of missionaries, and a queen of singularly high and tender soul in Isabella; and also a ruffian leader like Pizarro, and the godless inhumanity which hurried out of life in fifteen years fifteen sixteenths of the natives of Hispaniola."

The Dutch failed because they were too sordid. The greatness of distant view which gave permanence to English enterprise was lacking to them. France was great, and achieved great things, and is achieving great things now in Algeria. But it was appointed that her American dominion should yield to England, though the French race, we may remark, is unassimilable in Canada, and promises to appropriate all northern New England. Personal government could not produce a succession of men like Colbert, that greatest of administrators. Chatham, however, came from the very heart of England, and was a Man, whom no George could put down. France, under Louis Quinze and Louis Seize, had to give way, and leave England "free room for national development."

The author protests against assuming that the thirteen colonies were entirely in the right, and asks, Where was their gratitude for help against France? Surely, they were acknowledged by Parliament to have done more than their part. He allows, however, that they had outgrown dependence. He says, with sarcastic truth, that we have ever since been trying to live inside of a ring fence.

The remarks on India are very full, but less important to us. He observes, very justly, that English dominion there does not really rest on force, but on the Hindoo persuasion that the *Pax Britannica* is the alternative to the old anarchy.

After 1783 there was "Reconstruction, and fresh Expansion." The wonderful development of Australia was against all augury. This has been almost wholly industrial. There is nothing in it as yet to take hold of the imagination. Canada he assumes to have made a success of federation, as he calls that row of sticks laid end to end, which Goldwin Smith shows this to be. The less said about Canada at present, the more comfortable, we should think, it would be for Canada. The author, however, allows that the destiny of Canada cannot be detached from our final decision respecting it.

The last six chapters concern the final partition of power between the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The treatment is full, clear, and dispassionate, evidently leaning to the notion of Imperial Federation, but treating this altogether tentatively. The author does not answer Goldwin Smith's overwhelming objections to this, but evidently hopes that *solvetur ambulando*. He looks for such a devolution of authority from the British Parliament under Home Rule as shall reduce it once more to the Parliament of England, Scotland, Ireland. Colonies are then to come in to a wider federation on about the same terms. This would be "Reconstruction and Fresh Expansion" with a witness. It would be happy for the historical England if she did not perish in this Medea's caldron of transmutation.

The Divine Enterprise of Missions. A Series of Lectures, Delivered at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America. Upon the "Graves" Foundation. In the months of January and February, 1891. By *Arthur T. Pierson*. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 740 and 742 Broadway. Pp. 333. — The author wisely begins by protesting against the unscriptural division of believers into *clergy* and *laity*, which confines all active fulfillment of Christ's commission to the latter. He does not deny the distinction as of relative force, but denies that it is original or fundamental. All believers, in some form, are addressed in the command (probably given to the five hundred): "Go ye, therefore."

Dr. Pierson insists that Christ's principal command is, "Bear witness." "Evangelize," in the Greek, does not mean, "to convert," but "to bring the good tidings." Results are with divine predestination and human freedom. But this, he remarks, includes more than a mere hasty passing through. It does not, however, necessarily include the Christianization of a race, but the offering to it of a true opportunity. The author, nevertheless, presses the image of the New Jerusalem let down out of heaven to a degree which looks as if the essential powers of human nature and divine results of history were all to be rejected out of the kingdom of God. A little more, and personal identity would perish under such a stress of argument. But the godless extent to which the idea of assimilation is carried is very energetically set forth. The church is an "election." Yet it is to be, not a painful picking out of one here and one there, but the calling out of "a great multitude which no man can number." Yet cultivation must not destroy the seed vessels.

The author chastises the self-complacency which dwells on twelve million dollars a year for foreign missions, by pointing out that one per cent. of the income of Protestant church-members would give two hundred million dollars. The conditions of growth, when life ceases, hasten decay, and the prosperity of the church, enjoyed, not used, will destroy her.

The degeneracy of Missions into mere civilization is a crying danger of our age. A sense of "the powers of the world to come" will alone make them a reality. But miracles innumerable, of divine grace, if not of physical power, it is to be hoped, may sustain the standard. If the Reformation was "the Third Great Birth of Time," does not the Fourth now impend? Are we to be found sleeping?

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Into his Marvellous Light. Studies in Life and Belief. By Charles Cuthbert Hall, D. D., Minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, N. Y. Pp. 354. 1892. \$1.50. — The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton. II. Purgatory. Pp. ix, 216. 1892. \$1.25. — The Spirit of Modern Philosophy. An Essay in the Form of Lectures. By Josiah Royce, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Pp. xv, 519. 1892. \$2.50.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. Holy Names, as Interpretations of the Story of the Manger and the Cross. By the Rev. Julian K. Smyth, author of "Footprints of the Saviour." Pp. 203. 1891.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. The Expositor's Bible. The Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. Pp. xiii, 419. 1891. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — The Sermon Bible. Vol. VIII. John iv.—Acts vi. Pp. vi, 395. 1892. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston.

The Students Publishing Company, Hartford. The Genesis of Genesis. A Study of the Documentary Sources of the First Book of Moses in accordance with the results of Critical Science, illustrating the Presence of Bibles within the Bible. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon. With an Introduction by George F. Moore, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Pp. xxx, 352. 1892. \$2.50.

The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. The Divine Enterprise of Missions. A Series of Lectures delivered at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, upon the "Graves" Foundation, in the months of January and February, 1891. By Arthur T. Pierson. Pp. 333.

A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. Bible Studies from the Old and New Testaments, covering the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1892. By Geo. F. Pentecost, D. D., author of "In the Volume of the Book," "Out of Egypt," etc. Pp. xii, 415. 1892.

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. Short Studies in Literature. By Hamilton Wright Mabie, author of "My Study Fire," "Under the Trees and Elsewhere," etc., etc. Pp. vi, 201. 1891.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Real Japan. Studies of Contemporary Japanese Manners, Morals, Administration, and Politics. By Henry Norman. Illustrated by Photographs by the author. Pp. 364. 1892. \$3.00. — Patrick Henry. Life, Correspondence, and Speeches. By William Wirt Henry. With Portrait. Limited Edition eleven hundred copies, printed from type. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. xx, 622; Vol. II., pp. xv, 650. 1891. \$8.00. — University Extension Manuals. Edited by Professor Knight. The Literature of France. By H. G. Keene, Hon. M. A., Oxon. Pp. 215. 1892. \$1.00. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston. — Patrick Henry. Life, Correspondence, and Speeches. By William Wirt Henry. With Portrait. Vol. III. Limited edition eleven hundred copies, printed from type. 8vo, pp. 672. 1891. \$4.00, net. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston. — The Life of our Lord upon the Earth. Considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By Samuel J. Andrews, author of "God's Revelations of Himself to Men." A New and wholly Revised Edition. Pp. xxviii, 651. 1891. \$2.50. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston.

Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York. The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief. By Vincent Henry Stanton, D. D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Pp. xiii, 229. 1891. \$1.75. — Anthropological Religion. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. By F. Max Müller, K. M. Foreign Member of the French Institute. Pp. xxvii, 464. 1892. \$3.00.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM IN THE LIGHT OF REASON AND THE SCRIPTURE. <i>Professor Schaff</i>	329
2. THE PERFECTING OF JESUS. <i>Rev. Charles H. Dickinson</i>	339
3. THE FOUNTAINS OF AUTHORITY IN RELIGION. <i>Rev. Frank R. Shipman</i>	361
4. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO MODERN RELIGIOUS LIFE. <i>Rev. Frederic Palmer</i>	376
5. POSSIBLE PROGRESSION IN THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS. <i>Rev. William W. McLane</i>	393
6. EDITORIAL.	
THE REGRESSION OF THE CRITICAL ATTACK ON THE DEITY OF CHRIST	402
THE RECENT ELECTION IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC	405
NOAH PORTER	407
MISSIONARIES OR "CASES"?—THE PRESENT QUESTION IN REGARD TO APPLICANTS TO THE AMERICAN BOARD	410
7. SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.	
THE TEE-TO-TUM MOVEMENT. <i>Mr. H. Otto Thomas</i>	415
8. NOTES ON CURRENT CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.	
DISCUSSIONS UPON THE FOURTH GOSPEL. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i>	419
9. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Woods's English Social Movements, 429. — Froude's The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon, 430.	
10. BOOKS RECEIVED	431

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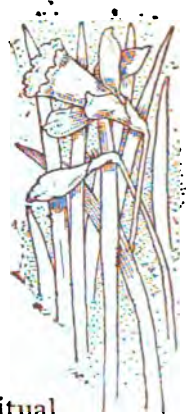
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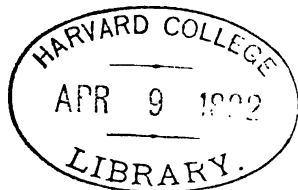
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THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM IN THE LIGHT OF
REASON AND THE SCRIPTURE.

CALVINISM starts from a double predestination which antedates creation and is the divine programme, as it were, of human history. This programme includes the successive stages of a universal fall, a partial redemption and salvation, and a partial reprobation and damnation ; all for the glory of God and the display of his attributes of mercy and justice. History, according to this scheme, is only the execution of the original design. There can be no failure. The beginning and the end, God's immutable plan and the world's history, must correspond.

This is, in brief outline, one of the great dogmatic systems which have dominated the Christian world. It is the most logical of all, unless we except Romanism as completed in the Vatican decrees. It is the product of the greatest theological genius that arose after Augustin and Thomas Aquinas. It is essentially the same with the Augustinian system, but more logical and severe. It has made the strongest impression upon the Anglo-Saxon mind, and is still a living force in the Puritan and Presbyterian churches of England and America. It can only be superseded by a better system, which is built upon the rock of the redeemed race rather than the ruins of the fallen race, and upon God's love in Christ rather than of God's sovereign decrees. The theological genius of Schleiermacher, starting from Calvinistic principles, constructed a system of a universal election and universal salvation, unfolding itself gradually in this, and in the next world ; but this cannot satisfy those who make the Bible the supreme rule of faith. We

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must wait for a more Scriptural system, which will come in the course of time.

We should remember at the outset that we have to deal here with nothing less than a solution of the world-problem, and should approach it with reverence and modesty. We stand as it were before a mountain whose top is lost in the clouds. Many who dared to climb its dizzy heights have lost their vision in the blinding snowdrifts. Dante, the deepest thinker among poets, deems the mystery of predestination too high even for the comprehension of the saints in Paradise, who enjoy the beatific vision, yet "do not know all the elect," and are content "to will whatsoever God wills."¹ Calvin himself says that "the predestination of God is a labyrinth, from which the mind of man can by no means extricate itself." There is no escape except by the Scripture doctrine of the saving love of God in Christ.

We find everywhere in nature and in history the traces of a revealed God and of a hidden God; revealed enough to strengthen our faith, and concealed enough to try our faith.

We are surrounded by mysteries. In the realm of nature we see the contrasts of light and darkness, day and night, heat and cold, summer and winter, life and death, blooming valleys and barren deserts, singing birds and poisonous snakes, useful animals and ravenous beasts, the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest.

Turning to human life, we find that one man is born to prosperity, the other to misery; one a king, the other a beggar; one a genius, the other an idiot; one strong and healthy, the other a helpless cripple; one a millionaire, the other a pauper; one inclined to virtue, another to vice; one the son of a saint, the other of a criminal; one in the darkness of heathenism, another in the light of Christianity.

Who can account for all these and a thousand other differences and perplexing problems? They are beyond the control of man's

¹ Paradise, XX. 130-138, Longfellow's translation:—

"O thou predestination, how remote
Thy root is from the aspect of all those
Who the First Cause do not behold entire!
And you, O mortals! hold yourselves restrained
In judging; for ourselves, who look on God,
We do not know as yet all the elect:
And sweet to us is such a deprivation,
Because our good in this good is made perfect,
That whatsoever God wills, we also will."

will, and must be traced to the inscrutable will of God, whose ways are past finding out.

Here, then, is predestination, and, apparently, a double predestination to good and evil, to happiness and misery. We cannot conceive of God, except as an omniscient and omnipotent Being, who from eternity foreknew, and in some way also foreordained, all things that should come to pass in his universe. He foreknew what He foreordained, and He foreordained what He foreknew ; his foreknowledge and foreordination, his intelligence and will, are coeternal, and must harmonize. There is no succession of time, no before nor after, in God. The fall of the first man with its effects upon all future generations cannot have been an accident which God, as a passive or neutral spectator, simply *permitted* to take place, when He might so easily have prevented it. He must in some way have foreordained it, as a means for a higher end. So far the force of reasoning, on the basis of belief in a personal God, goes to the full length of Calvinistic supralapsarianism. If we give up the idea of a self-conscious, personal God, reason will force us into fatalism or pantheism.

Sin and death are universal facts, which no sane man can deny. They constitute the problem of problems. And the only practical solution of the problem is the fact of redemption. "Where sin has abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly : that, as sin reigned in death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord " (Rom. v. 20, 21).

If redemption were as universal in its operation as sin, this solution would be most satisfactory and most glorious. But the fact of redemption is only partially revealed in the present life, and the question remains, What becomes of the vast mass of those who live and die without God and without hope in this world ? Is this terrible fact to be traced to the eternal counsel of God, or to the free agency of man who rejects the offer of salvation ?

Here is the point where Augustinianism and Calvinism take issue with Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism, and Synergism.

The Calvinistic system involves a positive truth, the election to eternal life by free grace ; and a negative inference, the reprobation to eternal death by arbitrary justice. The former is the strength, the latter is the weakness, of the system. The former is practically accepted by all true Christians ; the latter has always been and always will be repelled by the great majority of Christians.

The doctrine of a gracious election is as clearly taught in the

New Testament as any other doctrine. Consult such passages as Matt. xxv. 34; John vi. 37, 44-65; x. 28; xv. 16; xvii. 12; xviii. 9; Acts xiii. 48; Rom. viii. 28-39; Gal. i. 4; Eph. i. 4-11; ii. 8-10; 1 Thess. i. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 13-14; 2 Tim. i. 9; 1 Pet. i. 2. It is confirmed by daily experience. Christians trace all their temporal and spiritual blessings, their life, health, and strength, their regeneration and conversion, every good thought and deed, to the undeserved mercy of God, and hope to be saved solely by the merits of Christ, "by grace through faith," not by works of their own. The more they advance in spiritual life, the more grateful they feel to God and the less inclined to claim any merit. The greatest saints are the humblest. Their theology reflects the spirit and attitude of prayer which rests on the conviction that God is the free giver of every good and perfect gift, and that without God we are nothing. Before the throne of grace all Christians may be called Augustinians or Calvinists.

Salvation by free grace is the effective theme and the secret of success of the great Calvinistic preachers and writers, such as Howe, Owen, Baxter, Bunyan, South, Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Chalmers, Robert Hall, Spurgeon, — men who had no superior in pulpit power and influence. It should be remembered, however, that they ignored or practically neutralized, by their appeals to men's responsibility, the absolute decree of reprobation.

We are not saved mechanically or by force, but through faith, by freely accepting the gift of God, and this implies the contrary power of rejecting the gift. To accept constitutes no merit, to reject is ingratitude and guilt. While we pray as if everything depended on God, we must preach and work as if everything depended on men, and offer the gospel sincerely to every creature. We pray for the salvation of all men, but we never pray for the perdition of a single human being.

This fact points to a serious defect of the system under consideration. Reprobation is a judicial act for sins committed and for the persistent refusal of the gospel salvation by the sinner; but there is no eternal decree of reprobation and preterition irrespective of moral desert. Such a decree would be contrary both to the justice and mercy of God, and change Him into an arbitrary despot. Such a decree, involving innocent children as well as ignorant adults, would indeed be "horrible," according to Calvin's own admission. This expression does great credit to his head and heart, and virtually condemns his system; for God can-

not do what is directly contrary to our best moral feelings and instincts which He himself has planted in our hearts.

How, then, did he come to believe and teach the *decretum horribile*? By logic, and by the Scripture. Let us examine his arguments.

1. The logical argument is that there can be no positive without a negative, no election without reprobation. This is true deductive logic, but not by inductive logic. All are "elect" who accept the gospel and persevere in faith (1 Pet. i. 1; ii. 9); reprobate are only those who refuse the call or fall away by their own guilt. Some are called at the ninth, others at the tenth, others at the eleventh hour. We cannot know or measure the secret operations of the Spirit, who works "when, where, and how He pleases." Logic, moreover, is a two-edged sword. It leads from predestinarian premises inevitably to the conclusion that God is the author of sin, which Calvin himself rejected and abhorred as a blasphemy. Logic, we should remember, only deals with finite categories, and cannot grasp infinite truths. God's logic is above man's logic. Christianity is not a logical or mathematical problem, and cannot be reduced to the limitations of a system, but is above logic and mathematics, and comprehends the truths of all systems. The most rigid believer in divine sovereignty cannot get rid of the sense of personal responsibility, though he may be unable to reconcile the two. The harmony lies in God, and in the moral constitution of man. Paul unites them in one sentence: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure" (Phil. ii. 13). The problem, however, comes within the reach of possible solution if we distinguish between sovereignty, as an inherent power, and the *exercise* of sovereignty. God may limit the exercise of his sovereignty to make room for the free action of his creatures. Without such limitation, He could not admonish them to repent and believe. Here, again, Calvinistic logic must either bend or break. Strictly carried out, it would turn the exhortations of God to the sinner into a solemn mockery and cruel irony.

There is a point, then, where human logic must acknowledge its limitations and bow before truth which is, indeed, not illogical, but supra-logical; just as revelation is not against reason, but above reason.

2. Calvin, though one of the most logical minds, cared less for logic than for the Bible, and it is his obedience to the Word of

God, as the infallible rule of faith, that induced him to accept the *decretum horribile*, against his wish and will. His judgment is of the greatest weight; for he had no superior, and scarcely an equal, for thorough and systematic Bible knowledge and exegetical insight.

And here we must freely admit that not a few passages, especially in the Old Testament, favor a double decree to the extent of supreme supralapsarianism; yea, they go beyond it, and seem to make God himself the author of sin and evil. See Ex. iv. 21; vii. 13 (repeatedly of God's hardening Pharaoh's heart); Isa. vi. 9, 10; xlv. 18; Jer. vi. 21; Amos iii. 6 ("Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?"); Prov. xvi. 4; Matt. xi. 25; xiii. 14, 15; John xii. 40; Rom. ix. 10-23; xi. 7, 8; 1 Cor. xiv. 3; 2 Thess. ii. 11; 1 Pet. ii. 8; Jude 4 ("who were of old set forth in this condemnation").

The rock of reprobation is the ninth chapter of Romans. It is not accidental that Calvin elaborated and published the second edition of his "Institutes" simultaneously with his Commentary on the Romans, at Strassburg, in 1539.

There are especially three passages in the ninth chapter, which in their strict literal sense favor extreme Calvinism, and are so explained by some of the severest grammatical commentators of modern times (as Meyer and Weiss).

(a.) ix. 13: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated," quoted from Mal. i. 2, 3. But there are certain literal interpretations which would contradict the general teaching of Scripture. It is impossible that a God of love who commands us to love all men, even our enemies, should positively hate any of his creatures, made in his own image, even a child before his birth. Such a God would be a monster. "Can a woman forget her sucking child," says the Lord, "that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee" (Isa. xlix. 15). The word must therefore be understood as a strong Hebraistic expression for loving less or putting back; as in Gen. xxix. 31, where the original text says, "Leah was hated" by Jacob, that is, loved less than Rachel (comp. verse 30), and in Luke xiv. 26: "If any man hateth not his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." In the parallel passage, Matt. x. 37, we read instead, "loveth more." Our Saviour requires us to prefer Him above all things, even life itself, but certainly not to break the fifth commandment. Moreover, the pas-

sage quoted from Malachi has no reference to eternal salvation and perdition, but to the relative position which Jacob and Esau and their posterity were to occupy in the history of the theocracy. This removes the main difficulty. Esau received a temporal blessing from Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 39, 40), behaved kindly and generously towards Jacob, who did not deserve it (xxxiii. 4 *sqq.*), and notwithstanding his inferior position on earth may be among the saved in heaven. Adam and Eve, the first in the fall, were the first among the saved. This was the belief of the Christian fathers and schoolmen, based upon Wisdom x. 2. Dante assigns them a high place in Paradise.

(b.) ix. 17: Paul traces the hardening of Pharaoh's heart to the agency of God, and so far makes God responsible for sin. But this hardening was a judicial act of punishing sin with sin; for Pharaoh had first hardened his own heart (Ex. viii. 15, 32; ix. 34). This passage likewise has no reference to his future fate, but to his place in the history of Israel.

(c.) In ix. 22 and 23, the apostle speaks of "vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction" (*κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν*) and "vessels of mercy which he [God] prepared unto glory" (*ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰ δόξαν*). But the difference of the verbs and between the passive (or middle) and the active is most significant, and shows that God has no direct agency in the destruction of the vessels of wrath independently of their own previous moral conduct. Calvin is too good an exegete to overlook this difference, and virtually admits its force, although he tries to weaken it. "They observe," he says of his opponents, "that it is not said without meaning, that the vessels of wrath are fitted for destruction, but that God prepared the vessels of mercy; since by this mode of expression, Paul ascribes and challenges to God the praise of salvation, and throws the blame of perdition on those who by their choice procure it to themselves. But though I concede to them that Paul softens the asperity of the former clause by the difference of phraseology; yet it is not at all consistent to transfer the preparation for destruction to any other than the secret counsel of God; which is also asserted just before in the context, 'that God raised up Pharaoh, and whom he will he hardeneth.' Whence it follows, that the cause of the hardening is the secret counsel of God. This, however, I maintain, which is observed by Augustin, that when God turns wolves into sheep, he renovates them by more powerful grace to conquer their obstinacy; and therefore the obstinate are not converted, because God exerts not that mightier grace, of which He is not destitute, if He chose to display it."

(d.) But whatever view we may take of these hard passages, we should remember that the ninth chapter is only a part of Paul's philosophy of history, unfolded in chapters ix. to xi. While the ninth chapter sets forth the divine sovereignty, the tenth chapter asserts the human responsibility, and the eleventh looks forward to the future solution of the dark problem, namely, the conversion of the fullness of the Gentiles and the salvation of all Israel (xi. 25). And he winds up the whole discussion with the glorious sentence: "God hath shut up *all* unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon *all*" (ix. 32). Comp. Gal. iii. 22. This is the key for the understanding not only of this section, but of the whole Epistle to the Romans.

(e.) And this is in harmony with the whole spirit and aim of this epistle. It is easier to make it prove a system of conditional universalism than a system of dualistic particularism. The very theme, i. 16, declares that the gospel is a power of God for the salvation, — not of a particular class, — but of "every one" that believeth. In drawing a parallel between the first and the second Adam (v. 12–21), he represents the effect of the latter as equal in extent and greater in intensity than the effect of the former; while in the Calvinistic system, it would be less. We have no right to limit "the many" (οἱ πολλοί) and "the all" (πάντες) in one clause and to take it literally in the other. "If, by the trespass of the one [Adam], death reigned through the one; much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ. So, then, as through one trespass the judgment came unto *all men* to condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto *all men* to justification of life. For as through the one man's disobedience *the many* [that is, *all*] were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall *the many* be made righteous" (v. 17–19). The same parallel without any restriction is more briefly expressed in the passage (1 Cor. xv. 21): "As in Adam *all* die, so also in Christ shall *all* be made alive;" and in a different form in Rom. xi. 32 and Gal. iii. 22, already quoted.

These passages contain, as in a nutshell, the theodicy of Paul. They dispel the darkness of the ninth chapter of Romans. They exclude all limitations of God's plan and intention to a particular class; they teach not, indeed, that all men will be actually saved, — for many reject the divine offer, and die in impenitence, — but that God sincerely *desires* and *provides* salvation for all. Who-

soever is saved, is saved by grace ; whosoever is lost, is lost by his own guilt of unbelief.

There remains, it is true, the great difficulty that the *offer* of salvation is limited in this world to a part of the human race, and that the great majority pass into the other world without any knowledge of the historical Christ. But God has given to every man the light of reason and conscience (Rom. i. 19 ; ii. 14, 15). The divine Logos "lighteth every man" that cometh into the world (John i. 9). God has never left himself "without witness" (Acts xiv. 17). He deals with his creatures according to the measure of their ability and opportunity, whether they have received one or five or ten talents (Matt. xxv. 15 *sqq.*). He is "no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him" (Acts x. 35).

May we not, then, cherish at least a charitable hope, if not a certain belief, that a God of infinite love and justice will receive into his heavenly kingdom all those who die innocently ignorant of the Christian revelation, yet in a state of preparedness or disposition for the gospel, so that they would thankfully accept it if offered to them ; as Cornelius did when Peter entered his house ? Surely, here is a point where the rigor of the old orthodoxy, whether Roman Catholic, or Lutheran, or Calvinistic, must be moderated.

3. The doctrine of a divine will and divine provision for a universal salvation, on the sole condition of faith, is taught in many passages which admit of no other interpretation, and which must, therefore, decide this whole question. For it is a settled rule in hermeneutics that dark passages must be explained by clear passages, and not *vice versa*. "I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord our God ; wherefore turn yourselves, and live" (Ezek. xviii. 32, 23 ; xxxiii. 11). "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw *all men* unto myself" (John xii. 32). "God so loved the *world* [that is, all mankind] that he gave his only-begotten Son, that *whosoever* believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii. 16). "God our Saviour *willeth* that *all men* should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. ii. 4). "The grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to *all men*" (Tit. ii. 11). "The Lord is long-suffering to you-ward, *not wishing* that *any* should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance" (2 Pet. iii. 9). "Jesus Christ is the propitiation for our sins ; and not for ours only, but *also for* (the sins of) *the whole world*" (1 John ii. 2).

To these passages should be added the innumerable exhortations to repentance, and the lament of Christ over the inhabitants of Jerusalem who "would not" come to Him (Matt. xxiii. 37). These exhortations are insincere or unmeaning if God does not wish all men to be saved, and if men have not the ability to obey or disobey the voice. The same is implied in the command of Christ to preach the gospel to the whole creation (Mark xvi. 15), and to disciple all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19). It is impossible to restrict these passages to a particular class without doing violence to the grammar and the context.

The only way of escape for Calvinists from the force of these passages is by the distinction between a *revealed* will of God which declares his willingness to save *all* men, and a *secret* will of God which means to save only *some* men. Augustin and Luther made this distinction. Calvin uses it in explaining 2 Peter iii. 9, and those passages of the Old Testament which ascribe repentance and changes to the immutable God. But a contradiction between intention and expression is fatal to veracity, which is a part of common honesty, and must be one of the essential attributes of the Deity. A man who says the reverse of what he means is called a hypocrite and a liar. It does not help the matter when Calvin says repeatedly that there are not two wills in God, but only two ways of speaking adapted to our weakness. Nor does it remove the difficulty when he warns us to rely on the revealed will of God rather than brood over his secret will.

The greatest, the deepest, the most comforting word in the Bible is the word, "God is love," and the greatest fact in the world's history is the manifestation of that love in the person and work of Christ. That word and this fact are the sum and substance of the gospel, and the only solid foundation of Christian theology. The sovereignty of God we hold in common with Jews and Mohammedans. The love of God is revealed only in the Christian religion. It is the inmost essence of God and the key to all his ways and works. It is the central truth which sheds light upon all other truths.

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THE PERFECTING OF JESUS.¹

THE church has yet to give her unreserved assent to the incarnation. The church's belief in God and the world's belief in man have yet to be reconciled by church and world learning Jesus as He is. To know Jesus as He is, we must commit ourselves unfalteringly to the study of his life as a human life; prepared to find that the perfect manhood is God's highest self-manifestation, and that the soul of it is God; and recognizing that just to the degree of our obscuring the human nature of our Lord is the deity in Christ and of Christ obscured. Now the fundamental law of life is growth. To know the growth of a man is to know the man. The reason why we fail to find in the life of Jesus that which we need most is because we shrink from applying this law to the supreme of human lives.

The New Testament, however, emphasizes strongly the growth of Jesus. It insists that He was subject to this law in every respect: in body and mind, — "Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature;" and in beauty and strength of character, — "And in favor with God and men." His growth was not attained with the close of childhood, nor of youth. To his manhood and the stage of his ministry the words are applied: "God made the author of salvation perfect through sufferings;" and "He learned obedience by the things which He suffered." Jesus is himself a witness to the constant onworking in his own soul of the law of human growth. When the young ruler of the synagogue calls Him Good Master, He declines the homage: "Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, even God." As long as his character is in process of development, even of sinless development, He refuses the name which belongs only to the full-grown moral stature, to the absolute moral ideal. Even when his life is almost done, and its goal almost reached, He says that He shall be perfected.

The First Period of Development: Jesus as Child of the Heavenly Father.

In the attempt to trace the growth of Jesus, we need linger

¹ The historical treatment follows pretty nearly Beyschlag's *Leben Jesu*. In this article I have set forth the results, not the tedious processes of study; although indicating the latter, whenever possible, so that the results can be verified.

only a moment over his infancy, to pay a spontaneous reverence to that exquisite poem of his birth, that lyrical Evangel in which all that is highest in heaven blends with all that is tenderest of earth. And this may be said, also, that the glories of the attendant events must not conceal from us the passive infancy of the holy child. Far from us be the false sentiment of the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy, that signs of the divine nature must have gleamed from the infant face ; that words greater than the angels sang issued from those tiny lips ; that the powers of his Messiahship were already displayed ! The true Christian feeling bears witness, that as a little child He lies in ignorance of the rapt faces of adoring shepherds and sages ; needing to be watched and tended as any other babe ; not knowing whether his sojourn is in Bethlehem or Egypt or Nazareth : his home, his mother's bosom ; the sky that smiles above Him, his mother's eyes ; a passive child, with knowledge, love, reverence, all slumbering in unconsciousness, — this is the holy child Jesus. That which fills all Christendom with gentle thoughts each Christmastide, and deepens and gladdens every mother's heart at all times, is this infant helplessness and fastfolded unconsciousness of almost everything, — the complete simplicity of his babyhood, who came to perfect our humanity.

The Gospel of Luke turns a penetrating glance upon Jesus' early spiritual growth. The last thirteen verses of the second chapter of Luke reveal the secret of his whole early life, the direction in which the awakening powers turned their faces, as blossoms unfold toward the sun. This passage is almost our only direct information upon his childhood, as distinguished from his infancy. But there is not a single essential of that childish history which this passage leaves unilluminated. There are in every life events and words in which a whole stage of soul history embodies itself. Such an event and such a word are Christ's abandonment by his parents at Jerusalem in his thirteenth year, and his answer to his mother, as they found Him in the temple, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?"

The attainment to which these words witness is the result of a normal human process of development. The link which connects the history of Jesus' infancy with our knowledge of Him in his thirteenth year is the verse which introduces the temple episode : "The child grew and waxed strong, becoming full of wisdom ; and the grace of God was upon Him." The God-consciousness expressed in the words "my Father" — words which unveil a

higher truth than the world had ever known — came with no sudden shock. He expresses the thought which had become most natural and familiar.

In our sense of the profoundness of his words in the temple, and reverence for Him who uttered them, we are in danger of overlooking their childishness. But the wonderful words, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" are more childish, in some respects, than we should expect from an Oriental boy of twelve. They speak an almost infantile grace and sweetness. His consciousness of his heavenly Father is the faith of a little child. The reproachful anxiety of his mother is something which the child Jesus cannot understand. His exclamation, "Wist ye not?" "Did you not know?" expresses nothing but pure surprise. Anxiety, which is so large a part of ordinary human life, He has neither found in his own experience, nor (for a child has neither eye nor ear for experiences of different nature from his own) has He learned it from observing other lives.

"Wist ye not?" — so a child thinks that what is clear to himself must be apparent to every other. He ascribes to his parents, as a matter of course, his own clear consciousness of the divine Fatherhood; takes for granted that his relation to his heavenly Father, with his loving trust which knows no fear nor care, must certainly be theirs.

A child in his ignorance that his soul's unique treasure is not the common property of men, He is no less a child in his manner of formulating his sense of the divine Fatherhood and of his own sonship. "My Father's house," — lost in the strange city, He turns thither with just the same impulse which sends one of our children, in any trouble, running home. "My Father's house," — how long a growth must follow before his religious consciousness clears itself from the limitations of place and institution, and He is able to say: "The hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father." "That I *must* be here," — the pure childish heart cannot conceive the possibility of anything short of perfect trust in the Father's care.

Thus his great thought stands clothed in perfect childlikeness. The things which had been hidden from the wise and prudent were first revealed to one who in boyhood — and still on into manhood — kept the spirit of a little child. As the Son of God began his earth life in the swaddling-clothes, so his God-consciousness began in childish thought and childish speech. Such a childlikeness is in perfect accord with the depth of his under-

standing and answers, as He sat that day at the feet of the masters in Israel.

The childlikeness of his answer forbids us to interpret the words, "my Father," in any other than a purely human sense of sonship to the Father. The boy did not say: "Wist ye not that I, the eternal Word, who was in the beginning with God, and was God, must be in the house of my Father, of whose glory I am the effulgence, of whose substance I am the very image?" The childish words are crushed into nothingness beneath such a weight of meaning, or beneath any meaning in which is read the consciousness of divinity. Had it been possible for the boy of twelve to mean anything like this, then the Eternal Word, our Lord and our God, did not become flesh and empty himself to participation in our humanity. But none the less do these words point to the divine secret of Jesus' person, for one who seeks, in the spirit of the primitive faith, to trace his deity upward from earth, instead of earthward from heaven. Look at the originality of the thought! Here is the first human consciousness of the holy God as the Father of the individual soul. Pagan religions have, indeed, known the names "father" and "child" in the relations of gods and men. But these unethetical conceptions (unethetical because moral likeness is not the essential of the relation) are of another nature than Jesus' consciousness of human fellowship with the absolute holiness, the Father. Israel's consciousness of God as Father was national, not individual. When God's word addresses an individual as "My Son," as the king in the second Psalm, it is because of the man's official character, as a representative of God's people. The national consciousness is necessarily lacking in the personal elements which constitute the supreme relation as it lay in Jesus' mind. No development of the national consciousness of God's Fatherhood can attain the personal consciousness. That has its own immediate origin in the heart which looks upward with eyes undimmed by sin and beholds a divine Father's face. The revelation to Israel of the divine holiness shut out from every soul in Israel the thought of God as its Father. But that same truth was to the holy child the announcement of his union with the divine in the most blessed and intimate fellowship of holy Father and pure Son. In the expression of this new consciousness, Jesus stands forth at the very beginning of his moral development, — rather at his entrance into the world, with the possibilities of this development, — as the leader of mankind into the life-giving knowledge of God, and into union with the

All-Father. And the very secret of his nature is an original union of Spirit with the Father ; and of this union the divine is itself the only source and essence. If we reflect upon what these things signify, I fail to see how we can refuse to this child the titles by which St. John labors to express his inexpressible exaltation in the very life and being of the Eternal. For what conception of the divinity of the Christ can have any meaning, except this most real divinity of an original moral union with God, which is constituted by the very holiness of God ?

Here, then, in the child Jesus, is the germ of the divine Saviour. There is no break between this childhood and the manhood which is the full revelation of the Father. But there must be growth, many years, and much suffering, before this bud unfolds into the glorious flower of the God-manhood. There is not yet the knowledge that his consciousness of God is peculiar and original to himself, — no suspicion of what it involves for himself and for the world. There is not even the thought of his sinlessness. His pure vision was directed upward, not inward. The spotless soul feels no inward impulse to examine itself. Enough that nothing obscures the fellowship with the Father : why should He reflect as yet upon what such an obscuration might be ? The complete unfolding of his own spiritual content, the blending of his truly human soul with the divine perfectness, the attainment of the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, are distant a long and weary way.

The account of Jesus' first visit to Jerusalem is but the gleaming of the sun through morning mists, which at once shut it again out of sight. Eighteen years of Jesus' life pass withdrawn from our gaze. But as we can trace back from the position of the sun in high heaven, when it has risen above the mists, the path of its ascent, so our knowledge of the public ministry of Jesus enables us to trace, in general, the progress of those eighteen years. We long to look closer into this formative period of Jesus' life. Fancy has often leaped out into this field ; but fancy has no place in the study of that life of absolute sincerity and truth, the knowledge of which is the life of men.

Certain statements of the Evangelists sketch the setting of this silent growth. He was a carpenter, — so his fellow-citizens name Him. His father Joseph died before the opening of his ministry ; so that, for how long a time we do not know, Jesus, as eldest son, was the head of the family, which numbered at least seven persons at the father's death. He remained unmarried, a fact which early

marks his life as exceptional. He incidentally gives the reason for his refusing that relation, which was expected of every Jew, in the words, "There are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Two reasons, Christ answers his disciples, who are disturbed by the strictness of his view of the sanctity of marriage, exempt from the claim of marriage as the divinely appointed lot of man and woman. One is inability, whether from nature or from circumstances; the other is the claim of some divine service, the fulfillment of which would be hindered by the marriage state. This principle Jesus had applied to his own course. This does not mean, necessarily, that He, on the verge of manhood, foresaw his future mission. But He, like some other richly endowed souls in troublous times, felt it his duty to keep his powers free for whatever work God might call Him. He felt, with that prophetic providence which is part of the endowment of the highest souls, that the purest and noblest of wives would be a hindrance to that work as yet unknown, to which God was leading Him; as even his mother became a hindrance, in the days of his ministry, through her failure to grasp his thoughts and aims.

He lived a silent life in Nazareth, not aspiring to be heard in the instruction of the synagogue. The circumstances of his speaking once in Nazareth, during his ministry, make it evident that his fellow-townsmen heard Him then for the first time.

The record of his ministry throws back a clear light upon his education. It was not a technical education. He had never attended the schools of the rabbis. But He knew the Old Testament through and through. Its words were so familiar that at every exigency of his public life the apt and decisive quotation sprang to his lips. He came to know the Scriptures in a far deeper way than the learned of his people. He learned to read beneath the letter the unfolding of the divine thoughts, designs, and methods, and the revelations of God's character. The principle of his exegesis, which was not indeed magically critical and historical, was his consciousness of the Father, interpreting the Father's message with the power to distinguish that message from the limitations of its human medium. Thus did his understanding of the spirit of Scripture become radically different from the learning of his nation, and again and again put that learning to shame.

His knowledge of human life and the human heart kept pace with his self-taught knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the God

whom it revealed. His public life finds Him equipped with the largest results of practical observation, and with the keenest insight into the tangled maze of human passions and interests. Witness his parables and all his dealings with men, and, above all, his work as a whole, with its perfect adaptation to human needs and human progress till the world's end, and its irresistible appeal to human hearts. In comparison with Christ's knowledge of men and of man, so keen, yet so sympathetic, so quick, and so profound, the greatest master in this sphere falls below what can be called the second place. Thus in his student days at Nazareth, with no further means of culture than might be acquired by any other humble artisan, He learned God as no philosophy or theology could teach, He learned man so that the contributions of history and literature were superfluous to Him. He also learned nature, with a love and insight and sense of fellowship which the nineteenth century feels to be accordant with its own sentiment. Has it ever been remarked that the sense of the mountain mystery, that most modern development of human culture, is anticipated by our Lord? His consciousness of the spiritual in nature is not appreciated by the Evangelists, for the men of his age had no faculty for understanding it. But trace the correspondence between his deepest spiritual experiences and the scenes which He chose to inspire and accompany them, and we cannot but see that nature was to Him both companion and spiritual revealer. Also, He, first of men, felt the spiritual relationship between man and brute. Our culture has yet to behold creation with his eyes, and to feel it with his heart. So these quiet years of the carpenter of Nazareth were teeming years. A mind crowded with thoughts, a heart filled to overflowing with human interests and sympathies, and responsive to every suggestion of night and mountain and flower of the field, can alone account for the richness of soul revealed to the world when the Messianic summons came. The power of the genius by which all these stores were acquired and all these insights attained was the pure heart which sees God, and, in the divine light, finds all things open and manifest.

Did He know for what this growth was preparing Him? Did He look forward, in those days, to the Messianic call? We shall find, as we study his further course of development, after his calling, that God's way with his beloved Son was to lead Him step by step, unveiling the future only when it was necessary that He should know just how to shape his course to the future. No such

necessity is present in the days of silent development. Such a development as the Gospels enable us to trace in outline was his morally inevitable course. The child of the Father must study the Father ceaselessly in the Father's every revelation of himself, and penetrate the depths of that knowledge far in advance of every other man, no matter in what task that knowledge was to be employed. An early anticipation of his great work is something foreign to Jesus' individuality. The term, "The Self-Consciousness of Jesus," is not appropriate to Him. Least of all men did He make himself the object of his own reflection. He is the most objective of all men. The revelation of himself He finds in his fellowship with God. The revelation of his powers He finds in the tasks which demand them. He is an utter stranger to the brooding introspection of the modern spirit. Jesus would be the last to anticipate the Messianic work; to grasp after that transcendent dignity and power, or even to ask himself if such a thing might be; until the call should come to Him from the Father himself, clear, definite, and unmistakable, in a providence which demands Him, and an inward response which is the guidance of the indwelling Spirit of the Father. We shall see that, at his baptism, the call and the enduement in which the call could be fulfilled bear every indication of being given for the first time. To that divine call all Jesus' previous course of development was leading, and all the more surely because He did not presume to anticipate it.

But did He not know the secret of his birth? That there was a holy secret of some sort, possessed by his parents, seems almost beyond question. Whatever be our historical judgment of the introductory chapters of Matthew and Luke, we may safely say that those whom God chose as repositories of that mystery had sufficient faith and reverence to leave it to God to unlock his thought and manifest his will to his holy child, in his own good time, and in his own right way.

The chief point in the history of these eighteen years is that their growth was an absolutely sinless growth. The holy radiance of his years of ministry had never been dimmed by shadow of sin. Any one who will acknowledge merely the honesty and sanity of Jesus must see (and that independently of any theory or lack of theory concerning the Gospel records) that Jesus could not have presented himself as the perfect moral leader of men if there had been upon his soul the memory of a single stain. If, back in his boyhood at Nazareth, there had been one ungentle word, one

impure impulse, however faint and transitory, or one moment when He felt a barrier between himself and the divine holiness; if, at any moment, the consciousness of his sonship to God had lagged behind his other human developments, or failed to penetrate them wholly; if, at any moment, He had dropped below the ideal of holy character possible to the stage of growth which he was occupying, He would have said to his fellows, "Behold in me one who has known sin and the forgiveness of sin; and follow me in the path which I have trod back to God from whom we all have wandered;" whereas He dares to say, "Come to me the holy and the pure, the source of holiness and life and perfect fellowship with God." He who spoke thus never knew sin.

The same result follows from his attitude toward God, as shown during his ministry. He felt the divine holiness as no other man ever felt it. He felt God's abhorrence of sin as no other man ever felt sin; mourned over it as no other man ever mourned; labored to destroy it as no other man ever labored. And He, with such a conscience, going forth into the silent night alone with his Father, would look up into the face of absolute holiness, and no cry for pardon passed his lips or arose in his heart. No cloud ever dimmed the consciousness that He was the child acceptable, well-pleasing to the Father, thinking, feeling, doing, just as the Father willed, in the perfect relation of dependence and fellowship. These facts — the incontrovertible facts fundamental to a historic conception of Jesus — admit but one explanation. This man, alone among the sinful billions of earth, was pure in every act from the beginning of his action, in every word from the first lisp, in every thought from the dawn of consciousness. Looking back, in the light of the divine holiness which his eyes alone could endure, He knew that He had been, in human limitations, holy as God is holy, pure as God is pure, God's Son, the Beloved, in whom the Father is well pleased.

The Second Period of Development: Jesus as Founder and Leader of the Kingdom of God.

We have traced, but how imperfectly, the pure development of Jesus' life up to the time of his baptism. We have seen how real and human was his growth. We have found that the full acknowledgment of this law of human life in our Lord does not infringe upon a gospel conception of his deity. On the contrary, the highest in the divine — the holiness and love by virtue of which the unlimited power and wisdom has right to the supreme

name, God — has its highest revelation in the pure unfolding of that human soul, the secret of whose life and growth can be nothing less than a transcendent and eternal fellowship with the Father.

The human interest in Jesus' life does not break off with his baptism. The development of Jesus was life-long. Not till that death-cry, rising victorious out of the abyss of agony, "It is finished," has the drama of his inner life unfolded to its perfecting.

The arduous task of tracing Jesus' development becomes at this point easier in some respects, more difficult in others. Easier, because at his baptism his history, so remote and silent hitherto, leaps into clear light.

It does not belong to the scope or spirit of this article to discuss the chronology of the Gospels. This may be said, however: there are coincident in the Synoptic Gospels and in John two clearly defined epochs, from which Jesus' thoughts and plans take on new aspects. The first is his baptism. The second is the feeding of the five thousand, which is followed by what seems the shipwreck of his hopes, and by the dawn of a new comprehension of his work and mission. The significance of these facts will appear as we go on. Guided by these landmarks we shall be able to trace stages in the unfolding of our Lord's plans and methods for the establishing of the kingdom of God on earth; stages in the unfolding of his teaching; stages of his Messianic consciousness, that is, of his relation to the divine kingdom and the new life of its members.

The task of tracing the development of Jesus becomes more difficult, in that his life is still further beyond our experience. Jesus' ascent to his eternal glory is, as it were, from star to star. Yet the stars of the visible heavens and the celestial ranges of Christ's soul are so vast and glorious that the light and knowledge of them shine upon us, though from far away. And as we can discern that one star differs from another star in glory, so can we discern an increasing radiance of eternal light from along the pathway of the Son of God. There is also in Jesus the entire frankness of perfect love, the constant endeavor to reveal and impart the wealth of his inner life. He would have us know Him as He is, that we may make Him ours. The power to trace his human development is but the grace to be suffered to sit at his feet and learn of Him.

The baptism inaugurates a different kind of growth from that

which we have been tracing hitherto. The growth of those thirty years is like the unfolding of a flower. The growth of the last two years is like the training of a muscle. The former seems simply spontaneous, almost inevitable and necessary, with only so much of conflict and decision as is essential to a development in moral freedom. The crises of his earlier life were such as come to common men, and not difficult of decision to the one pure and illumined soul. The crises of his development as Messiah were in tasks such as were given to none other to accomplish, in problems such as none other had to solve. These crises show us, therefore, a growth by rapid increments, — sometimes a new majesty, power, and wisdom springing up in a moment. So at his baptism the heavens are opened above Him, his divine task stands clear before Him, and the powers for his great work descend and abide upon Him.

In silence and obscurity has the pure soul developed the receptivity for God's highest gifts. With the inward readiness comes the demand for the highest service. The cry of John the Baptist sounds from the wilderness of Judæa, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Great multitudes swarm to the new prophet. The Messianic expectation, which was always burning fiercely in those days, instantly leaped up in a great blaze. The carpenter of Nazareth was not among the first thousands who hastened to the prophet. There had been such another excitement during his childhood, and He had learned that not every enthusiastic patriot utters the purpose of God. But the reports of the Baptist's preaching, brought by returning pilgrims, witness to a far different spirit from that of Judas the Gaulonite. He heard of a preaching of repentance. The nation, the new prophet taught, must be prepared by conversion for the coming of the kingdom. The great day of the Lord, to which the whole history of Israel had looked forward, was for Israel a day of judgment no less than redemption. And these necessities were set forth fittingly in the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. The prophet expressed Jesus' pure insight of what must be before the redemption of Israel could come. By that accord He knew John to be a true prophet of the Lord, and saw the dawn of Israel's salvation flushing the sky. To the child of God there had been one great interest, which stood above all others, and drew all others into itself. That was the kingdom of God, — such an object of service and longing, even in the preparatory years, that, as He intimates, his life previous to his Messiahship had been

ordered "for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Therefore do we find Him, a late comer, in the presence of the prophet of the kingdom, presenting himself for baptism, the sign of the kingdom just at hand.

The prophet, having conversed with Him, shrinks from administering the rite. Though he does not yet know this man of Nazareth, yet it is not fitting that such as he should baptize, for the remission of sins, one in whom the closest inquisition can find no trace of guilt. "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me!" But Jesus sees in this sign of baptism a divine institution for Israel, of which He is a member; a sacrament for Israel's sins, which are heavy upon his heart. No infirmity of the Baptist, no purity of his own soul, can interfere with that which God has ordained. "Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfill all the righteous purpose of God."

The believers of John's message were baptized confessing their sins. The holy Jesus had the most sins to confess, most humbly, deeply, contritely; not his own sins, but of the people. As, at his life's consummation, in sympathy with human sin and with the God who abhors sin, He gave up himself as a pure offering, holy, acceptable to the Father; as then, his heart, which in perfect love could feel the guilt of all others as a more real burden than any man can feel his own guilt, took the whole weight of human sin upon itself: so now, confessing sin not his own, but accepted in sympathy as his own, praying the divine forgiveness for his brethren, did He bow his head for the purifying waters, and rise again not more pure, but with the power of purifying men. And He came forth from that river with a new consciousness of a unique relation to God; and of his mission, in that relation, to be the perfecter of God's kingdom in the world. The thirty years of growth in the consciousness that He was God's child, the faith that the day of God was dawning, the discovery that even in the solemn moment of baptism the closest self-examination could discover no trace of personal guilt, while the burden of his people's guilt awoke the longing to redeem, — all these spiritual forces converging in that supreme moment combined into the knowledge that He, and none other, was God's Beloved Son. He felt, beside the Spirit of holiness which had been his always, the Spirit of power descending and abiding upon Him, in which Spirit He could effect God's eternal purpose of establishing the kingdom of heaven among men.

The spiritual enduement of that moment was to Jesus an in-

ward and spiritual experience. He needed no sign of audible voice from heaven, or of dove fluttering down and resting on his head. But to John, who had had a presentiment of what Jesus might be, the inner experience of Jesus was bodied forth in a prophetic vision. He saw the Holy Spirit, like a dove, descending and abiding upon the Nazarene. He heard the voice from heaven, which said, "This is my Son, the Beloved, in whom I am well pleased."

Thus have we reached another stage of Jesus' life, and have seen that the Messianic consciousness, though it came so suddenly, was nothing unnatural and magical; nor was it miraculous, save as the whole development of the perfect life is God's great miracle.

The attainment of the Messianic consciousness can hardly be said to be complete until Jesus has reckoned with his new spiritual enduement, and has found the path by which it must lead Him. The temptation in the wilderness is one in significance with the descent of the Spirit at the Jordan. It is necessary to look at this event as carefully as upon the other, if we are to understand this new stage of development, the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. Immediately upon the descent of the Spirit pressed the question: "By what measures shall the kingdom of God be established in the world?" The temptation is the working out of that inevitable problem, so far as it was possible to solve it at that time. The temptation was not, — a thousand times was not, — "Shall I use these new powers wholly for God, or in part for myself also?" True, Jesus was tempted in all points like as we are; but such a question, whose clear import was whether to break this perfect filial relation with the Father, was one of which Jesus, at this period of moral insight at least, was incapable. The psychological impossibility is also an historic improbability. The question, "By what means usher God's kingdom into the world?" was a problem which the new Messianic enduement would find all-absorbing. And here is also a temptation and a testing, — a testing of the moral consciousness, whether it would be able to find God's way, and a temptation by the suggestion of methods which were not God's. With profound truth is the grappling with an intricate moral question described as a temptation and as a contest with the subtle spirit of evil.

The great problem of the ages presses for instant solution. No light was to be gained from the crude and confused Messianic expectations of the people, nor from John the Baptist, nor from the words of the ancient prophets. There is no apparent point

of connection between that task and the conditions of the age. There was no help from anywhere save from the divine Spirit in his own soul. It was as if He were standing in a blind pass, confronting a smooth, bare cliff, up which He must discover a pathway. Since neither John nor any other can teach Him how his work is to be begun, He retires to the lonely desert, — is driven by the Spirit into the wilderness. The great destinies of the soul and of the world are unriddled in solitude.

Certain conditions further perplexed a problem that was almost insoluble in itself. One of these was the universal prophetic expectation, that the time of the Messiah's coming was to be coincident with the complete establishment of the kingdom and the final judgment of the world. As in a distant prospect farther and nearer are indistinguishable, and objects miles apart melt together; so the prophetic perspective in ancient Israel blended together the first appearing of the Messiah with the final triumph of his cause. No other expectation could enter the human mind of the divine Redeemer, until his own experience had revealed to his prophetic vision that the growth of the kingdom of heaven is like that of the mustard-seed, and as the inwardly transforming work of the leaven in measures of meal.

Another difficulty in the solution of the problem was that Israel was conceived as centre and summit of the kingdom. They, the children of the kingdom: the other families of earth to be received, not as citizens, but as servants. As Israel's servants, they might have some lowly share in the blessings of God's design for Israel. Israel's Messiah was to bear only a distant and indirect relation to the Gentile world. Accordingly, the kingdom of God for Israel was conceived as an earthly kingdom, — the same in kind with the empire of the Cæsars, which it was to supplant. This hope took a thousand vague and fantastic forms, but the essential worldliness of the conception was common to Israel then and always. Such a conception belonged to John himself. In his mind, the moral and spiritual regeneration of Israel was not the end, but the means to Israel's speedy attainment of supreme temporal power, under the newly discovered Messiah.

Questions concerning the nature of the coming kingdom may have risen before in Jesus' mind; but He had never thought through to the answer. He gained the answer in the wilderness, not so much by a process of thought, as by the moral searching after that conception of the kingdom, and that method of its establishment which should be worthy of his Father. And all

the earnest thought and tension of the moral consciousness was but the humble, trustful waiting of the beloved Son upon the heavenly Father's will. He came to recognize the purest and noblest expectations, which even the great prophet of the Jordan could form of God's kingdom and the methods of its establishment, as insidious temptations of the evil power, which ever seeks to leaven the noblest principles and endeavors with its own baseness of aim and motive. An Isaiah or a John might have said to Him: If thou be the Son of God, with divine powers committed to thine hands, rely on those powers which neither nature nor man can withstand. Make all hindrances nothing. Strong in the strength of the Almighty, make thy way the way of resistless power. To establish the kingdom by miraculous power — that is the significance of the incitement to use miraculous power, in the tempter's words: "If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread." And Jesus' reply is simply to express that this way of power does not accord with his moral consciousness of the methods which belong to God. To follow this course would not be to wait upon his Father's will.

If not by force, how then? If Israel must be won, not coerced, for God draws with cords of Love, with bands of a man, — how won? Let Him give such signs of his Messiahship that the hardest heart cannot gainsay them. Let Him cast himself down from a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem, confident that the angels of God will bear Him up in their hands, and so prove Him the Lord's chosen, as the Psalmist had foretold Him. And still the moral perception that such a course was not accordant with God's ways, and that to follow it would not be the working out, in this new and higher sphere, of his filial relation to his Father. Not by force, not by display, must God's work be accomplished.

The tempter comes again. "If thou wilt work by weaker ways than these, thou must adapt thy methods and thy message to the hearts of men. A little yielding here, a little shrewdness there, a little adaptiveness to the evil spirit of the world, that so thou mayst gain the world for thyself and God." The conscience of the Redeemer pierces in an instant this sophistry, — "Get thee behind me, Adversary." From the great adversary come all these methods and devices, — these ways which are not God's ways.

What course, then, to follow? What was the positive result of the struggle with the world's great problem? This, that God's appeal to men is a spiritual appeal to the spiritual nature, through

word of truth and life of purity. Beyond this, no plan formed, no method of action adopted. Nothing won but the clear consciousness and unhesitating faith, that in this mysterious work of establishing God's kingdom among men, mysterious above the powers of the divine humanity to grasp, God himself would show the way, step by step. The rejection from his work of everything that is not pure, spiritual, and worthy of God, and the absolute trust in the Father to lead Him through the darkness to his life's consummation, that is all, — that is the great sum of all that the experience of the desert accomplished for the Son of God.

This victory concludes his attainment of his Messiahship. Nothing is really attained until to God's work in a man is added the man's work in God.

This victory raises Him above danger of mistake in the course of his mission. This inward conflict and decision made the way clear when similar suggestions arose afterwards. We must marvel at the divine forethought of Jesus, which, at the beginning of his Messiahship, anticipated and annulled so many perplexities of his career. The first temptation was repeated — but no longer as a temptation, no longer occasioning a moment's perplexity — when the five thousand, whom He had fed in the lonely country-place, would make Him king and bear Him on to Jerusalem, trusting in his miraculous powers to annihilate all opposition. The second temptation reappeared when the Pharisees, almost won over to his cause, besought a sign from heaven, — a sign of different nature from those that belonged to his mission of healing men's bodies and souls. The third temptation was always present to Him, in a people and priesthood, who, even while rejecting his hard demands, were always ready to welcome a Messiah that would stoop a little way toward their spirit, and come to terms with their desires. Through all these perplexities He walked on steadily, as one who, at the beginning of his Messiahship, had risen to a serene vision of what God required Him not to do. As to what He should do, — one step enough for Him ; enough for Him that his Father would continually reveal to the alert and receptive vision of his faith the next step of the way.

This development points on to a still higher stage of person and mission. We can only trace very hastily the course to this further attainment.

The step just before our Lord must be his presenting himself to his people as their leader and king ; in a kingdom which He, alone of men, knew to be not of this world. We find Him pre-

paring to advance upon Jerusalem, the nation's heart. But first his native Galilee must be prepared to understand who it is that will appear at the capital, to lead the people to the promise given the fathers. He spends a few happy and successful weeks among his native hills and along the shore of Gennesareth. First of all, at the marriage in Cana, He imparts the glad news of his mission to the circle of most intimate friends. The new wine of the kingdom refreshes their happy souls, even as the new wine which He created made glad the wedding feast. At Capernaum, which He selects as the centre of his Galilean influence, He heals the sick and casts out demons; then steals away by night from the popular enthusiasm, to spread abroad the Messianic hope in other cities of Galilee. And He preaches everywhere, "The kingdom of God is at hand," — at hand, soon to appear in glory at Jerusalem.

The Feast of Passover, when every district of Palestine is represented at Jerusalem, and multitudes of Israelites from foreign lands flock to their religious home, finds Jesus at the Holy City. He will not cast himself down from a pinnacle of the temple, that an awestruck nation may recognize, in a startling display, the Son of God. His appeal must be to Israel's conscience, — an appeal majestic and kingly, yet whose whole power is in its witnessing to the claims of God upon Israel. Such an appeal is the cleansing of the temple: as the prophet had foretold, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in; behold he cometh, saith Jehovah of Hosts."

This appeal to the nation is fruitless, for the time, at least. The hour of God's visitation finds Israel unprepared. But Jesus had not staked all upon this appeal. What the nation will not accept as a whole may move individuals, until, man after man, with a new life leaping from heart to heart, the nation is the Lord's. The kingdom which was at hand now becomes present in believing hearts. The Lord is not unprepared to learn the gradualness of spiritual development, and the moral separation between the Israel in name and the Israel in heart and deed. With undaunted mind, He perceives in his disappointment of redeeming Israel as a whole and at one stroke, God's working out of a deeper and richer salvation, in mysterious ways which He shall comprehend in God's own time. He withdraws into an obscurer ministry, in Judæa, in Galilee, and even in Samaria, hated of the Jews. He forms a circle of believers, by whom Israel may

be leavened with the spirit of a new life. With a forethought which provides for a process of growth however long, in the perfecting of God's kingdom, He selects from those who know Him best, the twelve apostles. He calls them from the fishing-boat and the receipt of custom, and every secular work and care, to follow his footsteps, and to learn his thoughts. To this period of his labors belong the instructions concerning the kingdom of God, as the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, and multitudes of precious words concerning that new realm of a regenerated humanity, in which God's will is done on earth as it is in heaven. But while we marvel at his gracious words, more sweet and wise than ever fell from human lips; while we learn to say with Him, "Our Father," conscious that the light of the divine love and holiness has risen upon the earth; while we recognize in his doctrine of the kingdom the ideal of human brotherhood, and of sonship, in that brotherhood, to the All-Father; we know that this is not the ultimate attainment of Jesus' truth and life. A still brighter radiance has shined upon us. A mightier power than the highest truth has kindled our hearts. We know that a still higher consciousness awaits the Messiah, and that the power to make real in the world our divine sonship and mutual brotherhood must yet be revealed to Christ and to mankind.

The Third Period of Development : Jesus as Divine Saviour.

The fact that Jesus grew brings certain difficult questions of our day into a new light. The discussion of these questions does not belong to this essay; but it is pertinent to set them, for a moment, beside this great thought of Jesus' development. One of these problems is, Jesus' universalism. Did He include the world in his sphere of work, or only Israel? Did He intend to free the spirituality of Israel's faith from its national limitations, or only to restore Judaism to its ancient purity, leaving it Judaism still? Another form of the question is, Was Jesus or Paul the founder of universal Christianity? So long as we fail to take account of development in the ministry of Jesus, so long must that question remain without a final answer. The admission of growth in Jesus' thoughts and purposes makes the problem clear. There was never in his mind the narrow particularism of the Jew. Still his thought at first was all of Israel, his mission all to Israel. His task was at first a national task. When his efforts were defeated, when Israel as a nation would not hear, then He works upon individuals for Israel's sake. But it does not follow that

because a man is working for one definite object, He is blind to the remoter influences and implications of his work. And ever as He worked, accepting every widening of purpose, as God's Spirit might lead, the object of his redemption became less and less the nation, and more and more the world. When He learned that He was more than leader of God's kingdom, then his highest self-consciousness is that of universal Saviour.

As the universalism of Jesus must be viewed in the light of the development of Jesus, so with all his teachings. We no longer study the doctrine of James and of John, as if each stood on the same religious plane. Just as erroneous is the method of studying all the phases of Jesus' teaching, as if they all represented a uniform spiritual consciousness. Nor is the matter entirely rectified by marking off St. John from the other Evangelists; for the highest stage of Jesus' thought is represented in the first three Gospels, as truly as in the fourth; nor does the fourth Gospel deal exclusively with Jesus' most developed thoughts.

This principle, that Jesus grew, will do much to the reconciling of John's Gospel with the other Gospels, and so remove the chief, perhaps we may say the only, real objection to its authenticity. The Gospel of John is, in the main, the record of Jesus' final period. Sixteen chapters of the twenty-one deal with the last year of his life, and the final period of his development. They are entirely accordant with the testimony — a less clear testimony, indeed — of the Synoptic Gospels, when these reveal the consciousness peculiar to the last year of our Lord's life. The fifth chapter of John deals with a consciousness intermediate between that of the last sixteen chapters and the lower stages generally disclosed in the Synoptic Gospels. The first four chapters of John's Gospel are on the Synoptics' usual plane. This part of the Johannine testimony to the purposes and thoughts of Jesus expresses, as clearly as do the other Gospels, the earlier phase of his mission. It is not strange that a few thoughts have crept in from the later stage, in an author whose chief interest was this later stage. If Jesus developed, the Jesus of John's Gospel and of the earlier Gospels are the same.

The date of the fifth chapter of John is a little more than a year before the crucifixion. The chapter describes the final rupture of his relations with the ruling powers of Israel, for from that time they purposed his death. The theme of Jesus' words is the highest thought possible to his second stage of growth. He expresses the assurance that God's work and his work are

one, — that He is one with God in his work for God. God works in Him ; He works in the Father. Through this union with the Father all divine power for God's great purpose is given into his hand. The Messiah came to judge the people, and if that work is deferred, it will be performed in a far higher way than had been expected. The Son of Man came to give life ; and the dead, the spiritually dead and the physically dead, shall hear and obey the life-announcing summons of God's chief minister. Only a step lies between this consciousness and the knowledge of himself as the divine Saviour of the world. And so we find once more that each higher stage of Jesus' life is the natural and inevitable development of the preceding stage ; and that the trustful child in the temple stands linked in an indissoluble bond of vital union with Him whom Thomas called " My Lord and my God."

The highest stage of the development of Jesus comes with the apparently utter shipwreck of his mission. The authorities at Jerusalem have sworn his death. The multitudes in Galilee, exasperated with his refusal to be made their king at the feeding of the five thousand, have turned their backs upon Him. Of all his followers, hardly more than the twelve are left, and one of them a devil. The religious leaders and the infamous Herod have united to outlaw Him from Palestine. He withdraws to heathen lands, to save a life which has not yet reached its goal. He takes a sorrowful farewell of the places where his mightiest works were done, because they repented not. At that dark hour, which flung Him back upon his own person as his only power of effecting God's purpose, a new consciousness swept down upon Him and arose within Him, of his own divine nature, which contained in itself all the potencies, eternal and imperishable, of the kingdom of God. And at that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, saying, " All things have been delivered unto me of my Father : and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father ; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him. Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." At that same period, and with the same new consciousness, He says : " I am the bread of life. He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven : if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever." Before, He had known himself as the leader and founder of the kingdom of God ; now, He knows himself as its very centre. Before, it was the kingdom

in which God is to be revealed and received into the life of the world. Now, it is He that reveals God : "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." In Him are contained, and from Him flow forth, the waters of eternal life for the perishing world ; and salvation is to believe on his name.

This new consciousness by no means conflicts with his previous teaching. The Father had led his beloved Son along the way of truth, up to the supreme revelation. No higher development can displace the ideal of the kingdom and the message of the divine character already given. More clearly true than before are his previous teachings, now that his highest light shines upon them ; now that they are fulfilled in Him, the supreme truth and life.

Thus have we traced the growth of Jesus through three stages of development. First, He knows himself as God's child ; then, as the Messiah of the kingdom ; at last, as the divine Redeemer of mankind. This highest attainment has now to unfold itself and realize its powers in the world's redemption. His highest self-consciousness is not yet aware of all that it contains. The dawning upon Him of what He is urges Him with swift steps onward to his perfecting, to the glory which He had with the Father before the world was. And the consciousness that in Him is the life of the world brings him face to face with the problem, How to impart his life to the world.

He had been among men face to face, soul to soul ; and He, the rejected and outlawed, whom only a little handful followed, must see that something beyond the closest earthly influence is needed to save the world. As He wandered along the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, or among the peaks of Lebanon, instructing and training his apostles, He saw that this lonely life with the twelve must last only till they are ready to face a terrible future. Wherever his face might turn, his soul was set to go up to Jerusalem. He keeps the thoughts of those lonely days of wandering fast locked in his own breast, until on that day in Cæsarea Philippi, the confession of Peter and the other apostles proves their readiness for the supreme trial. In answer to Jesus' solemn challenge, "Whom say ye that I am?" Peter answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." In defiance of the inexplicable disappointment of all their hopes of Him as Messiah, and of the refusal of the people to believe that such an one as Jesus is the Christ, they believe. Now they are ready for the fateful words. They have attained a tried faith which could waver, but never forsake them utterly. And Jesus said, "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be put to death and shall rise again."

From that hour He turned his face toward Calvary. What his divine life could not do, his divine death can accomplish. The corn of wheat, which, living, abides alone, dying, bears fruit abundantly. He had attracted so few : " But I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." The power of sin holds fast an enthralled world ; but, " I give my life a ransom for many." The world is perishing of spiritual hunger : " But the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world." The world lieth in death ; but, " I am the resurrection and the life ; whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." It is a guilty world, unreconciled to God : " But this is the blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins."

There arises in Jesus' heart the longing for his home. The remembrance of his eternal glory in the embrace of the eternal love, his Father, gleams upon his dark path ; and the prayer beats in his soul : " O Father, who hast loved me from the foundation of the world, glorify me, at thy side, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was ! " The cross is the pathway to his home. His perfecting is through sufferings, — perfecting of obedience in a holy sacrifice of utter sorrow ; perfecting of his love in a life given for the life of the world. In his sufferings is the attainment of his divine stature. In his sufferings is the exaltation to the right hand of the Father.

In his sufferings, also, is the perfecting of his redemptive power. Hereafter He shall live as the one all-subduing influence of salvation upon the world. The perfect love shall sit on the throne of universal empire as ruler, judge, Saviour. From henceforth men shall see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven. Human history shall be the on-working of his perfected Spirit, one with the Spirit of the Father ; shall culminate in the bowing of every knee before Him, in the confession of every tongue that He is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

From this height of his divine consciousness we watch Him passing up the heavenly heights, to the right hand of God the Father Almighty, leading a redeemed humanity, — through the agony and bloody sweat ; through the judgment halls, with their buffetings and scourgings and crown of thorns ; through the cross and passion ; the darkness, the unutterable agony and shame ; God's own love, doing God's own work, till it is finished, and the divine man and the divine work are perfected.

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THE FOUNTAINS OF AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

OUR day is familiar with two opposed tendencies of thought, — revolt from authority, and repose on authority. In the state the movement towards centralization is countered by the movement towards anarchism. *Vive l'empereur* was followed by *Vive la commune*, that is, national anarchism. In the sphere of the church the cry *Vive la commune* has been far steadier and sincerer than in the state, where its dangerous absurdity was plainer; that is to say, rationalism — religious anarchism — still enlists considerable intellectual favor. It is scarcely necessary to point out, on the other hand, a love of authority which has been illustrated by the Romeward movement in the English Church and the passionate defense in our own country of the Bible's verbal inspiration.

In both spheres a mediating activity has naturally arisen. In France, for instance, *Vive la République* seeks to silence both political extremes. In England, where the opposing camps of theological thought have been represented most strikingly by the figures of Francis and John Henry Newman, the eleven essayists of "*Lux Mundi*" have entered between, striving to vindicate the Incarnation as God's full Self-revelation to men, and the duty of adhesion to that historic organization of Christian life called the Church of England, by means of the axiom "a visible form necessary for the conveyance of every spiritual truth." Rich Christian faith, admirable soberness of temper, and matured learning mark the attempt of the "*Lux Mundi*" essayists. Their theory of the church, I remark in passing, appears from our side of the Atlantic a very armor of Saul for an organism that is called "national;" and certainly the religious body which should try to wear it over the ecclesiastical hills and dales of America would have a fainting journey. But this is not the question which interests us. America's theological strife is, and is to be, between a theory of self-illumination in the moral and spiritual life and a theory of the Bible's peremptory authority. Over against a representative rationalist (the proper name does not occur to me) stand the Rev. A. T. Pierson, D. D., and the Rev. R. A. Torrey. It goes without saying that a mediating party has been in existence for a long time; but it has been confined to two smaller sects, — the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians, and one geographical division, — New England. On the 20th of January, 1891, however,

this party received an important addition, a professor in a leading theological seminary of the Presbyterians. To be sure, the declared object of Dr. Briggs's inaugural address was much narrower. He was intent on a restatement of the authority of Holy Scripture. His mediating thesis was thrown out merely by the way. It was for this, however, that men were looking, whether they knew it or not; and, while the greater part of the inaugural has been gathering dust, one sentence has not been allowed the usual garment of oblivion. It is this: "There are historically three great fountains of divine authority, — the Bible, the Church, and the Reason." These, says Dr. Briggs, are avenues to God and divine certainty. By "divine certainty" I suppose him to mean consciousness of the living God and his approval, and the peace and strength that spring therefrom.

It is hardly fair to find fault with the Union professor for failing to say what did not lie in his plan of address to say. He was reading a lesson to Protestant Christians. In the interest of truth, he was trying to broaden our doctrine of the Scripture. It did not suit his purpose to lecture either the Roman Catholics or the Rationalists, and what he might have said to them in the way of caution seems to be unknowable. It is unfortunate, indeed, that his expressions of sympathy for the "honest doubter" merged so quickly in castigations of the ordinary church-member; but that is another matter. In considering the thesis which I have quoted, I am not to be understood as criticising him who nailed it to the door of Union Seminary. Had he taken occasion to amplify it and guard it, he might have anticipated, for all I know, what I shall say.

To make a list of God's avenues of approach to men is a useful work; but the spiritual life of our time is anxious, rather, for the potent spirit that shall induce it to return through the way of approach, disregarding its uncertainties, triumphing over its perplexities. The multiplication of authorities is not the vindication of authority. When the scribe ceases to speak with authority, it is not an answer to spiritual unrest to say, "Then find God in the creed of the neo-platonist. You cannot find God in the Bible? Then find Him in the church. If you cannot find Him there, then discover Him in the reason." This method — the method of all-inclusion — never satisfied any one, least of all the dissatisfied of our time. For it does not really produce sympathy for the authority of the Bible to say "the reason also may lead men to God;" nor ought any one to trust more readily the God revealed

to him by gleams of nature because the Bible — an unintelligibility to him — has brought another to God. In to-day's temptation of intellectual honest bewilderment, the way of escape is the same as in other ages and in the far greater temptations of a sinful heart, — Jesus, "the Truth and the Life."

I. Before the Bible will be accepted as a divine authority, the Redeemer must be needed and believed.

It hardly needs to be said that I refer to the spiritual life of those only who have been alienated from the Bible for one cause or another. Most Christians never consciously break with the Scriptures, and their religious life moves on with an even flow. My statement applies to them only ideally.

Christ's own first word was not "Believe the Scriptures," but "Repent." His disciples took up the same proclamation. Peter preached, "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, unto the remission of your sins." These words, indeed, were spoken to men who believed the Scriptures; but Paul's were not, when he declared on Mars Hill, "Now God commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent: inasmuch as he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." The truth which these several words illustrate is that the condition prior to belief is repentance. The soul must be sorry for sin, weary of self, distrustful of the power of earthly help to save. There must be a repetition, perhaps for a long time silent, of Augustine's words, "My soul is restless . . . till," — repetition and, indirectly, petition. For the restless is instinctively asking for rest. Man before his Maker, the I before the Thou, the real in contrast with the ideal, the sin-stained in the light of "everlasting power and divinity," is yearning for some movement out from that "Thou" by which a message of forgiveness and grace shall be brought. Except this message, "I am thy Father, and thou art my child," there is no word of peace conceivable. Therefore, the sinner conscious of sin will have a hearing ear, not for a sublime proclamation, but for a glad message. He will have an "open eye" (to use the phrase of another) for one who shall speak the word having authority to speak it, because "I and my Father are One." Thus to a man, as once to a nation, the Messianic hope enters in. He walks in the twilight before the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness. But as yet it is only the twilight, — an early morning of years' duration it may

be, — during which successive pleasures, affections, interesting responsibilities, strong deeds of the moral will, may often allure him with the phantasm of a self-cleansing and self-resurrection. Each time, when he thinks to find therein a lasting satisfaction, he arrives at what proves ultimately to be a sepulchre mutely saying, "All things human are heirs to failure; all things must pass." He discovers that no man by searching can find out eternal forgiveness and strength; and yet he longs for them more and more. He is unconsciously illustrating that, while indeed no man can find out God, he can make himself ready to be found of God. He may be Andrew, "musing in his heart whether this be the Christ or not." He may be Saul, musing on the Damascus road, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" He will be a sin-sick man of to-day, opening the biography which bears Matthew's name as author, or John's. It is not necessary that he accept these biographies as true in their historic details. It is only necessary that he meet them as he would any other book which honestly purports to be historical, — with readiness to believe rather than readiness to doubt. At first the miracles may be beyond belief. But the ear, quickened by the soul's need, has already caught some of Jesus' "gracious words." As a listener in the synagogue of Nazareth, he hears "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," — not unbelieving. His heart leaps up at "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The faint life of him kindles at the living authority of "I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." He begins to repeat, believing, "For God so loved the world," before he yet ventures to trust "For God so loved *me*." It is while faith is forming but still unformed, that the miracles, including the crowning miracle of the resurrection, take their place as an intelligible and welcome part of the life of Christ. If He is the world's Redeemer — as my lips are trembling to call Him — He would have been self-constrained, during his earthly sojourn, to redeem the body, — and that in ways typical of absolute redemption. If He is the world's King, scarcely could He have passed through the world without asserting his kingship over nature. The soul does not thus reason out a demand for miracles, however; but they, being a constituent part of the work of salvation, create the demand even while they are satisfying it. Neither is it altogether correct to conclude, as is sometimes concluded, "I believe in the miracles because I believe in Christ." A measure of truth exists in that declaration, but it seems to me that insensibly

budding faith is assisted by the miracles, and, because they had their proper place in the Incarnated Life, can scarcely come to maturity without them.

And now the matured image of Christ is before the spirit. The glad message is understood. A home is prepared for it. All that remains to be done is the appropriation of life by life, and the entrance into living communion with God by Christ. And this happens in the great moment called conversion; or it may happen gradually in the course of Christian nurture. In either case the soul's attitude toward the Bible changes. Previously the Scriptures had been in no proper sense an authority. They spoke of incredible things, — God guiding men, revealing himself to them, forgiving them, saving them; of incredible conditions, — humility, faith. Now these things are credible and real. The Bible had been merely the chance literary gallery in which hung the portrait of a unique life, to which one felt drawn irresistibly, not however caring for the surrounding pictures; but now they also have value as illustrating in various ways the significance of that unique life, — illustrations of the presaging hopes it inspired before its incarnation, of the testimony that has been borne to it since, of the kind of witness that must ever be borne. The Bible becomes true authority (from *augere*, to grow). That is to say, then, it becomes a growth-giver; because a new sympathy with its point of view is put at its service. In the event of a sudden conversion, this change of attitude toward the Bible is more impressive, of course. For example, Mr. Moody's declaration: "I remember one night when this book (the Bible) was the driest and darkest book in the universe to me. The next day it became entirely different. I had been born of the Spirit; but before I knew anything of the mind of God I had to give up my sin." He was, like Candace's treasurer, an alien from the living lessons of the history; and so he continued to be until he could say, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," — after which he "went on his way rejoicing." He was like one who wanders into an exhibition of Turner's paintings, and happens in his ignorance not to view any picture from the right distance. What a confusion of paint is each picture till he steps backward in front of one canvas, when straightway something of the master-mind is revealed to him, and each canvas becomes a teacher. In our day many a man has been tempted to fling the Old Testament far from him, because of the wave of unbelief that overwhelms him whenever he reaches the account of a miracle. At last he is led,

by gentle compulsion, into Christ's salvation ; and then a God who may see fit, in his saving purposes, to manifest himself in other manner than through so-called natural law, becomes intelligible to him ; in a moment the epoch of miracle becomes most credible, or at the least no longer an offense. Ordinarily, however, the authority of David and Isaiah, Peter and Paul, is accepted only by degrees. As fast as the light of Christ rises, it begins to shine through the testimony of these men, and to make it the rule of faith and practice. A child of Christian nurture never knows the time when he *began* to trust the Bible, and find stimulation in it. The reason is, that he has never been completely out of sympathy with its point of view, from which is seen man as a sinner ; God as a judge of sin ; his providential care, varying in its nature according to his over-ruling purpose for man or nation ; man's need of a Saviour ; God able and willing to be that Saviour. The Spirit of Christ has been beforehand with him, and when the Bible is put into his hand, he recognizes its spiritual origin, and hardly needs to ask, "Who gave thee this authority?"

I know not where to find a better dogmatic statement of the commonplace truths I have been re-presenting than in Robert Barclay's "Apology" (1675), often called the "Confession of the Society of Friends."

"The Scriptures of truth contain . . . a full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times and upon sundry occasions spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors : nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty ; for, as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth."

To this Confession I subscribe ; asking Robert Barclay's permission to add : —

"Far be it from man, however, to say that his own portion of inward light is sufficient to his necessities. The rather, if he is humble, wise, and truly indwelt by the Spirit, he will not criminally disinherit himself from that 'testimony to the first foundation,' given to the Hebrews for

the world's instruction, but will put himself to school to them. He will not presumptuously ask that God's self-revelation be repeated on his individual behalf."

No; the individual Christian will not presume to be a law to himself, but will submit himself to the Bible as containing the authoritative rule of his faith and practice.

In the last few paragraphs, I have made use of a phrase which needs illumination; for "Rule of Faith" is becoming of late an unnecessary pitfall. It was invented to denote the saving truths which the normal Christian faith held, and which faith will always hold when it is genuine. It signified not so much what a Christian must believe and obey, as what he will naturally profess and teach. It was first applied to what is substantially the Apostles' Creed as far as the words "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." As councils met, however, and the Roman Catholic doctrine developed, the *Regula fidei* lengthened, — infallible, breathing anathema article by article. At length the Reformation flung back its emancipatory defiance: "The *only* infallible *Regula fidei* is Holy Scripture." The phrase should not be read as meaning that the Scripture is primarily a self-imposing law. A *rule*, says Kant, is the representation of a general condition according to which something manifold can be arranged, — can be, not must be. As correct reasoning will ultimately confirm the proposition of Euclid, statement of which has preceded proof, so full Christian experience will conform unquestionably to the representation of religious experience made in the Bible. This must be said, however: that just as the ordinary student of geometry is helped and guided by the proposition already laid down, so every Christian, without exception, leans on the Bible, is dependent on it, this side of heaven, for guidance into truth. The standard of experience is also the spring of experience. Led astray in the borderland of human and divine meeting together, where self-delusion is easy, the Christian is continually called back to truth and harmonious spiritual life by their perfect representation in the Scriptures. At different times, religious thought has dwelt over-much on the sovereignty of God, or the free will of man, or human depravity, or, as it is now doing perhaps, on man's comfortable goodness after all. Always, the full orb of truth, reflected in the Bible, asserts its authority, will not let the darkened area of spiritual consciousness lie unconforming. The Scriptural record reflects the religious experience of nine centuries at the very least; nine centuries of law and grace and truth and sin and struggle, de-

feat and victory. It is the story of how God lifted a people from idolatry into love of the One God and Father, — a fatherhood ever the same, an idolatry varying in form with different ages and individuals, but still one in spirit. Thus the Hebrew education was, in essence, the universal education ; and the rule of faith and practice which was getting itself put into words from Abraham to Paul and John, is infallible so long as men must utter celestial truths in terrestrial tongues. Its object was always a divine manhood for every son of man. The soul of it was ever an actual divine Man ; for whose appearing Job wailed, "Oh, that I knew where to find him, that I might come even to his seat ;" in whose name John declared the glad tidings, "I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore, and hold the keys of death and of Hades." With that ideal for themselves before their eyes, and this hope, heart-held, of God's closest interest in humanity, Moses, Samuel, David, Elijah, Nehemiah, Isaiah, watched and prayed and labored. Ever and anon, they came down from their mount of toil and vision, and the light of God was upon their faces, — "broken lights" of Him. Not all parts of the Bible are equally full of light, however ; and certain parts may help one, and by no possibility another. The Song of Solomon, for example, is suggestive to an Oriental and allegorizing mind, while profitless to the larger number of Western men and women. "All Scripture is profitable," — but not profitable all to all. It is its majestic centuries' sweep of living light that is telling : "In the beginning God ; God lives for men and in them and by them ; man is a sinner and weak ; and yet he may live by God and in God and for God." The Bible is not a set of rules, but The Rule.

Moreover, it belongs to morality to trust into fields as yet untried, what has proved trustworthy in the past. One who has looked upon the sun-radiant beauty of Monte Rosa, will not say, "I will not believe that Mont Blanc can be sun-radiant except I see it ;" for his admiration is of a stuff to believe, "The glorifier of Zermatt cannot fail when it touches the peaks that guard Chamounix." The truly humble mind, which has felt the charm of ten "Turners," will put confidence in the ten "Turners" whose authority it does not yet feel. These illustrations may shed light upon the right to use the Bible as an "arsenal of proof-texts," — a right often denied in these days. The objector to a proof-text is certainly correct in saying that by itself it carries no weight. For example, the Bible is no such opaque and self-sufficient authority

that the verse, "Casting all your care upon him ; for he careth for you " in itself proves the reality of divine care. But one who has already leaned upon the Bible and found it firm, will not refuse in the day of his anxiety to believe its further words till he has tested them. Not his so untrusting a trust, so stunted a faith. It is his duty and his privilege to say, "God has bidden me, through 1 Peter v. 7, cast all my care on him, and I will rest upon that word." It is the right of the church to proclaim the same faith abroad. Of course it does not expect faith in its proof-text from a complete unbeliever in the reality of divine inspiration, just as it does not expect faith in miracles from one who has lost belief in God's saving activity. The church has an abiding confidence, however, that no man is a complete unbeliever, but that slumbering in him lies a Christ-brotherhood, a yearning for Christian faith and practice, and an instinctive response to the God-given demand of obedience and the God-given proclamation of redemption on the lips of Hebrew prophet, psalmist, and apostle.

II. Before the church will be accepted as divine authority, the Redeemer must be needed and believed.

Here again we speak of the logical, rather than the actual, order of religious growth ; for, as a matter of nineteenth century fact, the authority of the church is exerted earlier than any other. A mother's lap is the royal seat of religious education. Seated there, we are awakened to "a whole set of presuppositions about God, about the slavery of sin, about the reasonableness of redemption." Christ has his necessary forerunner with every soul, — his John the Baptist. He foreruns, however, what is already looked for. He awakens what is infolded in every spirit born, — a sense of guilt and a need of salvation. The true order of authority is made plain whenever one casts off, for any reason, the sway of the church. He will not own it again until it has become treachery for him to stay away from that body of which Christ has said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." It has been said of Newman that he found God through the church. That is true, of course, of him and thousands more ; but a far greater truth is this, that he found the church through God in Christ. In the words of Thomas Aquinas, "To believe *in* the church is only possible if we mean by it to believe in the Spirit vivifying the church." (Quoted in "*Lux Mundi*," p. 382, in a different connection.) Only as being himself humbly conscious of the Holy Spirit's indwelling, could one

have faith that this imperfect human church of ours has somehow the treasure of everlasting life within its earthiness. Only the Spirit of Christ induces the vulgar, sensitive, selfish man that every one of us is, to join hands with his brother in that union whose very essence is confession of personal sins and the effort to help on one another. When the Christian body, in its own name, demands allegiance to its regular observances, — church attendance, keeping of Sunday, etc., — it carries the day only where it is aided by a hereditary moral stiffening in the individual. Regular worshipfulness does not belong to man's nature. (For that matter, does *regular* anything belong to it?) It is not a natural impulse to confess sin together, to pray and to praise together, to listen to instruction, and together to remember the Lord's death till He come. These are supernatural impulses. The watchword of "duty," noble though it be, is not their perennial fountain. They rise from, as they flow towards, one ocean of gratitude and sincerity and brotherly kindness, — faith in Him who loved us and gave himself for us.

Only the Christian will be able to tolerate the shortcomings of the church, and at the same time to put himself under its influence. In these days we need to remind ourselves also that the Christian will not only be able to do these things, but that *he will do them*. For no optional authority is the body of Christ to the Christian. A soldier of Christ outside the visible army of Christ is an anomaly. A church of one, himself priest and sole communicant, is something hostile to every page of the New Testament. One scarcely knows how to read with patience these words in a theological book which has of late made some noise: "I am even disposed to think that a great and steadily increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside the church, separated from it, not by godlessness, but rather by exceptionally moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the church, in order to be Christians." This is nothing else than sentimentalism, and suggests that the "Broad Church" party, in its anxiety to clear away internal bigotry, is putting itself in the false position of approving external dilettanteism. The persons on whom such overblown sympathy is expended would have rejected the company of the apostles because they held materialistic views of the kingdom of the Messiah. They are protestants without being reformers. Luther and his men were reformers far more than they were protestants. In this distinction there is surely a profound difference. A protestant — that is, a protester, one who protests so

much against error that he becomes an absentee from the common grounds of truth — is in peril of being a “dry tree.” A genuine Christianity draws men together. It bids them overlook errors of understanding. It prompts them to bear with each other’s faults, for “God loves us not as we are, but as we are becoming.” It impels them to learn one with another, to learn one from another (clarifying individual eccentricity in the stream of common Christian experience), to pray with and for the brotherhood, to proclaim the gospel together. These spiritual impulses are marks of the Spirit of Christ. Always with instinctive sympathy for its visible response, — the church, — the Christian heeds Christ’s prayer: “Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one; that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me.”

III. Before the reason will be accepted as divine authority, the Redeemer must be needed and believed.

I use Dr. Briggs’s term, although it is an unhappy one. It is unfortunate that, when he stepped forth from the ranks of the Presbyterian Israel to do missionary battle with the rationalist Philistines, he seemed, at first glance, to be championing the Philistine idol. “The Bible, the Church, and — the Reason,” — he was supposed by a large part of the ecclesiastical public to mean the “unaided reason.” But he did not mean that. Reason, in the language of the Union professor, means something neither wholly objective to man nor wholly subjective within him, but the two given and received in marriage. He agrees with the little girl who said: “Mamma, conscience is God whispering in our hearts.” He comprehends under the general name of Reason God’s approach to man in the form of a duty, of a beautiful landscape, of an unexpected deliverance, and the human spirit’s response in conscience, or reverence, or thankfulness. There is much philosophical usage to justify this. Nevertheless, in the analysis of religion it is important to distinguish the human reason, free and yet dependent, from the eternal Reason of God, respecting its freedom, and yet ever supplying it with truth. True, the theology of our present Israel is largely deistic, and this

is the more repulsive to a Philistia whose theology is pantheistic. But this makes the task of a present-day David only the more delicate. It makes a double demand upon the Christian theologian for caution and the achievement of clearness. A theistic philosophy will hold fast to the immanence of God lest it become deistic; but it will ever emphasize the transcendence and priority of God, lest it become pantheistic. It will insist that our moral reasoning is not infallibly right reasoning, except by references, more or less conscious, to a standard outside ourselves. Dr. Briggs started with the ordinary assumption of Christian theology that a man may not be his own authority in religion. The Bible is an authority, in the providence of God, extra-individual. So is the church. So ought the third authority to have been presented. For the sake of logical uniformity, the objective, rather than the subjective, side of the reason should have been put forward. Natural experience or Impersonal experience would have been better terms; for, although neither is exact nor satisfactory, they express, better than reason, the objective side of the authority. They express also its apparent impersonality, which is discovered by the believing heart to be only apparent, while really both supernatural, providential, and personal.

Now, then, is what I have affirmed credible by common-sense: that ordinary moral experience — the voice of duty, and so on — cannot be authoritative until the Redeemer is needed? Is not this reversing the facts of experience?

It is, indeed, reversing the ordinary experience; which rarely doubts its own validity, and passes, uncritical and fearless, its appointed time. Not extraordinary experiences, however, are self-criticism and world-criticism. Not solitary decisions of such criticism are doubts all along the line: "What is truth?" We know things not as they are, but as they seem. Conscience is but the deceiving sun-play on the waters of a will which obeys only the law of the strongest impulse. The goodness of God is proved only by a one-sided selection of phenomena. While a religious temperament will respond believably to "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," an opposite temperament will translate the very same words into "All things come alike to all: there is one end to the righteous and to the sinner; to the clean and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth and to him that sacrificeth not."

“Are God and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.”

No need to more than hint at those familiar courses of psychological thought which end in agnosticism, — lately given a name, but as old evidently as Ecclesiastes. It is true that the writer of Ecclesiastes fought down his agnosticism and found the conclusion of the whole matter in “Fear God and keep his commandments;” but his conclusion was not the end of the matter, and the nation to which he preached decayed into “unbelieving Sadducee and less believing Pharisee.” The agnosticism of our own day, though it has denied God’s revelation of himself in history, and pronounced man just short of an automaton, has — like a modern Robespierre — enthroned Individual Conscience as its *Être Suprême*. Oh, strange proceeding! inextinguishable sense of God, in the heart of man! Only he will be ever cutting and shaping the Everlasting to coincide with his own moral pattern and fashion; which, beside being a kind of idolatry, results in the *not-going* of the mangled faith in Deity. For God punishes self-sufficiency in the moral reason with reasoning that must end in doubt, just as He punishes self-sufficiency in the heart with pride that must end in a fall. He has dealt with men as a Race; and he who trusts only God’s testimony to his own ear, does so at his peril and loss.

The effort to find God through individual experience cannot succeed. Whenever man has carefully isolated himself from faith in the Christ that was to be, or the Christ that has been, and has tried to come to religious certainty in view of what was left to him, he has not done it. He has reached an unstable equilibrium between theism and atheism, with an inclination to theism. Now, Christian faith is that which, thrown into the scale, impels hope on to certainty, and changes instability to rest. Jesus of Nazareth is what He said He was, — “the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” The philosophy of theism rests its case in rebuttal of skepticism upon the moral nature of man; and that in turn is strong enough to be sure of itself only when its strength is derived from the “more abundant” life of Jesus. My Christian reader will agree with me that this is so. He will agree that many believers in God to-day fail to credit their creed to its true source in Jesus Christ. But we cannot prove this for them, — who can untwist

the skeins of the sunlight? For example, a late correspondent of one of our religious newspapers, who misnamed himself an agnostic (he meant simply agnostic regarding the Deity of Christ), wrote as follows : —

“ I believe in the universe.

“ I believe that it is wisely planned, rightly ordered, and purposeful in progress.

“ I believe in humanity, its noblest product.

“ I believe that conduct, not dogma, is the essential of life.

“ I believe that there is an eternal law of righteousness, not made by ourselves, which determines conduct.

“ I believe that a faithful love of the best self, and of our fellows, is the centre of that law.

“ I believe that man is a spirit, but with a paramount physical basis.

“ I believe that there is a source of these beliefs. I call that source God, and I worship him.”

It is impossible not to believe that the way to these beliefs was found through Christ, though it is equally impossible to prove it. To instance Dr. Martineau as another who has colored all his spiritual experiences with the light that pours from Christ, and then failed to see his indebtedness, would be a grievous mistake, though such language as the following true and beautiful words furnishes some ground for misunderstanding possibly : —

“ While conscience remained an impersonal law, stern and silent, with only a jealous Nemesis behind, man had to stand up alone, and work out for himself his independent magnanimity ; and he could only be the pagan hero. When conscience was found to be inseparably blended with the Holy Spirit, and to speak in tones immediately divine, it became the very shrine of worship, — its strife, its repentance, its aspirations, passed into the incidents of a living drama, with its crises of alienation and reconciliation ; and the cold obedience to a mysterious necessity was exchanged for the allegiance of personal affection. And this is the true emergence from the darkness of ethical law to the tender light of the life divine. The veil falls from the shadowed face of moral authority, and the directing love of the all-holy God shines forth.”

The spirit of Him who called himself the Son of Man ran from the beginning as a golden thread through these words, gave them a binding force for their writer, and do so for their reader. The spiritual impulse, the faith of personal affection, the sense of a living Holy Spirit, which made them possible, came from Him. And as in his light was seen light during the quiet musings of a refined religious temperament ; so much more surely, in life's un-

quiet hours is the same thing true. When a man's wife or child is snatched from him, and faith in God is dying, who but Christ is its resurrection and its life? When the hard will of sin will not break, only Christ is its conqueror. He again it is who stills the storm, when a lad launched from his gentle Christian home is caught by the gusts of modern skepticism. Through the Redeemer, then, a man is established in a new consciousness of God, and a new consciousness of himself. Hereby he knows that he has passed from uncertainty to living truth, because he has been made free. However strong henceforth the suggestions of doubt may be, they do not reach with fatally bruising grasp to the roots of his belief; for — "I know whom I have believed." Not only a new view of the Bible, but a new view of the world is his also. Did "Nature, red in tooth and claw with ravine, shriek against his creed"? Now he has confidence that the Spirit behind all its perplexities is Love; and much of experience, that formerly spoke not at all, is eloquent of God.

It might appear that one trusts his reason in accepting Christianity at the first. How, then, are we to escape from the circle according to which Christ's authority makes reliable that reason which has trusted itself already in trusting Christ? The answer is, that faith in Christ is not, in its initiation, an act of the reason at all. Initially, it is a new creation. It is the generation of spiritual life by the inexhaustible Spirit of God. This does not mean that there is not a former creation, which is of God just as much. Thereby the human soul is sensible of mathematical, logical, and moral truths; forms judgments, knows God. These abilities are the limbs and organs of the man that is to be "new" in Christ Jesus; but at present they do not cohere, nor work together, nor are they able to achieve what they appear designed for. The evidence of those facts is a moral self-distrust which we call sin, and less often an intellectual self-distrust which we call doubt or agnosticism. As soon as unbelief becomes aware of itself in either of these realms, the sentence of death upon the old creation is discovered. The former reason has gone as far as God gave it capacity to go, and is exhausted, and can do no more than wait for the coming of "the second man, Adam," who "is a life-giving Spirit." He comes. He recreates faith, hope, and love. He reassures us that their instinctive objects are true and substantial. He reauthorizes the reason. Often and often the new activity begins without a break having been felt; but no matter how early it begins, it is the activity of a new, not the old,

humanity. The first steps taken are the steps of a new reason ; for it is true intellectually, as well as morally, that "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO MODERN RELIGIOUS LIFE.¹

DURING the last twenty years the Episcopal Church in the United States has received more accessions from other Christian bodies than in all the rest of her existence. No doubt the same may be said to some extent of every other church. The general movement of religious belief, call it upheaval or call it quickening, which has characterized the last half century, has resulted in ecclesiastical transfers of all kinds. But it is believed by members of the Episcopal Church that their gains of this sort have been not only greater than their losses, but greater in proportion than those of other churches. Whether this is the case or not, it is certainly true that this church has recently been making great strides in New England, that part of the United States which, until within the last twenty-five years, was, through its historic traditions, more bitterly opposed to the Episcopal Church than any other part of the country. The wave of Episcopacy has succeeded to the wave of Unitarianism. Small country towns, which half a century ago had a Unitarian Church as the church of the fashionable, while the "Orthodox" Church raised the wooden steeple of its small meeting-house, and proudly and bitterly exclaimed, "I, even I only, am left, and they seek my life to take it away;" towns which knew hardly more of Episcopacy than that it had "forms" in its worship, and that its piety was suspected of being lacking in "experience;" many of these towns have now a stone Episcopal church, which is growing at the expense of its ecclesiastical neighbors, and yet is regarded with kindly feelings by them.

But a still more noteworthy fact is the change in the other churches in the direction of Episcopacy. New England Congregationalism is to-day feeling so strongly the influence of the prin-

¹ This is the first of a series of articles from representatives of different religious communions.

ciples for which the Episcopal Church stands, that many of the Congregational churches are openly adopting one and another feature of organization, ritual, and belief, which were always supposed to be the peculiar property of the Episcopal Church. And this marks a very great change. New England Puritanism had the conviction that being in the kingdom of heaven was synonymous with hating its ecclesiastical mother; and the consequence was that in New England the Episcopal Church was more cordially disliked than any of the Protestant religious bodies. Indeed, there was a certain contempt felt for its members which was not felt in case of the arch-enemy, the Church of Rome; for Episcopalians were presumably papists at heart, and yet had not the courage to come out and show their colors. Now, however, the two results mentioned are taking place: the Congregational Church is feeling the Episcopal Church to be its closest spiritual neighbor, and is becoming permeated by its tone and ritual. And while this is preëminently true of New England, what has taken place there is going on in less degree in other parts of the country also. The East is the intellectual barometer, the first to feel the approaches of change.

There is much in the conditions of the time to account for this change. The breaking down of localism which followed the war has contributed to it. Before the war, certain types of religion prevailed in certain localities because they had always prevailed there. With the growth of a larger national life, the different types of religion were brought face to face, and compelled to see one another's excellences and defects, not as they had been traditionally reported, but as in fact they were. Together with this rise in national feeling came a decline in individualism. The meaning of federation was just being realized: that the individual was no solitary unit, but was a part of a larger whole. And this gave birth to the perception of organic relations between the whole and its parts. The political doctrine of Protection, it has been felt, must be defended, if at all, on account of its benefits not to one State, but to the country; some have even said, to the world. There has been in the business community an unparalleled increase in the number of trades' unions, trusts, and syndicates of all kinds. Musical interest has centred about Wagner, a composer whose aim has been to show all sides of life as having each its contribution to make to a manifold organic harmony. The most popular poet has been Browning, a poet who has been engaged almost wholly with the subtle elements of human life, and the inevitable min-

gling in it of defect and excellence. The increase of wealth in this country has brought leisure to consider the complexities of society, the specialization of its occupations, its class distinctions, the refinement of its manners, the logical developments of its thought, all those departments which were inevitably slighted when the energies of every one were absorbed in merely making a living. There has never been a time in the history of the world when the kinship of all men was so fully recognized as it has been in the century just closing, — that century with the French Revolution at its beginning and "Looking Backward" at its end. The word "solidarity," whose meaning in the early part of the century was hardly known, has now become the unconscious premise of popular feeling and legislation. And although we may still selfishly refuse to meet our brothers' needs, we have come to recognize that any one having needs is our brother.

All these facts point to the increased interest our age is taking in the organic relations of life. That is a phrase now used so frequently, and perhaps so loosely, that it may be well to stop and say what we mean by it. There are two views held in regard to the relation of one man to another. One is that each man is a unit, essentially complete in himself, having only such relations to others as he may choose. He is touched by them on the outside, as it were, as a pebble in a basket is touched by the surrounding pebbles. He may go out of himself, if he please, and admit others, or he may exclude them and remain apart, and still be complete in himself. It is this theory that gives rise to *laissez faire* doctrines in trade, and to that view of the State which regards the highest function of government as consisting in preventing interference and giving every individual the use of himself untrammelled. The other view is that all the main relations of life are not chosen but imposed; that each man, whether he knows it or not, or likes it or not, is involved with all others; that the influences which affect him, both harmful and beneficial, come largely through inheritance and environment, through established institutions, through the thought and emotion of the world at large; that he is thus part of a mighty whole, and can find his happiness not in seeking a private completion as an individual, but only in the development of the whole to which he belongs.

Now every branch of the church universal stands preëminently for some particular aspect of truth. And it is the latter of the views just mentioned, that the relation of man to the universe is an organic one, for which, on its religious side, the Episcopal

Church, preëminently among Protestant churches, stands. Rating the chief Protestant bodies with reference to this principle, we may say that at the opposite end of the scale is the Baptist. This church stands for complete individualism. Each person must himself determine his relation to God. Unconscious relations are of no moral value; and children therefore cannot be members of the church until they of themselves enter into conscious connection with it. Next to this comes what may be called middle Congregationalism, meaning by that the Congregationalism which prevailed in New England for a century and a quarter from the Great Awakening in 1735. During this period New England Congregationalism is almost wholly individualistic, differing in this respect both from that of the last quarter-century and from that of the seventeenth century. The Cambridge Platform, whose Confession of Faith was adopted in 1680, recognized children as having the same spiritual status as their parents.¹ But this recognition of the organic relation of the individual to the kingdom of heaven was superseded after the Great Awakening by the demand for a conscious change as a test of regeneration. Methodism and Presbyterianism have in their fuller church organization a somewhat greater acknowledgment of the organic connection of men with the kingdom of God. But they have failed to be catholic because they have not seen man to be the child of God by virtue of his humanity. They consequently have not recognized the church as coextensive with the race, but have regarded it as composed of a few selected through their own choice or by divine election. Methodism, through its hierarchy of class-leaders, ministers, presiding elders, and bishops, has welded itself into a closely knit organization; but the organic relations it recognizes are those of partisans to their party rather than of spiritual parts to a universal whole. Presbyterianism has seen very clearly the vital connection of man with man on the side of evil. In holding to the depravity of all men through the sin of Adam, it has preserved some idea of the corporate unity of the race. But it has failed to work this out on the side of righteousness; and those who are saved are therefore, on its theory,

¹ "The whole body of men throughout the world, professing the faith of the gospel and obedience unto God by Christ according unto it, not destroying their own profession by any errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation, they and their children with them are and may be called the visible catholic Church of Christ." — *Camb. Plat., Conf. of Faith*, chap. xxvi. 11.

being pulled out of organic relations rather than drawn into them.

Now the Episcopal Church stands preëminently for the recognition of the organic relationship of men to the kingdom of God. It is this thought which is at the basis of that church's views of theology, history, and worship, and which gives rise, in these departments, to her main characteristics. These characteristics are three: her view of the method of entering the kingdom of heaven, her view of religion as necessarily historic, and her liturgical service. Almost all the modifications which have taken place in other Protestant bodies in the last quarter-century — and this has been the time when they have been most profoundly modified — have been in the direction of the organic idea, and therefore in the direction of one or all of these characteristics of the Episcopal Church. Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, the Baptist polity, Quakerism, all had their origin at a time when the world was still aglow with its discovery of the dignity and worth of the individual, and they are all based more or less on individualism. But in the course of a couple of centuries weaknesses have appeared in them, which are being discovered to arise from their neglect of that other focus of the orbit in which human life revolves, the principle of organism. This becomes plain if we take each of these characteristic positions of the Episcopal Church, and see how in every case the modifications of the other churches have been in its direction.

The Episcopal Church has always refused to identify entrance into the kingdom of heaven with consciousness of entrance. The latter she regards as but one element of the former; an important element, indeed, an element necessary to a mature and powerful Christian life, but by no means essential to a spiritual life that is real and efficacious. In answer to John Wesley's affirmation, that a man cannot have the Spirit of God in him without knowing it, she takes a little child and sets him in the midst; and she bids take notice that Christ said not, "Except your children be converted and become as you," but "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." To Presbyterianism's solemn enunciation of the organic relationship of mankind on the side of evil — "In Adam all die" — the Episcopal Church joyfully adds the reminder, "Even so in Christ shall all be made alive." And the emphasis which she lays on this "so," pointing to a connection in the nature of things, she puts also into the two rites, baptism and confirmation,

with which she symbolizes entrance into the kingdom of God. Baptism, she holds, is to be administered to every child by virtue of its humanity. For there is in that very fact a kinship to God, which makes it not merely capable at some future time of eternal life, but in some degree an actual possessor of life eternal. What is needed to develop this into eternal life in its completeness is education and choice. And so she requires sponsors at baptism, to undertake that the child shall learn all things "which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health," and shall be "virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life." But what is it which circumstance always needs before it can become fully incorporated into character? It is choice. Or, to put it in different form, What is it which the unconscious choice, begotten by inheritance and education, needs before it can become that determined purpose necessary for manly and complete Christian character? It is consciousness. And so the Episcopal Church asks each of her baptized members when he comes to years of discretion, whether he himself deliberately ratifies by his own choice what was promised for him by his sponsors in baptism. If he does, he then becomes a confirmed Christian, since to the organic processes which bind him to the kingdom of heaven he has added his conscious acceptance of that kingdom. And herein, in recognizing the element of mature choice, the Episcopal Church differs from the Church of Rome; for in the Romish Church, though confirmation exists, it is administered at so early an age as to preclude the exercise of mature intelligence. And, on the other hand, the Episcopal Church differs from other Protestant bodies in recognizing the organic element, in holding education to be as truly an entrance into the kingdom of God as conversion, and, indeed, the only normal entrance.

During the last few years an impetus has been given to theology thought and spiritual life by an increased appreciation of the doctrine of the divine immanence. Modern philosophy has been gradually rising to its culmination in the substitution of a complex and qualitative Infinite, necessarily implying and implied in the finite, for the former simple Infinite, conceived as quantitative, and therefore the opposite of the finite. But this qualitative Infinite, with its necessary corollary of the immanence of God in every portion of the universe, involves also the conclusion that the relation of man to the universe is organic; he cannot understand himself completely without reference to men in general and to God; and, on the other hand, in the divine nature was an eternal

need of self-expression, resulting in that revelation which begins with the lowest inanimate atom and culminates in the Son of God. Now it is this thought of the organic relation of the finite and Infinite which underlies the view held by the Episcopal Church of entrance into the kingdom of heaven. If man's relation to God is an organic one, his choice will be but one element in the establishment of that relation; an element essential, indeed, to maturity and power, but now seen to be supplementary to birth and education. The ideas of the immanence of God and the solidarity of man, and the practices of infant baptism and confirmation, are all harmonious with an institution which recognizes the world at large as in some true sense already God's, and does not confine this kinship to a select body taken out of the world.

There can be little doubt that in the last quarter-century Baptists and Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, have been unconsciously modifying their doctrine of conversion. Granting that some in each of these denominations still hold that conversion must necessarily be instantaneous and conscious, and that there can be no salvation without such conversion, yet there are now many who recognize entrance into the kingdom of heaven as gradual and unconscious; who regard the individual's "I will" as the filing of his claim, not his beginning of residence. It is a proof of change that many among the older persons in these denominations lament the absence at the present time of what they regard as genuine conversions, and think that religion is falling into decay because the established sequence of emotions, which was formerly considered indispensable, — anxiety, grief, despair, sudden joy, peace, — is now not so common. Various expedients are resorted to, to explain this phenomenon. A man whose piety is indubitable, but who can recall no "experience," is supposed to have been converted in childhood. Horace Bushnell's "Christian Nurture" did much to call attention to the organic connection of the child with its Heavenly Father through its earthly parents; and — partly in consequence of this book — the "children of the church" are not now required nor expected to pass through the same experiences as are looked for from those who have not had Christian training. There are probably few who would follow unflinchingly the logic of seventy years ago, and maintain that the child of pious parents, brought up with a Christian education, upright of life and of lofty aims, was lost unless he should experience what is called "a change of heart."¹ The modern Presby-

¹ "I believe the Holy Spirit is striving with him [another son, William], and

terian is coming back to the position of that Presbyterian saint, Richard Baxter. This pious man was greatly troubled concerning himself at one time, because he could recollect no point at which a gracious change took place in him. But he discovered at length, he says, "that education is as properly a means of grace as preaching."

This view of a connection in the nature of the case between man and God justifies and necessitates the emphasis which the Episcopal Church lays on the historic sides of ecclesiasticism and religion. It is not so much that the present is bound by the past as bound to it; not so much fulfilling a duty imposed by it, as that without the past the present is unintelligible to itself and incomplete. Its development must take place along the lines of former development, because, the church believes, these were, abstractly considered, the right ones. Truth is not settled by majorities, it is not invented. It is an absolute reality to be discovered; and having been once discovered or revealed, its existence conditions the future. And if this is the case with the facts of doctrine, it is also the case with the facts of outward organization. There are certain general principles in regard to church organization which have been certified as true, whether by the manner of their origin or by their efficiency, and no ecclesiastical organization can be in a state of health which does not embody them. Among these are the impossibility of independent existence for any congregation, and its essential connection with others of its time and of all times; the recognition of infants as members of the church equally with adults; the specialization of the different departments of ministerial work, each requiring specialists for its maintenance; the necessity that any one, in order to become a minister of any grade, should be examined and should receive outward authorization from persons appointed for that purpose,

that he has some conviction of sin; but he fears, as I do, that it may pass off without a saving change, which may God avert by the merciful interposition of His saving grace. One child out of danger would give me joy to which I am yet a stranger, and relieve the sickness of heart occasioned by hope deferred. . . . My dear son, is not the present your time? I cannot endure the thought that amid such excitements to seriousness, you should continue unawakened and unconverted to God. Should the revival prevail in college, your obligations to piety and the aggravations of unbelief would be greatly enhanced. My heart is pained, is terrified, at the thought that *you* should be left. . . . Most earnestly do I pray that I may never have the trial of weeping over you, on a dying bed, without hope." — *Correspondence of Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., Letters to his son Edward, June 22, August 25, 1820.*

and that no one should minister without such authorization; the congregation's active participation in worship, together with that of the minister in his institutional and also in his private capacity. These are all developments of the thought that man's relations are inherent and organic, whether those relations are to other men, to the kingdom of heaven, to the church, or to public worship. Spiritual life is not self-evolved, but is always communicated from one to another by the touch of a living personality. And as a symbol of this conception of the church as a receptive and creative organism, in order to typify the reception and transmission of her inward and outward life, the Episcopal Church uses in confirmation the rite of the laying-on of hands; or, as she calls it when multiplied by the historic factor, the Apostolical Succession.

Compare this with the ecclesiastical bases of the other Protestant bodies. Take, for example, the polity of Congregationalism, and see how all its changes from its position of two centuries ago have been in the organic direction. In the early Congregational churches in New England a minister was regarded as such only while in official relations with the congregation to which he belonged. Apart from them his ministerial character ceased, so that the minister of one parish or town could not rightly perform official functions in any other.¹ But to-day a Congregational minister of Boston, in regular standing, is recognized no less truly as a minister in San Francisco; and this is because the former unit of Congregationalism, the local church, has been found to be too narrow, and the real unit to be coextensive with Congregationalism throughout the world. Again, in the seventeenth century, the independence of the local church was carefully guarded against the encroachments of councils, the decisions of a council being simply advice, which each church was free to accept or reject, and no penalty could follow the rejection.² But

¹ "Church officers are officers to one church, even that particular church over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers. . . . He that is clearly loosed from his office-relations unto that church whereof he was a minister, cannot be looked at as an officer nor perform any act of office in any other church, unless he be again orderly called unto office; which, when it shall be, we know nothing to hinder but imposition of hands also in his ordination ought to be used towards him again." — *Cambridge Platform*, chap. ix. 6, 7.

² "Councils are to give light, not by imperious binding of the church to rest in their dictates, but by propounding their grounds from the Scriptures. The sentence of a council is of itself only advice, not of itself authority nor necessity." — Richard Mather, *Ch. Gov.*, 62, 66.

to-day every Congregational church, in order not to hold an independent position but to be included in the statistical reports of the denomination, must belong to some association. The County Association finds its larger unit in the State Association. The State Associations in turn federate in a National Council, whose decisions in doctrine and discipline are enforced by public opinion, if not by provisions of ecclesiastical law. The International Council, recently held in London, has completed the logical expression of this federative tendency.

The prophet of the organic idea is history. The necessity of the historic element in religion is involved in the views of those even who count the spiritual processes now at work in the soul of man as the only sufficient evidence of the dealings of God with humanity. Granting that this is the case, yet God has manifested himself in these processes not only in your soul and in mine, but in the souls of others heretofore. It is not likely that the highest revelation has been made to you or me, and the complete revelation certainly has not. I must know, then, what has been revealed to others in order to know my own revelation. Now, for history the Nonconformist bodies which arose in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cared but little. They had been fed upon it too long. To carry history in their exodus with them was a task for which they had no desire, but which they regarded as a foolish and frivolous attempt to borrow from the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold. They preferred to go out into the wilderness with nothing but dough and kneading-troughs.¹ But by degrees they began to discover the value of

"Churches reserve to themselves to refuse or accept the advice of council. The decision of council is of no force till received and ratified by the inviting church, nor does it render that church obnoxious to community if she recedes from advice of council. No church is hereticated for not receiving the result of synod." — Dr. Stiles, *Convention Sermon*, 46, 62.

Cf. both the above as quoted in Cummings's *Dict. of Cong. Usages and Principles*, art. "Councils."

¹ "If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered elsewhere. This, doubtless, that they ought to be many and costly, no true Protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dear-bought scandals of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altar-cloths. . . . Most certain it is that ever since their coming to the See of Canterbury, for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides; to our purses and goods a

a pedigree, and there grew up in them all a High Church party, which asserted its special polity and form of worship to be identical with those of the church of the Book of Acts. I was present some years ago at a meeting of a Congregational Association when an essay was read on the early church. The author incautiously happened to say that when deacons were first appointed, he did not imagine it was with the intention that the office should continue in the church through all time, but that it was done with no further thought than to meet a present emergency. Immediately on the conclusion of the essay he was told that no Congregationalist could with honesty hold such views, that he could, of course, no longer remain a Congregational minister, and he was requested to resign from the Association in order to save the rest of the members from the only course, resignation, otherwise open to them, to avoid complicity with him. He bore the insults with calm manliness, but did not resign. The Association survived the event. His two chief critics have since become D. D.'s, and he has died in poverty.

The claim of every denomination, that its polity represents that of the early church, is a testimony to its sense of the importance of the historic element. This claim, in most cases, appeared in the original founders in germ only, but in time developed into the direct assertion that the particular polity in question was framed complete by Christ himself and committed to the Apostles, to be handed on through the church in all ages, unchanged and unchangeable. Each of these claims, if good, of course disproves the others.¹

wasteful band of robbers, a perpetual havoc and rapine ; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, a forge of discord and rebellion ; this is the trophy of their antiquity and boasted succession through so many ages." — John Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, bk. ii., Prose Works, Am. ed., 1845, p. 29.

¹ "The parts of church government are all of them exactly described in the Word of God, being parts or means of instituted worship, according to the Second Commandment, and therefore to continue one and the same unto the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. So that it is not left in the power of men, officers, churches, or any state in the world, to add to, diminish, or alter anything in the least measure thereof." — *Cambridge Platform* (Cong.), chap. i. 3.

"It is a well-established fact that in every period of their history the people of Israel were accustomed to a government, in the state and in the church, of presbyters, elders. They might, therefore, very properly, so far as their form of government was concerned, it is claimed, be denominated Presbyterians. Our Lord and his disciples were all of them Israelites. No other than this

Then to secure a close connection of the life of the church with the life of Christ, the various Protestant churches are tending towards that method which has always prevailed in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches. The difficulty is that in the other Protestant bodies the course of the church's life from year to year has no necessary connection with the historic facts of Christianity; whatever connection there is depends upon the individual minister. Now, there are two opposite dangers which have ever confronted, and will continue to confront, Christianity. One is that which makes it consist in the worship of a being who lived and died ages ago, and who stands at the beginning of the Christian centuries, a purely historic figure. This tendency, in the unique position it assigns to Jesus, is commonly supposed to exalt his divinity. And yet it really loses sight of that divinity, since it makes his personality efficient upon the world in no other way than that of an ordinary man, — through the movements to which the first century gave rise, through memory of Him, the mover, through affection for Him. His position is that of a magnified and Christianized Roman Emperor. Of Christ as the ever-present spiritual and divine element of the world's life, this

Presbyterian form of government was known to them. Consequently, they must be regarded, it is claimed, as having personally sanctioned this system of order. It had previously been sanctioned by prophets, priests, and kings, through every period of the singular history of the Hebrew people, so that, if any form of church government can be claimed as of divine right, Presbyterianism may claim it for its own. . . . Such are the grounds in general, with some possible variations, on which Presbyterianism claims to be both primitive and apostolical, as conforming more closely to the New Testament pattern than any other form of church order." — Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D. D.

"George Fox and his followers announced as their aim the revival of primitive Christianity; and this phrase still remains as the best definition of their work." — Thomas Chase, President of Haverford College.

"The essential distinction between the belief of Baptists and other bodies of Christians is found in their view of the constitution of the visible church. Holding the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrines of God's choice of his people, of regeneration as the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit, and of justification by faith alone, they believe that the churches mentioned in the New Testament were formed in closest accord with those doctrines; they believe the New Testament gives us examples of, and commands us to receive as candidates for membership in the churches only those who give credible evidence of their faith in Jesus as their Saviour. They believe immersion in water is the baptism enjoined in the New Testament." — Rev. Howard Osgood, D. D., LL. D.

The last three quotations are from the *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.*, arts. "Presbyterianism," "Friends," "Baptists."

type of thought knows little. Then there is the opposite tendency, that which fixes its gaze on the spiritual element in the world and feels it as the connecting link between the world's life and God, but which sees in Jesus only a historic manifestation of that spiritual element. Any vital connection of the soul's life to-day with Him, it feels as little as does the preceding tendency.

The Orthodox party in the Catholic Church has always insisted that the life of the church, that is, the life of the soul, has an essential, a vital connection with the life of Christ. And this has been symbolically expressed in the Christian Year. Certain seasons are appointed for commemorating the main facts in the history of Jesus. The preparation of the world for his coming begins the year with the season called Advent. Then Christmas follows, and the manifestation of Christ to the Gentile-Magi, or the Epiphany. Then, after an interval, comes Lent, the commemoration of his forty days' temptation, ending with his victory; and as his suffering and victory then were but a part of his final sufferings and victory, this is made the occasion for bringing to mind his trial, death, burial, and resurrection; and Lent closes with Good Friday, Passion Week, and Easter. After forty days more comes the Ascension, and the first part of the Christian year closes with Whitsunday, the birthday of the church, and Trinity Sunday, the foundation-stone of its doctrine. As this half of the Christian Year is devoted to historic religion, the second half, in the stress it lays on various Christian duties and attainments, emphasizes religion's ethical and spiritual sides.

It has been found that in churches which do not observe the Christian Year, proportion among the various elements which compose the life of the soul is apt to be neglected. Doctrine obtains an undue prominence, or philanthropy, or organization, or the worship of the past. But the Christian Year secures an annual presentation of the various sides of Christianity, and binds the spiritual life of to-day to the life of Jesus. Of course it does not of itself insure that the bond shall be recognized in its true, its spiritual nature. Symbolism, here as elsewhere, may become materialism. But it insists that there is a bond. And to have the question perpetually asked, "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see?" is of itself no small gain. Just as the earnest and intelligent Christian feels, with increasing growth, his own need of a deeper and more organic connection with Christ than can be had by merely imagining Jesus as present with him, so the necessity for a closer connection of the life of the church

with the life of Christ has been making itself felt in those denominations which, in their revolt from the Church of England, broke the closeness of their connection with historic religion. If the early Puritans had foreseen that two centuries after their death their descendants would be celebrating Christmas, Lent, and Easter as a matter of course, they would doubtless at first have been inclined to lament that they had run in vain and labored in vain.¹ But if they had been permitted to see more deeply, they would certainly have rejoiced that a union of what they regarded as opposites was possible with no detriment to the essentialness of either side. In one of our academic towns recently, when daily service was announced to be held in the Congregational church during Passion Week, and when one of the good ladies who act as ecclesiastical policemen said, in remonstrance, to one of the professors, "Why, this is what the Episcopalians do!" he replied, "My dear Madam, if we don't do this, we shall all have to become Episcopalians."

That the changes which have been taking place in the ritual of other churches are in the direction of the Episcopal Church's ritual hardly needs demonstration. Large portions of the Prayer Book are frankly borrowed and used. Congregational churches which, a quarter of a century ago, looked with grave suspicion on the attempt to introduce into public worship the repetition of the Lord's Prayer by minister and people, now use not only this but the Apostles' Creed, the responsive reading of the Psalms, two Scripture lessons, the "Amen" at the close of a hymn, with Anthems and Collects from the Prayer Book. All this does not necessarily imply a direct movement towards the Episcopal Church, and probably will not result in any large accessions to it. For these changes are brought to pass primarily not because they are Episcopal, but because they are the readiest and best expressions of the organic idea as applied to worship. The Episcopal Church may not directly claim them as owing to her, but she may say, in a spirit of cordial congratulation, "If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle." Now

¹ "For preventing disorders arising in severall places within this jurisdiction, by reason of some still observing such festivals as were superstitiously kept in other countrys to the great dishonour of God and offence to others, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing of labour, feasting, or any other way, upon any such accounts as aforesaid, shall be subjected to a fine of five shillings." — *Records of the General Court of Mass. Bay, May, 1669*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 366.

organic worship must give share to the whole congregation, and it will therefore demand their participation in prayer, praise, and devotional reading. It must assert their union with other existing congregations, and its order of worship will therefore be to some extent uniform. That order will also be largely a historic one, to assert a union with the past as well as with the present. Together with these expressions of the institutional side of worship, it must also have place for the individual element; and in the forms of ritual, varying within certain limits in every parish, in the hymns and music, in the sermon, place is found for the individualism of the congregation and of the minister.

It is sometimes supposed that the Episcopal Church narrows the range of prayer by declining to adopt extemporaneous prayers in public worship. But by this use of the institutional element in preference to the individual, it is rather an increase of range that is secured. In extemporaneous prayer the congregation is limited by its mouthpiece, the person who prays. Granting that there are occasions for which precomposed prayers do not provide, and that there are here and there persons who can express an occasion better than any set prayer, yet the individual in his extemporaneous prayer cannot furnish the institutional element, and it is this especially which worship in public demands. The more the prayer comes direct from the speaker and has its birth in the particular occasion, the less does it transcend the individual, the less express the universal and raise its hearers into companionship with the church of all time. To one who has been accustomed to liturgical forms, this is generally the effect of extemporaneous prayer; it seems narrow, as proceeding from a single person; angular, as possessing his peculiarities; cold, as lacking the warmth of the devotion of the ages. It is the difference between hearing a piece of music performed, and having the same music interpreted in words. In the latter case, you are shut up to the thought of the interpreter; in the former, the range of possible interpretation is almost infinite. So in prayer: in the one case an attempt is made to give, philosophically speaking, the content of devotion; in the other, the form of devotion, which alone is attempted to be given, admits an almost infinite content. And it will generally be found that those extemporaneous prayers in public which truly uplift the soul gain their power largely through the institutional element which they embody. It is not only because they grasp truly the needs of individuals, not only because they exhibit a human soul standing in wrapt unconsciousness in the presence of God, but because that

soul has transcended its own individualism and become a type of the soul of humanity, so that we cease to think of the one who is praying and hear only the voice of needs and longings that are world-wide; it is often because a felicitous use of Scriptural quotations, with the solemn dignity of their style and feeling, brings us with our narrow cares into the presence of past ages, and raises the individual from his solitariness into union with man everywhere, with the infinite and the eternal. The particular man who prays becomes a mediator of the universal, and the universal in turn transfigures and glorifies the particular. In contrast with public prayer, family and private devotion will reverse the proportion of the two elements. In them the individual element will properly receive the greater emphasis.

The principle which dominates the best thinking of our time is that of Hegel's paradox, — the identity of identity and non-identity. It is expressed on its religious side by the dictum of a noted preacher of the last generation, that the truth is never the mean between two opposites, but that it always comprises the two opposites in their entirety. It was that which formed the characteristic of the argumentative method of Frederick Maurice, to discover what truth there was in his opponent's position and take away his ground by agreeing with it. And the world is to-day perhaps coming to a point where the long opposition between institutionalism and individualism is to merge into a unity comprehending them both. The many centuries at whose beginning tyrannous ecclesiasticism waved its banner and cried "*Extra ecclesiam salus nulla*," and whose ending Archbishop Laud tried to ward off with his bitter word, "Thorough;" the last three centuries, when individualism has been pulling down a throne or a creed to-day and setting up a new one to-morrow; these have given birth to an age when the Emperor and the Pope are trying to persuade the world that they are really socialists. Institutionalism is beginning to feel in the utterances of its former enemy a forgotten kinship and to be stirred to exclaim with yearning, "Is this thy voice, my son David?" Just as the true foundation of government consists in the due balance of centralization with localization, so the true basis of every church must be institutionalism, representing the organic idea, in due proportion with individualism, asserting the worth of the isolated will. It is the special mission of the present time to whisper in friendly suggestion to each of these, as it speculates on its own limited accomplishment, "Cast the net on the other side and ye shall find."

In this state of things I have been describing there is for the Episcopal Church a great opportunity and a grave danger. The danger is that when she sees the multitude drinking gladly of the waters which flow from the rock she has smitten, she may be tempted, like Moses, to assert ownership and to insist that all who drink shall do homage to her. The dream of the ardent and unintelligent churchman of every denomination is that the kingdom of heaven is to come by all persons joining his church. If the Episcopal Church mistakes the current of the world's life at present for the beginning of the realization of this dream, she will either awake soon to disappointment, or, in order to dream on peacefully, herself enter the Church of Rome. Doubtless she will reap a benefit from the world's discovery of her storehouse, in an increase to some extent of her membership, such, as has been pointed out, as is already the case. But the dream of Pope Hildebrand can never be realized; and if the Episcopal Church is to avoid the fate of the Jewish Church, the fate which seems probably that of the Romish Church, she must make no attempt to assert a patent on any forms of truth or methods of spiritual life, but must count it her glory to give of all she has and not ask that her name as giver be remembered, nor be jealous if what she regards as her message gets into the world in other ways than through her. The great opportunity which every prophet who has "a burden" covets, is now before her. People are flocking, eager to hear from some one the message she has been longing to preach. Surely there can be no higher function than to give them the message, no matter whether communicant-lists are increased or not; no greater joy than that to know they are receiving it, no matter whose the lips from which they hear it. That men are fed, and that she has been privileged to aid in the feeding, must be her satisfaction, as it was that of the unnamed boy who furnished the five loaves and two fishes to our Lord.

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POSSIBLE PROGRESSION IN THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS.

THE people of the United States are the heirs of two systems of laws: the one system is religious, the other system is political; the one system is derived from Hebrew legislation modified in its transmission by Christianity, the other system is derived from Roman law modified in its transmission by the customs of Teutonic nations. The "Ten Commandments" of the Hebrews and the "Twelve Decemviral Tables" of the Romans form the earliest written basis of our legal codes; and it is well known that the customs of Teutonic nations, including the Anglo-Saxons, form the basis of our common law. That our laws have been affected by Hebrew legislation is apparent in a case like that of the colony of Connecticut, which based its legislative acts upon the laws of Moses, and cited chapter and verse as a sufficient authority for prohibiting certain acts and punishing certain crimes. The same fact is also apparent in the attempt to justify slavery and similar institutions by a direct appeal to the laws of Moses. The theory and the practice of criminal justice under the Roman Empire also has had a powerful effect on modern society. And the customs of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors continued down to the present time are cited as sufficient authority for judicial decisions based upon common law. A study of these sources of law may cast some light upon our present system of punishments, and may lead to an inquiry into the possibilities of progress in the punishment of criminals. There were three kinds of punishment under Hebrew legislation, namely, restitution, retaliation, and death. The cases of restitution were such as these: if a man in a quarrel smote another so as to disable him, he should pay for the wounded man's loss of time and cause him to be thoroughly healed. If a man hurt a woman with child and caused a miscarriage, he should be punished according as the woman's husband should lay upon him, and should pay as the judges should determine. If a man stole an ox or a sheep and killed it or sold it, he should restore five oxen for an ox and four sheep for a sheep. If a stolen animal were found alive in the hand of the thief, he should restore double. If a man accepted the keeping of an article for his neighbor and it should be stolen, he should pay double to the owner. Thus where restitution was possible restitution was to be made, not to the state but to the injured person. The second kind of punishment

was retaliation. If men in striving together injured a woman they should be punished according to the injury, "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." This was the common principle of retaliation. Injury to a servant might be compensated by the gift of freedom. If a man killed a beast, he should restore it. If one man killed another, he should be put to death. These laws bound the stranger as well as the Hebrew citizen. The third penalty was death. Death was inflicted for blasphemy or cursing God, for idolatry, for teaching idolatry, for cursing father or mother, for disobedience to parents, for certain carnal sins, for stealing and selling a man, for keeping an ox known to be dangerous, in case the ox caused death, and for willful murder. Two things are noticeable about these punishments, namely the absence of torture and the absence of fines. Death by stoning seems to us very cruel, but there is no evidence that pain was needlessly protracted, and no torture preceded the infliction of the death penalty.

Retaliation was a restraint upon private vengeance, rather than a license to commit injury on one who had done wrong.

Restitution was a payment made to an injured person, and not a fine paid to the public. The design of these punishments, so far as that design is stated in the law itself, was not the satisfaction of offended justice nor the reformation of the criminal; but the design was to deter men from evil, and to cut off evil-doers from the land. Punishment of crime, under Hebrew law, was preventive and surgical. Hebrew citizens were required to keep the law, that they might not be abhorred of the Lord and cast out of the land; that they might put away evil from among men; and that they might be holy unto the Lord.

Heathen laws differ from Hebrew laws both in the nature and the design of punishment. Authorities upon criminal law are quite well agreed that private vengeance is the primal source of punishment, and that, originally, punishment was pain inflicted by one who had suffered wrong upon him who had done the wrong. Ancient criminal law is not the law of crime, that is, of offenses against the state, but of *delicta*, that is, of "torts," or wrongs, or offenses against the individual. Punishment of torts was inflicted, at first, by the family of the injured person and then, as society became organized, punishment was inflicted by the tribe or the state. An ancient court, says Theodore W. Dwight, took as its guide the measure of vengeance likely to be exacted by the ag-

grieved person. "In early times," says Maine, "men were persuaded that the impulses of the injured person were the proper measure of vengeance to be exacted." A curious and interesting illustration of this is seen in an old law which permitted a thief, if caught, to be executed at once, but which forbade his execution if he was not immediately put to death. In this case the law recognized the fact that an injured man in the heat of passion would be likely to demand the death of the thief, but that, after his passion had cooled, he would hardly inflict so severe a penalty; therefore, the law was framed not with reference to strict justice, but to the changeable feelings of an injured man. "Cruelty," says Mr. Pike in his "History of Crime," "is one of the most strongly marked characteristics of the savage. To inflict torture is one of his greatest delights." It is quite natural that under a law which grades punishment by the anger and the wish of an injured person torture should be inflicted upon criminals. It is also natural under such a theory of crime and punishment that crime should be canceled by the payment of such money or goods as would satisfy an offended person. These two things, torture and the payment of money or its equivalent, are noticeable in the history of criminal law.

"At one time in Rome," says Lecky, in his "History of European Morals," "if a master was murdered in his house, all his slaves who were not in chains or helplessly sick were to be put to death." "When slaves were executed for crime their deaths were of a most hideous kind." Among the Romans a parricide was sewn up alive in a sack with venomous serpents and thrown into the sea or river, so that the heavens might be hidden from him while still alive, and the earth deny him a grave when dead. With all the respect of the Romans for law and justice, cruelty marked the punishment of crime. The methods of punishing Christians in the persecutions under the Empire afford an illustration of the cruelty of the times. "We read," says Lecky, "of Christians bound in chains of red-hot iron; of others who were torn to the very bone by shells or hooks of iron; of two hundred and twenty-seven converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by red-hot iron, and with an eye scooped from its socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in their agonies; of bodies torn limb from limb or sprinkled with burning lead; of mingled salt and vinegar poured over the flesh that was bleeding from the rack; of tortures prolonged and varied through

entire days." These tortures were inflicted when it was evident that the subjects of them would not recant. They were inflicted simply to gratify a love of cruelty. The cruelty of punishments is indicated by the changes in the laws of later times. Constantine prohibited "the administration of poisons, of various kinds of tortures such as stoning, hanging, mutilation, and throwing from a height; for these, the emperor said, are the cruelties of the ruthless barbarians."

But it is especially among the Teutonic tribes that torture was to be found. This element of torture continued even after the introduction of Christianity. In old Saxony, a young woman who fell from virtue was sometimes forced to hang herself, or be whipped by women from village to village until she died. After the Saxon invasion of Britain, the punishments inflicted upon the helpless were most severe and cruel: "Eyes were plucked out; the nose, ears, and upper lip were cut off; the scalp was torn away; men branded on the forehead, without hands, without feet, without tongues, lived as an example of the danger which attended the commission of petty crimes." A favorite method of death in Gaul and Great Britain was by fire. Sometimes offenders were put in a wicker cage made in the form of some idol, surrounded by wood, and burned. One single case illustrating the idea of torture as a satisfaction for crime, even in modern times, may be given. It is taken from "*Pike's History of Crime.*" In the year 1580, a cook, named Rose, put poison into a pot in the house of the Bishop of Rochester, thereby poisoning several persons and killing two. By an act of Parliament, she was publicly boiled to death in Smithfield. The statute, however, which had been passed to gratify vengeance was soon repealed. It is worthy of note, in passing, that so eminent a legal writer as Swift affirms that such severe penalties did not lessen the number of crimes.

A second form of punishment is that of fines. Mr. H. S. Sanford, at one time minister to France, and who submitted a report to the United States Senate on "*The Penal Codes of Europe,*" says in the introduction to that work: "The system of blood for blood leads gradually to the practice of buying with money an atonement for the crime from the injured person or his family, who continue for a long time to have the choice to take justice into their own hands, or on complaint before the tribunals of the people to receive compensation from the offender in money."

In Teutonic law, a fine in goods or money was a common penalty. Among the Germans, even murder could be canceled by

the payment of cattle or horses to the family of the deceased and to the tribe or its chief. Theft, assault and robbery, libel, slander, "all gave rise to an obligation or *vinculum juris*, and were all requited by a payment of money" (Maine's Ancient Law). "Under Anglo-Saxon law, a sum was placed on the life of every freeman according to his rank, and a sum for nearly every injury which could be done to his civil rights, honor, or peace." Payment of money as a satisfaction to public justice for crime committed came to be regarded as a source of income to the state; and, no doubt, this fact has favored the continuance of the system. In England, in comparatively modern times, even suicide was punished by the confiscation of property, and the law of suicide was as blindly vindictive as most other laws. "The Church," says Brace, "encouraged fines to check vengeance." This may, in part, account for the fact that while the element of torture has been growing less in the system of modern punishments, the element of fines still holds a very prominent place. In Europe, punishments for crime are death, hard labor for life, banishment, civil degradation, and fines; in the United States, punishments are, in the main, death, imprisonment for life or a term of years, and fines.

The state and the church react upon each other and, therefore, it may be noted, in passing, that pagan conceptions of crime and punishment have had considerable influence in shaping certain formal doctrines of scholastic theology. Christ lays stress upon the withholding of the gifts of grace from the unworthy, and the taking away of the things which have been given from those who misuse them, as punishment; but scholastic theology lays stress upon torture as the punishment of sin.

According to Christ, they who believe not shall not enter his kingdom; the foolish virgins are excluded from the marriage; the man without a wedding garment is cast out from the feast; the idle servant who hid his talent in a napkin is deprived of it; the wicked husbandmen are destroyed; and as tares are burned in the harvest, so the worthless and the wicked shall be destroyed in the end of the world. With the exception of the parable of Dives, and a passage or two like that of the servant beaten with few or many stripes, Christ lays stress upon exclusion from his kingdom, deprivation of gifts, and destruction as the punishment of sin. But scholastic theology in its doctrinal statements, in its popular sermons, and in its poetry, has laid stress upon torture as the proper punishment of sin, thus following the analogy of pagan criminal law. Hebrew legislation was expressly for the purpose

of putting away evil and of conserving the nation. But scholastic theology has taught that punishment, whether divine or human, is primarily and essentially to satisfy the feelings or the justice of the person or persons offended. Standard works on law have taught the same doctrine.

Again, the conception of crime as an offense which can be canceled by the endurance of so much suffering, or by the payment of so much money, contributed to that commercial idea of atonement which was formulated by Anselm, who held sin to be an unpaid debt. If sin is equivalent to a debt which suffering can discharge, then there may be a commercial balancing of sin and suffering. This was consonant with the opinion of the pagan priests of Gaul and Britain, who held "that the sacrifice of human beings was pleasant to the powers which ruled the universe, and that the life of one human being could be given for the life and welfare of another, and that the wrath of the gods could always be appeased if not by one life by many."

Such conceptions contributed to the formation and credence of the theory of a commercial and limited atonement.

Again, the idea of canceling crime by the payment of money made possible both the doctrine and the practice of the sale of indulgences. The practice of canceling crime by the reception of money, which existed in the state, was easily transferred to the church: and the doctrine of indulgences was consistent with the doctrines of a commercial imputation of Christ's righteousness, of works of supererogation, and of the power of the remission of sins lodged in the church.

It is evident that, by the influence of Christian truth, these formal doctrines have been abandoned or modified. Indulgence for sin is denounced. The limitation of Christ's atonement is denied; and even some who hold the satisfaction theory of atonement would modify, if possible, its commercial features. Torture as the chief punishment of sin is not emphasized as it once was. If the truth and the spirit of Christ have been removing pagan principles from Christian doctrines, would it not be well for Christian nations to allow the same truth and spirit to react, through the church, upon the state so that the civil conception of crime and of punishment may become more Christian, and thereby more true?

Various theories of the right of punishment have been proposed. It has been asserted that it is the right of legitimate self-defense (system of Locke); that it is a mystic right emanating

from heaven and delegated to men by the Deity (system of Joseph de Maistre); that it is the right of the retribution of evil for evil (system of Cousin, Guizot, etc.); that it is the right of preservation, the first right of the individual (Frank). Now without discussing the philosophy of punishment, without denying that crime deserves punishment, and without overlooking the fact that there is an element of justice in man which demands and approves of the punishment of sin, because it is sin, it may be safely affirmed that a human judge is in no condition to measure the moral turpitude of a prisoner who stands at the bar, or to estimate the exact degree of his guilt, or to determine the kind and the duration of the punishment which his sin deserves. This must all be left to omniscient wisdom and absolute justice. The Christian state, like the Christian man, must not avenge itself, but must leave vengeance unto the Lord, who will repay or who will reward every man according to his deeds. By the natural limitations of the knowledge and the power of men, civil punishment must have as its object the preservation of the morals and the welfare of the people and the putting away of evil from among them. Punishment of crime, as to its object, must be preventive, or corrective, or surgical. It is a growing belief in this fact, perhaps, which has so largely removed the element of torture from modern punishments. The ancient system of fines, however, still flourishes, and many citizens cherish the belief that it is proper for the state to increase its revenues by canceling crime for money. There may be cases, of the nature of fraud, where a fine is a proper penalty; but even here a fine may be insufficient. Fines, of course, are conceived of as so much property taken away from a man, and hence a punishment. But fines, like all payments of money, grant permission to a man to do or to enjoy one thing if he is willing to do without some other thing. One man may prefer to attend a theatre and see a spectacle rather than to buy a garment with a dollar; another man may prefer to pay ten dollars, even in the form of a fine, for a night's debauch rather than to pay it for a suit of clothes. License may be viewed as restraint, for it sets conditions and limitations about that which is licensed; but it may, also, be viewed as liberty granted to do the thing licensed. Ought a state ever to license a moral wrong for money? Ought the State of Louisiana to license a lottery for any consideration of money? If the sale of intoxicating liquors is held to be wrong, ought a state, for money, to license the sale of them? If liquors must and will be sold, would it not be, morally, better to

permit the sale by all who sell within limitations, and to deprive, forever, of the liberty of selling all who sell to the known injury of men? So also with fines. A fine for drunkenness may be regarded as depriving a man of so much property; but, practically, it is a license to get drunk granted by the state to the man who will, subsequently, pay the state for that privilege. For a consideration, paid beforehand, a saloon keeper may sell liquor and make men drunk; for a consideration, paid afterwards, a man may frequent a saloon and get drunk. We need some more consistent and more Christian system than this. Cannot some statesman devise a better one? Again, fines make punishments unequal, and thereby distinguish between the rich and the poor. A man who has money, or who has no family to support, may feel no inconvenience in paying a fine of ten dollars or more for some misdemeanor; but the man who has a family to support, and but little money, is, practically, punished much more heavily than the other, and if he cannot pay his fine he is sent to jail and deprived of his place and labor. The woman who is making money out of a house of shame is not punished much by an occasional fine; she can soon make it good.

Granted that fines do something in the way of restraint, yet the practical inequality of them, as measured by the ability of men to pay, and the liberty granted thereby to men who can pay, indicate their injustice and their insufficiency as punishments. They are, to a large degree, the civil sale of indulgences.

Our brief terms of imprisonment, also, neither reform the criminal nor protect society from his evil, except during his incarceration, nor satisfy, to any considerable degree, the public sense of justice. In view of a growing dissatisfaction with our present system of punishments, the question may be raised whether it would not be well to study our laws in their sources and their development, and to modify what is heathen in them, and to give a more prominent place to what is Christian. Might it not be well to grant the rights of citizenship, not to all who have attained the age of twenty-one years, but only to such as, having attained that age, have also attained a certain degree of intelligence and of moral character? Thus virtue would be rewarded, and vice would receive a degradation after the analogy of the kingdom of heaven. How it would purify the political atmosphere of a city like New York if all paupers and criminals had no power of voting! Might it not be well to revive the Hebrew custom of restitution to an extent now unknown to our laws?

There is a case on record in Connecticut where a woman was robbed of money ; the thieves were caught ; they gave bond for appearance in court, paying the bond in large part with the money stolen from the woman ; they failed to appear in court, forfeiting the bond ; although the state received more money than had been stolen from the woman, yet the state kept the money and the woman received nothing. That is to say, thieves stole money from a certain woman and paid it to the state, which claimed to be the woman's protector, and the state kept the money, and the thieves went free. There is room for improvement here. Might it not be well to lay more stress upon the Christian idea of deprivation ? Let malpractice in a profession prohibit, thenceforth, from the practice of that profession, as is now the case in certain instances. Let unnecessary risks and the loss of money held in trust on the part of bankers and brokers and similar men prohibit from the prosecution of that business, and let restitution be made so far as possible. Might it not be well to revive and enlarge, practically, the Hebrew death penalty ? This would not require the taking of life now, but the cutting off from society of all who show themselves to be unworthy and unfit for society. Let all such be incarcerated, or kept under police care, and compelled to labor for their own support until such time as the presumption will be that they are qualified to resume their place in society. Who would commit an insane man to an asylum for a definite period ? Why should a criminal be committed for such a period ? There might be a minimum term before the expiration of which he could not be discharged, but the maximum time should depend upon his fitness for liberty and self-support. The inadequacy and insufficiency of the present system of punishment are apparent. This paper is not an attempt to frame a system of laws ; but the above suggestions are made in the hope that in a government by the people for the people, citizens, who are the rulers and the source of law, may think upon these things until, thought taking form in speech and statute and act, we may arrive at a more rational, just, and beneficial conception of law, crime, and punishment, and so have more of the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

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EDITORIAL.

THE REGRESSION OF THE CRITICAL ATTACK ON THE DEITY OF CHRIST.

WHEN, two centuries ago, Bishop Bull prepared his massive "Defense of the Nicene Faith," the contention of his opponents was that the doctrine of the deity of Christ originated with Athanasius and his contemporaries.

A second attack discovered the origin of this dogma in the Platonism of the Fathers, and thus assigned it a much earlier date, carrying it back, in its nebulous beginnings at least, from the fourth century of our era to the second. This position was taken, in a qualified way, by a French reformed pastor, in a work posthumously published at the beginning of the last century, and afterwards translated into English, and still later into German. In the time of the early English and New England Unitarianism this explanation of the origin of the church doctrine of the Trinity gained considerable currency, and is not without influence still. It is interesting and instructive to recur to this phase of the critical attack on the deity of Christ, and observe how phrases current in the latest criticism and now becoming quite familiar, originated in this earlier opposition. Who has not become conversant with the contrast between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith? It is the modern phrase for the older contrast between the "crucified" and the "theological" Jesus. Who is not repeatedly reminded of the antagonism between a Christ for Palestinian peasants and for Greek philosophers, or between a living human personality and a metaphysical divinity; or of the evil wrought by theology in substituting the one for the other? And all the while it is not merely the newest criticism that thus talks, but that of nearly two centuries ago.

That which specially distinguishes the present critical attack is that it has made a further regression. The metaphysical dogma of the divinity of Christ is no longer laid at the door of the Nicene Council, nor yet in its beginnings upon the Greek apologists and the speculative Origen, but upon writers whose works are included in our New Testament. Instead of the Platonism of the Fathers, we now read of the Hellenism of Hebrews, of Colossians and Ephesians, and of the Fourth Gospel. The "metaphysical" dogma is within the canon, as the church has for long believed. Even the Apostle Paul, in the four Epistles acknowledged to be his by the Tübingen school, and in Philippians, which is now associated with these in genuineness, prepares the way for the later canonical theologizing of Christ. So that the long process of reflective, philosophical, metaphysical construction of the Athanasian dogma of Christ's divinity, which culminated in the œcumenical Nicene Creed, is now by the most advanced and independent historical criticism discovered

to be more than foreshadowed — it is actually in substance anticipated — within the circle of literary products which before the middle of the second century were generally recognized in the Christian churches as religiously authoritative.

Three lines of this dogmatic or theological development are definitely recognized : that of the supernatural birth of Jesus ; that of his preëxistence ; that of his metaphysical union with God, or the Logos doctrine and that of his divine Sonship.

We will not undertake here to weigh carefully the value of these critical results, but will only say that we accept them as a fair interpretation of the teaching of the books in question, in so far as it is maintained that they definitely affirm or necessarily imply the true divinity of Christ ; and further, that however mediated this teaching may have been by existing conditions of religious and theological thought, and through whatever reflective processes it arose, we recognize in it a product of the promised Spirit of Christ and of God. We accept it, in other words, as religiously authoritative.

But it is not from this point of view that we now commend it to attention ; we have another end in view. The attack which began with ascribing the dogma of Christ's divinity to the Church Fathers of the fourth century, and then was forced by the evidence into the third and second centuries, is now pressed by the same necessity back into the century at whose beginning stands the baptism of Jesus. And within this century, it is held, occurred a theological movement whose outcome is the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Deity of our Lord. Even in the generation that knew the facts of his earthly life, or stood at but one remove, began that view of his Person which the Christian Church has ever since maintained, and which the opposition of Arius brought to symbolic expression.

Suppose, now, the contention of a rationalistic criticism be granted, namely, that the dogma of Christ's divinity is solely the product of human reflection. The question remains : Of what was it a reflection ? What originated, formed, and established it ? What sort of a Person was He whose brief human life and briefest public ministry persuaded men of his own time and of the next generations that he was divine ? His life was confessedly human. He had died on the cross. What had there been in the forms of that life which was more than human ? What was there in his death beyond that of a martyr ? He had predicted his resurrection. Was the prophecy fulfilled ? He had promised to send his Spirit. Was the gift received ? What in the risen Jesus inspired belief in the preëxistent Christ ? What in the incarnate Word confirmed men in the doctrine that He was the uncreated Son of the Father ?

It is easy, in reply, to point to the speculations of Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism, to the Platonism of Philo and the theogonies of heathenism. What within two or three generations from the crucifixion filled those empty philosophic formulas with the solid content of a con-

crete personal life, changed metaphysical propositions into ethical realities, established a kingdom centering in a divine living Person obeyed in faith, introduced and sustained a life, more powerful now than ever, of conscious divine fellowship in the Holy Spirit? What sort of a man, we ask again, was He who touched every living thing and brought it into relation to himself, — to whose glorification philosophy as well as religion, Alexandria and Rome as well as Jerusalem, were compelled to minister, who constrained monotheistic Hebrews to offer him divine worship, and polytheistic pagans to forsake their idols and confess that there is one God, the Father Almighty, and one Lord, and one Spirit? The greater the number and variety of the sources from which that early Christian thought drew its treasures, the more commanding appears the power that attracted, concentrated, and combined them. The doctrine of Christ's divinity is not merely the teaching of inspiration; it is the philosophy of history.

It seems sometimes to be thought that if we could rid ourselves of all the accumulations of tradition and human speculations and corruptions, and look into the face of the man of Nazareth and hear his voice, we should forever part company with our theological Christ. Those who knew Him best in his earthly life did not doubt of his risen and glorified life. Those who thought most of what He was when present saw in Him the most now that He was gone. So transcendent was his glory that it illumined all that had gone before. He reigned as Lord who had died as a man. There was a new knowledge of God, a new ethical standard, a new life in the Spirit, his gift. Out of it all, be it with or without special divine revelations, there came a new theology, a new doctrine of God. We might have lived then and not moved on with Paul or with John or with those whom they influenced; but if we had failed to do so, what reason have we to suppose that in so doing we would have been wiser than Apostles?

It seems sometimes, again, to be thought that a human Christ, discovered to be only such, is more helpful to our humanity than the theological Christ. If by the latter term is meant a mere article of a Creed, we care not to make any issue. If it be meant that the apprehension of Christ himself as divine conflicts with his greatest human helpfulness, it seems to us more true to say that it was most of all his helpfulness to men that constrained them to accept and proclaim his divinity. Nor do we see any reason to believe that our humanity can in Him be reconciled to God, and restored to God, save as it is true that in Him ethically, spiritually, and — that these words may have their necessary value — metaphysically, and essentially, dwells the fullness of God.

That movement of thought which the latest attack upon the divinity of Christ puts substantially within the apostolic age was no arbitrary development, but the inevitable outcome of the primitive faith in Christ. Criticism, by showing how early the dogma of his divinity arose, is witnessing to its truth.

THE RECENT ELECTION IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

THAT Mr. Mercier would be defeated was highly probable some weeks before the election; that his defeat would be so overwhelming was not anticipated even by his opponents. The result is due to many causes. Mr. Mercier's administration had been extravagant in expenditure. The debt of the Province has more than doubled during the five years of his rule, amounting now to \$24,423,684, above all assets.¹ This fact alone must have greatly disturbed the economical *habitants*. Pressed by charges of dishonest use of public funds, not only for electioneering purposes, but for more personal ends, Mr. Mercier, instead of refuting the accusations against himself and those associated with him in power, resorted to appeals to prejudices of race and religion. The English voters were turned in a body against him. High-minded Liberals were compelled to forsake him. The federal bye-elections everywhere went in rapid succession, and almost in solid column, for the Conservatives. It was evident that he and his party could no longer have influence at Ottawa. The only hope of federal aid in relieving the provincial debt must be from his opponents. He never had the cordial support of the hierarchy. He was not a man that Cardinal Taschereau could affect. He had worked through the Jesuits, but the Jesuits have a measure of worldly wisdom. They want a tool that has edge. The adverse disclosures before the Commissions could not be ignored nor met. Mr. Mercier was of no further use. The Jesuits dropped him, — a sign and a seal that his power was gone. The defeat became a rout. Mr. Mercier, though chosen to the Assembly, is compelled to decline his election.

It is evident that the electors did not confront a simple moral issue. Bankruptcy of the treasury was as clear a factor as bankruptcy in political morality. Increased and heavy taxation, decline in securities, were as evident to the voters as jobbery and perversion of funds. The constitutional question could wait; something must be done at once to stop leaks, arrest improvidence, restore credit.

Recognizing these varied elements of the result, we think it may still fairly be claimed as of moral worth. The ultimate fact is, that the people believed that Mr. Mercier and his cabinet had perpetrated, or made themselves responsible for, illegal and dishonest use of the public funds. Possibly other causes would have defeated him. They would not have driven him from the Assembly and from public life. If he could have vindicated his integrity and honor, he might at least have headed a powerful opposition. As it is, not only he is overthrown, but his political policy and party as well. The undivided mass of French Canadians, the curés, the hierarchy, will no longer recognize him as a

¹ An official statement, given to the electors, showed that when Mr. Mercier became premier, the provincial assets were \$10,754,280; the debts, \$22,143,447. At his removal the assets were \$11,561,191; the debts, \$35,984,875.

leader. The Nationalist party is at an end; the alliance of Liberalism and Jesuitism and Ultramontanism, for the present at least, is dissolved. The Ithurial spear has touched the falsehood at the heart of its fabrication. A moral issue has proved more potent than all questions of constitutional power, ascendancy of race, cunning policies of corrupt and selfish politicians, — *afflavit Deus*, — to repeat the maxim Mr. Goldwin Smith has recently applied to all Jesuit schemes as they seem to be culminating in complete victories, — *afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt*.

The result is creditable to the religious and moral character of the people of Quebec. It has been a common saying, we apprehend, that no question of boodle could determine their voting. The recent election goes some way to qualify such a judgment; we should be glad to believe that it amounts to a refutation. Something has certainly been gained in the way of moral education. The voters, comparatively untrained in the methods of responsible government, have been called upon to deal with a question where responsibility assumed an almost palpable concreteness, and this in an ethical form and presence. People asked: Shall we make a moral issue, or a race question, or a constitutional one, paramount? The real and accepted issue became, directly or indirectly, the first. That it was also prudential and economical, there is no doubt. But it was none the less plainly one of honesty and integrity.

We are not sanguine that the vice of boodleism is more than rebuked in Quebec and Dominion politics. The evil is deeply seated. All parties are more or less implicated in it and responsible for it. Nor is Jesuitism changed in principle or characteristic methods. The leading men in the De Boucherville ministry are pronounced Ultramontanes. Questions are likely to arise which will test the relations of the government to the special interests which Mr. Mercier adopted, and by such means gained or held his sway. There will doubtless be greater decency of behavior. The men to whom we have referred are regarded as more sincere than those whom they have displaced. There has always been more or less distrust of Mr. Mercier. There is none of the present premier. But will the administration promote progress in intelligence, self-government, equitable dealing with citizens of every race and religion? What is to be the provincial policy upon federal questions? It will be interesting also to observe the course which will be taken upon the constitutional question. We believe the people of Quebec have acted wisely in subordinating this to the urgent moral and economical issues; we do not think it can be shown that Mr. Angers has violated the letter of the Constitution. But the old contest between government by prerogative and by the people is only accentuated by recent occurrences, and must come to the front sooner or later.

NOAH PORTER.

EX-PRESIDENT PORTER, of Yale, died, full of years, on the 4th of March. He filled the presidency of the university from 1871 to 1886, retaining the chair of philosophy, which he had held during the twenty-five years preceding 1871. The middle-aged alumni of the college knew him as one of the senior professors of Woolsey's administration. Of those professors Professor J. D. Dana, the geologist, a considerably younger man than Dr. Porter, alone survives. It was a strong Faculty, containing, besides Porter and Dana, Hadley, Thacher, and Loomis. Dr. Porter would not have been chosen from it to the presidency if he had not made a deep impression inside and outside the college as a thinker and a teacher.

A secondary reason for his appointment may well have been his hearty sympathy with the spiritual aims and the methods of Yale. This was doubtless inborn, for his father, whose name he bore, was a distinguished Connecticut clergyman, and for thirty-nine years a member of the college corporation. It gained additional strength from another circumstance only less potent than that of birth. Dr. Porter was the son-in-law and the literary executor of Professor N. W. Taylor, Yale's brilliant theologian, and was probably more fully identified than any other Yale man of his generation with "the New Haven theology," so famous and so fiercely attacked a half century ago. The aims and methods of the college would find a champion in a man bound to it by such ties, if anywhere. Dr. Porter believed in them fully, and supported them zealously. His book, "The American Colleges and the American Public," published just before his election to the presidency, was a defense of the leading features of the Yale system, — compulsory attendance upon religious exercises, a prescribed course of study in which classical studies should hold a prominent part, recitations and daily marks, — against criticisms passed by the advocates of freer methods.

As president, Dr. Porter was true to the positions taken in his book, as was to be expected. That he did not, however, hold to those positions in a blind or bigoted way may be inferred from two important modifications of the Yale system made during his administration, — the abandonment of one of the two compulsory Sunday services, and the introduction of elective studies into the curriculum to the extent of making one fourth the exercises of the two last years "electives."

Probably the greater part of his friends think that he would not have erred in making still larger concessions to the desire for freedom in study. But when they remember the distinguished success of the preceding administration, which adhered yet more rigidly to the old ways, and recall the fact that Dr. Porter was sixty years of age when he became president, they feel little disposition to criticise his conservatism. The present administration, in reaffirming the leading ideas of the system for which

Dr. Porter contended, — compulsory attendance upon religious services, the value of the recitation and marking method, and the indispensableness of the study of the classics to a liberal education, — has, after all, declared him essentially right in his contention.

President Porter's merits as a philosophical and religious thinker and teacher are well known. We do not care to dwell upon them longer than to express our belief that the theistic view of the universe and the spiritual view of man had not a more accomplished defender among the teachers of his generation in this country than this acute and learned philosopher. His "*Human Intellect*" is a book solid, comprehensive, and effective enough, we think, to justify this opinion. Its excellence was affirmed by the honorary degree of doctor of laws given its author (and to him alone of American philosophers) by the University of Edinburgh at its tercentenary celebration in 1884.

Leaving Dr. Porter's intellectual work with this recognition of its worth, we would say a few things about the character of the man. The trait which comes first to the mind of a pupil is his geniality. He was a man with whom young men felt at home from the first. No one of his colleagues was found by students as accessible as he, no one received so much of their confidence. This was due in great measure to kindness of heart, which he had in an uncommon degree. It was due also to a temperamental quality, one which had a great and varied influence upon his life, — the range of intellectual interests. He liked young men because they interested him. He did not have that special and intense regard for them which some men have had who were great teachers and little more. His interest in them was one form of his intellectual vitality, a keen interest in all interesting things and especially in life. He cared much for literature and was widely read in it, as his "*Books and Reading*" show. He loved Nature ardently, seeking her fastnesses even in advanced years with surprising energy and enthusiasm. He was interested in life. The work and experiences of the ordinary man drew his attention. Those who travelled with him remarked his endeavor to come into the living of "all sorts and conditions of men."

This freshness and vitality of mind appeared especially in his restless activity in his own department. All thoughts about the truth of things interested him, and he tried to master all that were given to the world. He read very widely in philosophy and ethics, and he read sympathetically. A writer for the daily press has said since Dr. Porter's death that "his earnest effort to understand his antagonist was his great distinction as a philosophical critic." We would amend this sentence by substituting "hearty desire" for "earnest effort," for we believe that he tried to enter into the ideas of minds unlike his own, not from a sense of duty, but from the interest which those ideas had for him.

This range of intellectual interest, joined to kindliness of spirit, gave Dr. Porter's teaching the calmness which was one of its most winning

qualities. He made upon his pupils the impression of having a mind genial to other views than his own, and of holding his own in a sweetly reasonable way. He never seemed to them dogmatic or bigoted. Some of them, indeed, failing to see the reason of his serenity, wondered that he was not more anxious to show that he was right and his opponent wrong.

In controversy, too, he was serene. He bore his full share in the religious discussions of his time, maintaining his opinions with firmness, and subjecting those of his opponents to searching criticism, but his polemic was never biting. Professor Fisher says that Calvin's writings "show a native acerbity which is felt more easily than described, and which more than anything else has inspired multitudes with aversion to him." Dr. Porter's writings, even in controversy, showed the geniality of his temper, and inspired kindly feeling in his opponents.

The sympathetic and genial quality of his mind was apparent in the attitude taken by Dr. Porter towards new movements of thought in his own denomination. He welcomed fresh Christian thinking, and deprecated any desire to repress it. More than this, he set his face resolutely against the endeavors which a stifling conservatism repeatedly made to control New England Congregationalism. A half century ago Dr. Bushnell's "Christian Nurture" was attacked as heretical by some clergymen of Connecticut. "The Sunday-School Society," of Massachusetts, which had undertaken to publish the book, was weak enough to drop it as soon as the cry of heresy was raised. Dr. Porter, in a manly article in the "New Englander," defended the book and rebuked the "Society."

The position taken then was maintained through his long career. The recent attempt of the Prudential Committee of the American Board to impose a private creed upon missionary candidates found in him a strenuous and influential opponent. His article in the "New Englander" for December, 1888, entitled "The American Board and the late Boston Council," rebuked kindly but plainly this procedure, as unworthy of the traditions of Congregationalism, and as likely to prove disastrous to the missionary cause. The article (which was Dr. Porter's last controversial effort) contained a splendid vindication of the intellectual rights of Congregationalists. From this we would quote a few sentences, as illustrating the courage and breadth of the writer.

"If we may boast of New England the greater and the less, the New England of the West and the East, for any reason, it is for the courage of its practical and speculative thinking within the lines and along the borders of our churches, and on the summits of speculative inquiry. We need not say how manfully the expounders and defenders of Christian speculation and Christian exegesis have fought the good fight under the ban of heresy, nor how Edwards laid the foundation of an improved theology by daring to apply to its truths the methods of the new philosophy, and Moses Stuart was bold to introduce to

Andover Hill the new German Hermeneutics under difficulties and an odium no less serious than those which have befallen his successors. All that we need to contend for is simply tolerance, and on the ground that the opinions now in discussion do not concern the essentials of the Christian faith, and therefore are entitled to a charitable forbearance by those who reject them."

MISSIONARIES, OR "CASES"?—THE PRESENT QUESTION IN REGARD TO APPLICANTS TO THE AMERICAN BOARD.

IN our last issue we brought to light the use which the Prudential Committee of the American Board is making of the liberty granted to it of putting "supplementary questions" to candidates for missionary service. We then asked for an explanation, from those competent to give it, of the meaning of this liberty, and of the nature of these questions. We now ask the much broader question, which we put to the constituency of the American Board, namely, in what character are young men applying for appointment under the Board to be hereafter considered, as applicants for missionary service, or as "Cases" for theological adjudication?

Before we discuss this question, we will state more exactly our own position upon the matter of "supplementary questions." We were careful in what we said in our disclosure of the present usage of the Prudential Committee not to deny the right of the theological questioning of candidates within the proper limits of inquiry. An applicant might present a statement so incomplete or confused that it would be not only proper but necessary to follow out the questioning in order to form an opinion of his competency. Such continuous questioning, extending it might be over a considerable time, would be entirely germane to the uses of the Committee. In our desire to see the Committee restricted to its proper theological business, we have no wish to see its proper function suspended or curtailed. The point of our contention is perfectly simple and clear. When the Board instructs applicants that they may present their theological views by referring "to any creed of acknowledged weight," the assumption is that these creeds of acknowledged weight cover the ground of theological inquiry. Questioning outside these creeds, and therefore outside the working faith of the Congregational churches, we regard as impertinent to the matter in hand, inquisitorial toward young men, and divisive of the denomination.¹ And the

¹ In the letter of Dr. Strong, clerk of the Prudential Committee, to the *Christian Union*, March 26, 1892, he falls into this humorous description of the way in which the Committee sent out the "supplementary questions" to the first of the recent applicants from Andover: "The matter happened to come up just at the close of the session, when several members were standing by the door, eager to leave for the train. There being no time for deliberation, it was agreed to put the case over, but that in the mean time the clerk should ask of the candidate a brief statement of his views on three points of theological belief."

From which statement it appears that, whatever may be the haste of the Committee in breaking up, there is time to enjoin upon the clerk the sending

pursuance of this policy by the Prudential Committee, so entirely unexpected by at least the liberal members of the Board, and so entirely in violation, as we believe, of the spirit of the instructions given at Minneapolis, will surely revive the dissensions of the past years, or more likely insure a very peremptory elimination of the whole personal element involved in this policy. As is well known, there was a vast deal of unexpressed feeling at the meeting in Minneapolis, as there was a store of unreported facts in the possession of the Committee of Nine. We doubt if the personal appeal of the President of the Board would avail a second time to hold back the utterances of responsible men, if the occasion should again offer, who were at that time determined to make a thorough and final settlement, and who supposed that they had made it.

We have, however, little anxiety about the determination of the future management of the Board. The anomaly cannot much longer exist in the communion of the Congregational churches of a single body assuming the prerogative of a theological dictator, and disturbing the peace of the churches upon issues outside the creeds which have been accepted by the churches as representative of the denominational faith. Our present anxiety is altogether confined to the further use to which young men are to be put in the endeavor to change the policy of the Prudential Committee. Therefore the pertinence of our immediate inquiry, whether applicants before the Committee are hereafter to be considered in the light of missionaries, or "Cases." In other words, is the American Board through its appointed agents to put itself into right relations to those seeking missionary service under its direction, or is it to be forced right

out of the "supplementary questions." In the correspondence of the clerk with the applicant referred to, emphasis is laid upon the fact that these questions were sent to others as well as to him. We notice also that *The Independent* and *The Advance* (in their issue of March 17, 1892) emphasize, in almost the same language, the uniformity of the action of the Committee in sending out these questions. We quote from *The Independent*: "We do not understand that these questions are addressed simply to students from Andover. They have been addressed equally to students from Hartford and Yale and Oberlin and Chicago. They have been addressed to a large number of applicants who have offered their services since the Minneapolis meeting." *The Congregationalist* says, March 24, 1892, that "in twenty-five or more cases these questions have been sent as given above."

This uniformity of action on the part of the Prudential Committee carries with it a very suggestive, though unexpected inference. It has its correspondence in the significant fact of the *absolute unanimity* of the applicants in omitting to make sufficient reference to the subject-matter of these "supplementary questions." Applicants, that is, since the Minneapolis meeting, seem to have assumed that reference to "creeds of acknowledged weight" was sufficient, or that personal statements of belief, omitting the points involved in these "supplementary questions" were sufficient. Otherwise the Committee had no occasion for sending out these particular "supplementary questions." Why this uniform assumption on the part of young men and young women applying for missionary service under the Board? The question admits of but one answer. The meeting at Minneapolis had left upon the public mind the widespread impression that controverted points were not again to be pushed to the front.

into relations by the continuous presentation of applicants as test cases? Must the way to the foreign field be opened by a sufficient number of precedents, by the appointment, for example, under the pressure of public opinion, of a certain number of sound and altogether acceptable men, holding substantially the theological views of the two men who have recently been rejected on personal grounds?

We address ourselves directly to the majority of the corporate members of the American Board. We believe that you are in another mind than that in which you passed the restrictive or cautionary resolutions adopted at Des Moines, and reaffirmed at Springfield. We believe that you would not pass these resolutions to-day in the form in which they stand upon the minutes of the Board, and intrust their application to a committee made up as the Prudential Committee is now made up in its working majority. We interpret the action taken at New York and at Minneapolis as a modification in spirit and in application of the action previously taken. But how is a corresponding change in the actual policy of the Board in the matter of appointments to be brought about? You have seen fit to leave the resolutions unrepealed, and the Prudential Committee unchanged in its working majority. How, then, do you expect young men holding views like those held by recently rejected candidates to be appointed? Is it your desire that they shall fling themselves man after man against the Committee intrenched behind the resolutions until enough have been sacrificed to establish an unmistakable precedent? We are compelled to ask if this course is worthy of the dignity, or honor, or purpose of the American Board. The plan proposed at Minneapolis was considered a way out of the difficulty, if it could be carried out in the spirit in which it was conceived. We have pointed out, we think, beyond dispute, the way in which it is being carried out. Is it fair, is it right, to leave matters in this condition? Do you realize who are suffering by this policy, and to what extent they are suffering? The whole burden of this course falls with its crushing weight upon young men and women, who have consecrated themselves to the service of Christ in heathen lands, but who are not able to reach their destination by the aid of the Board, though every other field for consecrated service within the boundaries of the Congregational churches is open to them.

We content ourselves for the present with putting their case before you, as it has been set forth from the student point of view; premising only that the writer of the following communication to one of the daily journals is one of the more mature men in the Seminary at Andover, having had a most successful, though short, career in another profession before studying for the ministry:—

THE GRIEVOUS SIDE OF THE CONTROVERSY.

To the Editor of the Advertiser:—

The fact, Mr. Editor, that the American Board has rejected the applications of two would-be missionaries, members of the senior class of Andover Theolo-

gical Seminary, upon the ground of health in the one case, and of personal reasons, including health, in the other, has given rise to no little discussion, beginning in your columns and continued by the "Christian Union," "Boston Transcript," and other papers. This discussion has proceeded upon the assumption that the Board rejected these applicants because of their doctrinal beliefs rather than insufficient personal qualifications. One has only to read the official correspondence to understand why this assumption generally prevails, and why the "Congregationalist," in its straightforward narration of the facts, naïvely said : "After receiving answers to these [supplementary and doctrinal] questions, the committee rejected both candidates on the ground that their health did not warrant their appointment."

But I do not ask your space to pursue the phase of the subject already under discussion. I wish to impress upon you, Mr. Editor, and your readers, that the two great parties to the American Board controversy are not the only ones interested. There is a third, or, better, an outside party, that is vitally concerned and yet whose interests are sadly overlooked and, perhaps, not so much as thought of by many. I refer to the theological students. There is in Andover Seminary at present an unusual number who hope to become foreign missionaries. This may be due in part to the supposed results of the Minneapolis meeting of the Board. It is due more to the spirit of the instruction given, and to the fact that the wave of missionary enthusiasm created by the Students' Volunteer League has borne quite a number of students to the seminary who have consecrated their lives to foreign missionary service. Now when such men are rejected by the Board upon grounds held so generally to be insincere, the one party to the American Board controversy may think it wrong, preposterous, or the grotesqueness of the situation may strike them, while the other party may grimly console themselves with the idea that, among pious people, once in a while, delectable ends may be secured by detestable means. But how about the third party, the would-be missionaries? They are not interested in the partisan difference in the management of the Board, and know little about the controversy. The liberals of the denomination may feel that the rejection of these students has broken the faith plighted at Minneapolis, but in the case of the students it is the soul's desire which has been trampled upon. The liberals may console themselves that their cause will some day triumph in the Board; but what consolation has the student whose personal consecration to missionary work is lightly tossed to the breezes of contention? The truth is, Mr. Editor, and it is apparent enough to any member of the seminary, that it is the heartstrings of students that the Board is playing upon. There is a grievous side to it all. Greater tribulation and anguish, not to say persecution, are forced upon foreign missionary applicants than they might be called upon to suffer in a life-long work among the heathen.

Suppose, Mr. Editor, that there were reasons to doubt the physical perfection of an applicant, is he, in all seriousness, to be treated as though he were seeking membership in a life insurance company? Is the personal consecration to foreign missionary work, which is the noble achievement of years of Christian living, to be rated upon the same commercial basis that rules the conduct of a life insurance company? God forbid! Does the constituency of the Board wish the Prudential Committee to set up the same standard for missionary applicants that the United States enforces for admission to West Point?

Luke reports Christ as saying : " Behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry ye in the city until ye be clothed with power from on high." Is the Board to find support in amending that injunction of our Lord's by substituting for the last clause, " until ye be accepted by a life insurance company as a first-class risk " ?

Is Matthew's report to be amended in these latter days so as to read : " Go ye, therefore, such as have perfect physical constitutions, and make disciples of all nations ? " God forbid that the priceless jewel of apostolic devotion should be trodden under foot if it chance to be in a frail casket. Were the Apostle Paul himself to apply to the American Board to-day, he never would be allowed to glory in his infirmities under their auspices. That thorn in the flesh would prove fatal to his chances of preaching Christ to the heathen as a missionary of the Congregational denomination.¹

Are theological students to be given to understand that the American Board represents Congregationalists as a body in this its latest departure towards applicants ? Fancy, Mr. Editor, what is by no means probable in the cases of the two rejected applicants, that one should apply who would not, in all likelihood, live more than five or ten years, but who had the apostolic spirit as these students have it, and who longed to serve his Master in heathen lands so long as the day should last. Would any one in all our land blame the Board for supporting such an one and wishing him fervent godspeed in his work until the night should come ? Are Congregationalists properly pictured before the world when they are represented by the American Board as grudging the risk of a dollar in any missionary who does not promise the maximum returns in length of service ? It is men, consecrated Christian men, who are concerned, not cattle. Out upon such a caricature ! Think of the noble army of missionaries whose period of active service has been less than a decade, and of what they have done for the advancement of God's kingdom !

Now, Mr. Editor, what shall be said of the rejection of an applicant in vigorous manhood, of athletic training, who can tire out most of his fellow-students in the gymnasium, — what shall be said of his rejection on the ground that three members of his family have died of complaints which involved or suggested pulmonary trouble, when his parents and three brothers and one sister are all living in robust health ? The Presbyterian Board, with thorough knowledge of the facts, has just appointed an older brother to the foreign field. The American Board is more shrewd ; its committee is indeed prudent in thus putting the denomination in the position of declining to risk the cash involved in the support of its applicant. Dr. Storrs will have a fresh and

¹ *To the Editor of the Advertiser : —*

My soul has been stirred by the pungent and pathetic letter from an Andover student in this morning's (Tuesday's) *Advertiser*. No three names have done more to stir missionary enthusiasm in the churches of this country than those of David Brainerd, Henry Martyn, and Harriet Newell. David Brainerd died at 29, of *consumption*. Henry Martyn died at 31. He inherited a delicate constitution. Of the numerous family to which he belonged, " only four survived their infancy, and only one reached middle age." There was consumption in the family and his lungs were diseased, though he died of fever. Harriet Newell died at 19, of *hereditary consumption*. Evidently there is something more to be done by a missionary committee than mechanically to apply the rules of a life insurance company.

CORPORATE MEMBER.

March 15.

powerful illustration of the secularization of Christian wealth the next time he thrusts home this thought to the public when appealing for funds for the American Board.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I would say, as a matter of common knowledge, that there are several other Andover students who have consecrated their lives to the work of foreign missions, and who will, in the natural order of things, have to apply to the Board before long for appointment. Let the Christian public imagine their feelings. In fine unselfishness they have chosen a life in a foreign land, away from home and kindred, putting from them in true Christ-likeness the ambitions and delights which our country offers to scholarly men. Up to the very doors of the Prudential Committee room every one wishes them godspeed. But once the application is made and the supplementary questions upon speculative and controversial subjects are not answered positively according to the views of one wing of the denomination, what is to be expected? Rejection upon doctrinal grounds? Not at all. The question of health instantly becomes an issue of as much importance as though the applicant's name were Blaine, and his aspiration were presidential; while the applicant whose parents, if not living, chanced to die of old age will await with what complacency he can the disclosures of the fierce light that beats upon his application.

Outsiders may quiet themselves with the reflection that the denomination will soon arouse itself and really put an end to this sort of business. No doubt. But meantime the victims suffer, and will suffer, as they see the offer of soul-service treated as a triviality and pure apostolic aspirations accounted a very little thing. All parties, except those in position to see, forget that there is a grievous side to the American Board controversy, but not only do the individual members of the seminary suffer, but the whole body of students suffers with them.

ANDOVER, *March 14.*

STUDENT.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE TEE-TO-TUM MOVEMENT.

THE Tee-To-Tum Movement is an attempt on the part of its originator, Mr. P. R. Buchanan, of University House, Bethnal Green, to establish Workingmen's Institutions of a twofold character, that is, institutions which contain not only the social, but the business element also, and so to combine these elements that the result, whether regarded from the social or the financial critic's standpoint, may be success. As to the need for such institutions in London and most great cities, no one who sees anything of the conditions of life in the poorer parts of such cities can have the smallest doubt. Temperance reformers have year by year reiterated their denunciations of the demon "Drink," they have cried out against the evil influence of the "public house" and "East End gin palace;" but their cries have been for the most part unavailing, their denunciations have not even succeeded in reducing the "National Drink Bill," and why? Because they have offered no real substitute for the gin palace, nor have they attempted to combat its influence in any effective way.

They forget that it has other attractions than that of strong drink. It is brightly lit and warm and comparatively cheerful, whilst the homes of its frequenters are, too often, ill-furnished, wretched places in a back street, or down a dingy alley. So it becomes the regular rendezvous of those who wish to forget, for a time at least, the sordidness and meanness of their own homes. Even the small shopkeeper and the well-paid artisan find relief from the dull monotony of their daily lives by meeting their friends — after the day's work is done — in that most convenient meeting place, the public house.

So if one would counteract its influence, one must do something more than denounce it, and the recognition of this fact has led to the establishment of workingmen's temperance clubs in many parishes, often under the control of, and subsidized by, the local clergy. There are in London alone some fifty clubs of this nature, bound together under the title of "The federated Workingmen's Clubs." But excellent as this is, there are weak points in the constitution and management of most of the "federated" clubs and, if they are to increase in number and usefulness, they must be to a great extent remodeled. At present, as a rule, they are wanting in accommodation, and as a consequence are not self-supporting. Hitherto the would-be promoter of a club of this nature has usually been restricted in his action by that chiefest of all difficulties, the monetary one. Want of funds has prevented suitable premises being obtained; the club — if started — has been but little more than a reading and games room, and therefore not sufficiently attractive for the majority of workingmen, and the result has been that the subscriptions have seldom been large enough to meet current expenses.

Now a workingmen's club, to be really permanently successful, must be entirely self-supporting, and, further, quite independent of party or creed, and some such considerations as these led Mr. Buchanan to formulate the ideas of which the "Tee-To-Tum Movement" is the outcome. The Tee-To-Tum embraces within its walls: (a) An establishment for the sale of tea, coffee, etc., at exceptionally low prices; (b) a public café and refreshment-room, where also the usual food commodities are sold at prices within the reach of the poorer classes of London, and (c) a social club intended primarily for workingmen, though a limited number of other residents in the particular district are admitted. The scheme is in effect, so far as the business side of it is concerned, the application of the "tied-house" principle adopted by the brewers with the public houses under their control.

The promoters bear the initial expenses of the establishment of a club, providing it is possible to open a "tea-shop" in connection therewith, and they further guarantee to meet any deficit there may be in the club accounts at the end of the first year of its existence, they believing that after such a period has elapsed, in the majority of cases, the club will have become self-supporting. It may be well to mention that the club accounts are kept strictly separate from those of the business, and the members have full power to appoint their own auditors for their inspection. The accounts are presented to the club half yearly. The management of the club is vested in a President, two or more Vice-Presidents, Secretary, House-Manager, and a committee, usually of twelve, chosen from, and by, the members themselves. Its guiding principles are, that it shall be non-political, non-alcoholic, and that no gambling shall be allowed. It is intended to supply the means of recreation, mutual improvement, and social enjoyment for its members.

What provision is made for such purposes is best shown by a brief résumé of the various works carried on in the clubs. First, then, it is a *sine qua non* that there shall be a large hall, capable of holding from five hundred to one thousand persons, according to the size of the club to which it is attached, wherein may be held dramatic entertainments, members' concerts, dances, etc., etc., on fixed evenings in each week. There is such a hall attached to all the Tee-To-Tums, and the entertainments given are much appreciated by the members. Vulgarities are carefully excluded, and efforts are made to gradually elevate and refine the tastes of the members, which may perhaps be said to lie at present in the direction of that which is distinctly "broad" in its humor. Subtle delineations of character are not easily understood or appreciated, but strong denunciation of vice in its most pronounced forms and hearty sympathy with, and admiration for, that which is good in mankind are always shown by the audiences.

To one who comes into these clubs to learn, rather than to assume to teach, nothing is more striking than the evidence of the strong undercurrent of good in the stream of tendencies which make up the lives of the men and women in the East End of London. The entertainments are important because they are, or should be, real substitutes for the low music hall and public house "smoking concert" class of attractions so common hereabouts. For similar reasons, too, the dancing class may be considered very necessary. Since young people *will* dance, in spite of somewhat puritanical opposition from some quarters, it is well to provide a dancing hall free from all bad surroundings and not open to the objections commonly made against such places in the East End. In addition to these things, the hall is generally used as a gymnasium on one or two evenings in each week, much to the enjoyment of the more active of the members.

Next perhaps to the hall in importance are the billiard and bagatelle rooms, for these directly appeal to the men usually accustomed to frequent the public house. Moreover, they should be a distinct source of revenue, which is a matter one cannot afford to ignore in the clubs. Reading and class rooms must also be provided, and a library, carefully selected to suit the not too highly trained intellects of the majority of the members. These with a "club café," reserved for the use of members, make up the usual complement of what may be considered necessary factors in the success of the club.

It must not be supposed from the foregoing that the educational work in the clubs is considered of secondary importance only. Classes are held every week for French, shorthand, elocution, drawing, etc., and choral, orchestral, dramatic, and debating societies are formed as the need for such declares itself. Much more can, and it is hoped will, be done in this direction as the clubs increase in strength. The desire is to respond to the spontaneous wishes of the members rather than to thrust the classes upon them. Athletics are encouraged as much as possible, and all the Tee-To-Tums have football, cricket, harriers, swimming, rowing, and similar clubs in connection with them.

At Gothic House, Stamford Hill, N., where exists one of the largest of the clubs, Mr. Buchanan has obtained between four and five acres of land, which is attached to the club and is used for athletic meetings, etc. A bicycle track has been laid down, the only one in the district, and the extent of its appreciation is shown by the fact that over five thousand members and visitors attended the last athletic meeting, held in September, 1891.

During the winter, inter-club competitions are held in the indoor games. The clubs now open are seven in number, including the University Club, Victoria Park Sq., which, although differing in some respects from the Tee-To-Tums, may be said to be the mother of them all, for it was founded by Mr. Buchanan some six or seven years ago, and it is the germ from which the later ones have sprung. The total membership is nearly five thousand, the majority being, as we have said, workingmen. With one exception, the clubs are in the East End of London, the exception referred to being that of Stamford Hill, before mentioned. This club, whilst containing a very large number of local members, may also be regarded as a "country house" for the members of the East End clubs. Here, during the summer, large numbers resorted on Sunday afternoons to listen to selections of sacred music, rendered by an excellent string band. Now that the winter has come the band has ceased to discourse sweet sounds in the grounds, and sacred concerts and "lantern" lectures take place on Sunday evenings in the large hall. To those who object to such clubs being open on Sunday we would say, that they are without doubt doing good work, since they provide for that large class, chiefly consisting of young men, who do not usually attend places of worship on Sunday evenings, and who would probably be in the public houses were the clubs not open.

This, then, is the Tee-To-Tum Movement. Whether it will be entirely, or only partially, successful, in the future, cannot yet be determined. The experience of the past goes to prove that, in spite of the many great difficulties to be overcome, ultimately the movement *will* be successful. What those difficulties are can perhaps only be fully realized by the promoters. Perhaps one of the chief, so far as the club life is concerned, is the scarcity of workers. Men are wanted, educated, broad-minded, and unprejudiced, who must be willing to spend practically every evening in the clubs, and be able to exercise a very distinct influence upon the members. Their disinterestedness must be apparent to all they come in contact with, and therefore they should be laymen rather than clergymen, for a very large section of the workingmen are too apt to regard the latter as a paid body only, teaching because they are paid to teach. The influence of the club "workers" should be a silent yet an all-powerful one. Adaptability of themselves to those around them is essential, yet must their individuality be preserved if they wish to do any real good.

So that one is bound to state that the willingness to give up the necessary time to the work is not in itself sufficient, and the difficulty of getting men who can fulfill all the necessary conditions is, as we have indicated, a very real one. Yet we believe that these workers *will* come forward as the movement becomes better known. We hope that when earnest men come to know how full of possibilities of good it is, how far-reaching in its influence it may become, they will gladly give their time and energy to its development. Their gain will be greater than their loss, they will receive perhaps more than they give in the knowledge they will gain of that nobler, better side of the workingman, which is best seen under the conditions of club-life. Surely a work which does so much to remove the absurd class prejudices which still exist so largely, and helps us to a better knowledge of the proper study of mankind — "man" — is good and will live.

H. Otto Thomas.

OXFORD HOUSE, BETHNAL GREEN, LONDON, E.

NOTES ON CURRENT CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.

DISCUSSIONS UPON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Two noteworthy papers have appeared within the year in the "Contemporary Review" respecting the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, one by Professor Emil Schürer, denying the Apostle John to have been the author, the other by Professor W. Sanday, criticising Professor Schürer's paper. Schürer's article may be regarded as summing up with great lucidity the present prevailing position among the opponents of the genuineness.

Professor Schürer calls attention to the fact that within the last twenty-five years the opinion hostile to the apostolic authorship has spread widely beyond the Tübingen school, to which previously it had been mainly confined. Not only has Weizsäcker abandoned his former belief of the genuineness, but Hase also. Renan, moreover, at first a decided champion of the genuineness, has gone over to the opposite camp.

On the other hand, remarks Schürer, there has been a growing approximation in the positions of the two opposing schools. The Tübingen school set out with maintaining that the Gospel renders the issue of the contest between Petrinism and Paulinism reconciled under the stress of the long controversy with Gnosticism, and issuing in a presentation of the historical Christ as the true light of God, revealing God's very self in substantial form, but in a refined idealization of the historic Jesus, as opposed to the unsubstantial and fantastic adumbrations of the Gnostics, by whose way of thinking, however, the Gospel is profoundly colored from first to last. This reconciliation of Judaic and Hellenic Christianity, resulting in the Catholic Church, was held by Baur to have come to pass, say between A. D. 150 and A. D. 170, not far from which latter date, therefore, he supposed the Gospel to have been written. He assumed allusions in it to Montanism, and to the paschal controversy between Rome and Ephesus, which would not allow of an earlier composition.

These assumptions, however, remarks Schürer, are now generally abandoned. It is allowed that there are really no references in the Gospel to Montanism or the paschal disputes, while the fact, now generally conceded, that Justin Martyr knew the Gospel, and the discovery that his disciple Tatian has included it in his Diatessaron, make it impossible to assume so late a date of authorship. Professor Schürer admits that A. D. 130 is now the latest date to which it can be referred. He does not, apparently, or his school, insist that it is necessary to put its origin much beyond the beginning of the second century. He does not mention, what nevertheless we believe to be true, that various considerations of external evidence have led some opponents of the apostolic authorship to set it back almost, and one author quite, within the lifetime of St. John. Renan, however, now puts it at about A. D. 125.

Schürer remarks, also, that it is now generally conceded that various data of the Gospel, which were once regarded by his school as proofs of the author's ignorance of Palestinian geography or Jewish institutions, have little or no cogency for this conclusion. Thus he says that though we do not know otherwise of the existence of an Aïnon near the Jordan, or of a Transjordanic Bethany, there is no reason to question that there were such places, in view of the general evidence of a competent know-

ledge of Palestine on the part of the author, who, moreover, has no reason for inventing them. Nor is there any good reason for supposing that by Sychar he means Shechem, which would have made the woman to come a mile and a half for water without any necessity. Sychar was probably a village near the well, and is commonly identified with Askar. The description, also, of Bethsaida as the city of Andrew and Peter; the mention of our Lord's withdrawal from the plottings antecedent to the Passion to the city of Ephraim; and the mention of a preliminary examination before Annas, are all now conceded to give us authentic facts. Nor is there, Schürer observes, the least reason to doubt the eminently probable statement, that our Lord began his ministry before John was cast into prison.

Professor Schürer, moreover, holds that John's reference to Caiaphas as "being high priest that year" does not by any means prove that he supposed the Jewish high priesthood to be, like the pagan high priesthoods of Asia Minor, an annual office. Indeed, as the evidence is so strong that the author was a Jew, such an opinion would be incredible in him. Schürer thinks that none of the explanations of the phrase are quite satisfactory, but admits that there may have been something in the author's mind which would probably make it clear. And indeed, in view of the fact that Caiaphas was high priest, and had to offer the annual sacrifice, in the very year when the Great Atonement took away its significance from this, it does not seem strange that this consciousness should have colored John's language, especially as the high priesthood was essentially concentrated in that one great function, and under the Romans it was peculiarly uncertain whether he who discharged it one year would ever discharge it again. In fact, the three predecessors of Caiaphas each officiated but once. A certain sarcasm, moreover, which colors most of the Evangelist's references to the law, seems here to have mingled with his expiring reverence for the supreme pontificate.

Nor does the school opposed to the belief of genuineness now, as such, attribute to subjective reasons, inconsistent with fact, the author's prolongation of Jesus' public ministry, and his mention of two passovers at which He was present in Jerusalem, and of the feast of tabernacles, and the feast of the dedication, and an undetermined feast, during all of which He exercised an extended ministry in the capital, besides the passover which He spent at home. Schürer rightly esteems it improbable that Jesus, who complied with the law, and to whom the great festivals afforded such central opportunity for his ministry, should not have attended them, besides that the Synoptic tradition contains evident implications of other visits of our Lord to Jerusalem after his baptism than the final one. "How often would I have gathered thy children together." Here, indeed, we may remark, there glimmers through the words a consciousness of identity with the God of Israel in his ancient dealings with his people, but the phrase is shaped by the remembrance of repeated visits occurring in the flesh. The school of Schürer, therefore, representing the mass of those who, without belonging to the Tübingen school, agree with it in denying an apostle to have written the Fourth Gospel, concede that its chronology follows an independent and authentic tradition, which must prevail over the Synoptic condensation of the ministry of our Lord within the dramatic unities of time and place,—"The acceptable year of the Lord."

The two accounts of the Last Supper, Schürer decidedly treats as mani-

festly irreconcilable in chronology. But, speaking for himself and his school, he holds that John may very well be held to give the authentic chronology, which popular tradition, in the Synoptics, has easily accommodated to the assumption that the Last Supper, held at the passover season, and having evident reference to it, was itself the Passover. The opposing school, therefore, is now well inclined to admit that our Lord, as John appears to represent, was crucified on the 14th, and not on the 15th Nisan. The paschal celebration of Asia Minor he gives reason for believing to be easily consistent with either opinion.

The authorship of the Apocalypse being itself at present *sub judice*, he holds that we cannot appeal to it for or against the Johannean authorship of the Gospel.

The school of opposition, accordingly, so far as it includes those who have no *a priori* grounds for denying the Apostle John to have written the Fourth Gospel, appears to have come gradually to the position that the Gospel may well in the main be allowed to be authentic history framed in authentic chronology. At least there has been a steady drift towards this position, which Schürer himself and various others decidedly hold. This school also acknowledges that even in the discourses the difference from the Synoptic representation of Christ, though great, is not so great as was once contended, and that the Gospel has a much deeper root in Old Testament thoughts and remembrances than was allowed by the Tübingen men. Reuss, indeed, maintains that the discourses, though not historical in the sense of the Synoptic words of Christ, spring out of the soundest remembrances of authentic apostolic tradition.

On the other hand, almost all the present advocates of the Johannean authorship now allow that the whole plan of the discourses has been deeply modified by the remembrances of fifty years, which, gradually taking form in a long residence among Gentiles, have, in old age, broken down the delicate discriminations of occasion, and thought, and varying development, have blanned the vividness of parabolic and figurative illustration, and have thrown the balance of emphasis from the points of view which Jesus holds in common with his countrymen upon the points of view which augur the ultimate detachment of the gospel from Hebrew soil, and its transplantation among the Gentiles. Both sides, therefore, agree that the development of the church for fifty or sixty years reflects itself in the form of the Johannean discourses, and that these therefore are not historical in the same immediate and obvious sense as those of the first three Gospels.

But the opposing school, as represented by Schürer, maintains that the discourses are not simply idealized, but are idealizations, such as would have been impossible for an apostle. The author, they say, is evidently a Hellenist, familiar with Greek philosophy, and with Philonian theology. In the Synoptics, Christ's unity with God is ethical; in John, metaphysical. They do not deny the Johannean force of Matthew xi. 25-27, and the corresponding passage of Luke, and perhaps some other texts; but they maintain that in each presentation the foundation of thought, as this appears in the other, has become a vanishing point. In John, the Greek idea of Illumination dominates everything. Light, Reason, the Hellenic intellectualism, entirely supersedes the Hebraic conception of the kingdom of God, which in the Synoptics determines the Saviour's whole utterance. This all speaks for a Hellenistic Jew, thoroughly imbued with Hellenic philosophy, who, taking advantage of

some slight points of attachment in apostolic tradition of Christ's words, has thrown overboard almost all that is characteristic of his historic discourses, and has substituted for them such views of Christ's relations to humanity as would speak to the Greek, rather than to the Jewish, consciousness.

Schürer and his school lay the chief stress on what they maintain to be a lack of all progress in Christ's intimations, or the disciples' reception, of his Messiahship. We know how gradually this, in the Synoptics, is brought out by Christ, and apprehended by others, although virtually claimed in the form of spiritual supremacy throughout. But in John the assumption and consciousness of Messiahship prevails in the discourses of Christ, and the consciousness of the Apostles, from first to last. There is no room for the emphatic benediction on Peter, as having received a revelation of that which had hitherto been hidden from all. And the Baptist has as clear a view of this at the very first, as Christ himself expresses before the high priest at the very last. The vision at the baptism, which in Matthew and Mark appears as confined to Jesus, and in Luke is not explicitly extended beyond Him, is in the Fourth Gospel represented as especially meant for the Baptist himself, who, indeed, foresees the atoning sacrifice with a distinctness from which the Apostles persistently recoiled. Professor Schürer, however, decidedly weakens his cause by treating the Baptist's message to Christ as indicating the first dawn of faith in his Messiahship. If there ever was a message indicative of the wavering of an already existing faith under apparent delay, this is one, as appears no less in the Saviour's emphatic word of admonition.

This school also asks how an unknown Galilean could at the very beginning of his course have exercised the high-priestly authority implied in the cleansing of the Temple. They allege also the manner in which Christ puts the Jews and their law on one side and himself on the other as something impossible for Him, inconsistent with the Synoptics, and inconceivable as the representation of an apostle who remained in Jerusalem a reverent observer of the law for nearly forty years after the Resurrection.

Schürer also alleges the evident verbal dependence of John on the Synoptics at a good many points as inconsistent with the independence of an eyewitness of the transactions. He also asks how a Galilean Jew, of very limited education, could, long after the middle of life, have gained the power of writing so much better Greek than Paul, who had been conversant with Greeks all his life.

Professor Schürer, who holds, apparently, that the whole narrative framework is historical (as he impugns only the placing of the Temple cleansing), but only because the author, himself a stranger to the events, has the command of a very full apostolic tradition, does not go into the consideration of certain points of internal evidence which Bishop Lightfoot remarks to be distinctly inconsistent with any such assumption of second-hand authenticity. Thus Luke's narrative of Martha and Mary, vivid in its portraiture of character, but hanging loose without any specification of time or place or previous acquaintanceship, in John fits at once into a thoroughly determined frame, while the psychological congruity, though of the most delicate kind, is harmonious to the minutest touches, and, nevertheless, the development is so gradual and incidental as to give the strong impression that John himself had but an implicit consciousness of the sisters' individual characters. Nay, the false notion

of a somewhat idle contemplativeness in Mary, which has misled the church to this day (rooting in early asceticism), appears on the surface of both Gospels alike, and disappears from both alike, by a little attention. Bishop Lightfoot also points out how the allusion of Christ by the well to the wheatfields greening, but, unlike the spiritual fields, not yet whitening, to the harvest, implies a vivid remembrance of the broad expanse of cultivation just beyond the eastern end of Mount Gerizim, which bespeaks the eyewitness, and shows that he bears in mind words thoroughly shaped and colored by transient circumstances, sure to vanish out of the notice of tradition. The disposition, so strongly marked among the present impugnors of Johannean authorship, to assume a large infusion of Johannean remembrances, Sanday, as well as Lightfoot, pronounces equivalent to a surrender. The other side must either recede or come "farther ben." The remembrances are too numerous, too vivid, too delicate, to have been preserved in any other tradition than a written tradition. As to style, Bishop Lightfoot (who is writing anterior to Schürer), while not denying that negatively the Gospel is very much freer than Paul's writings from constructions jarring on a Greek ear (as, indeed, the author shows a mind which, whether from temper or from age, is far more equable, besides being much more controlled by objective necessities of treatment), points out that it is, in its monotony and parallelism, the style of a man to whom Aramaic, not Greek, was vernacular. The disposition to coördinate, instead of subordinating clauses is the very essence of Hebraism, and the frequent use of *καί* and *δέ* in place of more specific conjunctions, and of illatives, also bespeaks the Hebrew.

Professor Sanday's paper cordially acknowledges the clearness and candor of Professor Schürer's, and freely owns that the gap between the two sides has been steadily narrowing, almost in the same proportion in which the defections from the belief of John's immediate authorship have been multiplying. But he professes himself unable to concede much in requital of so many concessions on the other side. He evidently agrees with Lightfoot, that every discovery has narrowed the standing-ground of the opposition.

Schürer says that in England, where the majority of critics still defend the Johannean authorship, it is the external evidence which is chiefly treated. Sanday replies that Professor Schürer has here rendered very scant justice to the ample treatment of the internal evidence by Lightfoot, Westcott, Reynolds, Salmon, and others. At the same time he appears to think that a certain disposition to slight the external evidence, on the part of the opposition, testifies to a latent consciousness of its gathering force. He thinks that Schürer by no means pays the attention that they deserve to the reasonings and developments of our countryman Ezra Abbot. The undoubted references to the Gospel in the writings of Basilides and Valentinus Schürer sets aside as probably proceeding from later disciples of these schools. To this it is replied that the large use made of the Fourth Gospel by the two widely diverging schools of the Basilidians points back distinctly to an original use of the Gospel by Basilides himself, which, admitted, is hardly consistent with an origin in the second century. As to Justin, it is true that he makes but little use of the Gospel, but he is deeply influenced by its doctrine of the Logos, which he did not derive from the Synoptics. Besides, he appears to have used a text of John which already contained corruptions ill-consistent

with the assumption of a recent origin. Papias, it is true, is not quoted by Eusebius as mentioning the Gospel, which, in view of Eusebius's indifference to gathering early testimony to the Homologoumena, is not very remarkable, while the evidence that Papias and Polycarp knew the First Epistle as of John carries with it the Johannean authorship of the Gospel. And, indeed, to ascribe the two writings to different authors is the very desperation of irrationality, even though Holtzmann does this.

Professor Schürer lays great stress on the rejection of the Gospel by the Alogi, and that in its native home of Asia Minor. Professor Sanday admits that not enough account has been made of this party. Yet, as the grounds of their rejection were neither historical nor exegetical, but purely dogmatical, their opinion must not be rated above its worth. Moreover, as they disliked the Gospel so much, why do they not allege its late origin, if it was known as not primitive, but throw it back into the apostle's own lifetime, and assign to it and the Apocalypse the impossible Cerinthus for an author?

Sanday remarks that Schürer has hardly brought the literature down to date. If he had, it would be seen that the late literature all makes for the authorship of John. This is true even of Delff, though he ascribes it to John the Presbyter, and will have it that he was of a high-priestly family, and had himself at least once officiated as high priest during some disability of the pontiff, taking Polycrates's allusion to the *πράλον ad literam*. This is all fantastic, but Delff is remarked as bringing out with great distinctness the familiarity apparent in the Gospel with the temper and aims of the upper classes in Jerusalem, which, however, as Lightfoot observes, might easily have been gathered by one acquainted among them, even if his footing was not that of equality. The Talmud, indeed, remarks Sanday, shows how conversant the author was with the hierarchical and legal usages of the Jews, as of course he would be, whether he were the apostle or his shadowy namesake, who is very probably a mere refraction of himself. Delff's use of the common German trick of cutting out as an interpolation whatever does not agree with his theory, as here of the Galilean parts of the Gospel, of course goes for nothing.

Paul Ewald, Professor Sanday observes, goes too far in finding in the Epistles so wide a use of Johannean remembrances as he does; but with all abatements, he must be allowed to have shown that the Johannean tradition was much more widely diffused in the church of the first century than is commonly supposed, and we ought not to give an inordinate and exhaustive authority to the Synoptic type of tradition, which, after all, rests essentially on Mark and the Logia of Matthew.

It is strange, but Dr. Wendt, who denies the historicity of the Johannean narrative, and therefore denies the apostolic authorship, is energetic in the belief that the discourses are authentic in the most eminent sense, and is said to develop this thesis with very great cogency. If one set of the opponents of John's authorship, then, proves the Gospel to be apostolically authentic in its narrative, and another insists that it is apostolically authentic in its discourses, it is possible that the simplest reconciliation of these various points of view may finally be found in the opinion that the same apostle wrote the whole of it. It can hardly be regarded as conclusive against this that the church has always so supposed.

Professor Sanday holds Schürer to have greatly underestimated the gradualness of development in Jesus' Messianic self-disclosures as pre-

sented in the Fourth Gospel. Bishop Lightfoot also remarks that we gather a fuller apprehension of all the shadings of Messianic theory in Palestine from the Fourth Gospel than from the other three. We see events and positions in their incipient fluency, while in the Synoptics they appear, after their final crystallization, in a certain conventional fixedness of type, which gives their essential meaning, rather than the shadings of their actual development. In John, on the other hand, we follow the fluctuations of opinion, the hesitations between avowed enmity and conclusive discipleship, in a way which reflects personal consciousness and remembrances in an eminent degree. Jesus also, while claiming a unique relation to God, — precisely as He does in the Synoptics, though in a less nationally specified form, — reserves the precise nature of it to a degree which bewilders the crowds of Capernaum, provokes the disdainful sarcasms of his brethren on his unwillingness to commit himself, gives rise to all manner of debates among the pilgrims at Jerusalem, and at last evokes the impatient demand: "How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." And yet Jesus still evades a decisive answer, and, indeed, in the slight mention of the proceedings before Caiaphas, does not even distinctly come to the culmination of the Synoptics. Surely, there is here, allowing for that decline of the sense of perspective, which, as Professor Sanday remarks, is one of the most certain workings of old age upon the memories of the past, precisely the same state of things which we find in the Synoptics, namely, a distinct conviction on the part of Jesus' disciples that He is the Messiah, a growing surmise on the part of the well-affected that He may turn out to be that, and of the ill-affected that He is disposed to make the claim, and an evasion on the part of the Saviour of a distinct answer except in a few favored instances, until the very last. Professor Sanday remarks that a mere expression of Peter that Jesus was the Christ would never have procured him such a macarism as he receives from our Lord in an age swarming with pretended Messiahs. The benediction rests upon the fact that Peter, to whom all the apostles adhere, after having discerned that Jesus turns away conclusively from the popular interpretations of the Messianic idea, nevertheless affirms with a finally self-committed energy that He is the Hope of Israel in the highest and most spiritual sense: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." This is something, Professor Sanday insists, essentially higher and more decisive than the initial conjectures that He whom even the Baptist puts so far above himself can be no other than the Christ, not to say that a distinctness is ascribed to these early surmises in the retrospect which they are not likely to have had in themselves.

Sanday marvels that Schürer should attribute so high a character of supreme authority, only possible after the whole course of Christ's ministry, to the Temple cleansing. It is not a pontifical, or even a sacerdotal, it is simply a prophetic act, which might have easily been undertaken by Micaiah the son of Imlah, or any other Old Testament seer. Godet's remarks on this are worth weighing. The confusion in the testimony as to the words "Destroy this temple," etc., seems hardly consistent with a public event that had just occurred.

Harnack, it seems, by no means agrees with Schürer, that the Gospel shows any great traces of Philonian or Hellenic learning. He says that even the *Logos* of the Gospel has little in common with the *Logos* of Philo except the name, and that the Johannean conceptions are essentially

evolved out of the Old Testament ideas and faith. Sanday contends that the Light and Truth dwelt upon by John are essentially light and truth resulting from the subordination of the will to God, and that the metaphysical elements both as respects God and man are indissolubly fused with ethical. He remarks that to translate *Logos* by Reason, as Schürer does, is only possible by detaching the Prologue from the rest of the Gospel.

That John here and there refreshes his memory from the Synoptics, and in such cases more or less follows their phraseology, seems the most natural thing in the world, as Professor Sanday observes.

Sanday does not advert to the remarks of Schürer upon the extreme distinctness of the Baptist's apprehensions and anticipations, as presented in John, which certainly does form one of the main difficulties in the assumption of apostolic authorship, especially as the apostle had been a disciple of the Baptist, and had himself heard his words. It should seem that we must assume such an overflow of his later consciousness upon the scenes and personages of his earlier life as in some places submerges their historical character altogether, so that, even assuming apostolic authorship, it fails in these places to render us that specific service which we naturally seek from it. It is true, the personalities of Martha, Mary, Peter, Thomas, the Samaritan woman, nay, as remarked by Lightfoot, even the Sadducean rudeness of Caiaphas, and the mixture of cynicism, skepticism, superstition, and an active, but ineffective sense of justice, in Pilate, all speak to vivid personal remembrances. But we can hardly say this of the Baptist. It may be urged that the reiterated emphasis laid by Jesus, in the Synoptics, on the value of the Baptist's ministry as the foundation of his own, seems to imply something more than a hesitating and casual testimony rendered by the Forerunner to the Messiah. Certainly, however, in the form in which John gives us his early master's testimony, we do not seem to recognize the individuality of the master, but of the disciple.

Professor Sanday by no means acknowledges that John and the Synoptics disagree as to the nature of the Last Supper, or the date of the Crucifixion. He believes that both authorities make our Lord to have died on the 15th Nisan.¹ As he remarks, Professor Schürer would willingly own that as to this point the authority of Dr. Edersheim ranks a good deal higher than his own, and Edersheim distinctly declares, not only that *Pesach*, in Jewish use, includes the offering or eating of the *Chagigah*, or festal offering, presented and eaten on the morning of 15th Nisan, but that the scruple of the Sanhedrists against entering the *Prætorium* could have had no place if the paschal lamb was to be eaten the ensuing evening, since not only could the lamb be offered by a clean person for an unclean, — which the *Chagigah* could not, — but the Levitical uncleanness incurred by entering the judgment-hall in the morning would have been extinguished by bathing at evening, as is shown by explicit precedent of various Jews, who, being Levitically defiled during the 14th Nisan, "immersed" at nightfall and partook of the paschal lamb. Schürer's contention, that entrance into a Gentile house involved defilement

¹ In the March *Expositor*, Sanday, moved to it by Dr. Hort, retracts this opinion. It must therefore stand only as Edersheim's. Professor Sanday returns to his original position, that Jesus, as seems to be stated in John, died on the 14th Nisan, and that the apparent divergence of the Synoptics, which, he thinks, can hardly rest on error, remains still unexplained.

for seven days, besides that the revolting suspicion on which the defilement was founded did not apply to the Prætorium, is declared by Eder-sheim to be distinctly against unanimous Rabbinic authority. According to this, therefore, John not only may, but must, mean that Christ was crucified on the 15th Nisan, and that the Last Supper was the Passover.

Schürer's objection that so negative — not to say, hostile — an attitude towards Israel is inconsistent with John's long maintenance of the position of one of the Three Pillars of Jewish Christianity, is met by Sanday with the reply that, when we consider how radical a change of view, in how short a time, came over Paul, we ought not to think it strange if so tremendous a judgment of God as the fall of Jerusalem, and so determined an obstinacy in rejecting the Messiah as Israel displayed, should, after years of residence among Gentile believers, and after so rapid a growth of the church among the Gentiles, have led John to revolve in his mind and to bring out those words of the Redeemer, of which the Synoptics show us that He uttered many, which imply the rejection of Israel, and the transference of the kingdom "to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Surely an apostle could do what the prophets so often do. The Fourth Gospel always assumes the divine origin of the Law, and the Election of Grace within Israel. A marked difference of relative emphasis from the Synoptics in this regard there certainly is, but not a difference of substance. And considering the entire quiescence of John during all the time of his Judæan apostolate, we have no means of knowing how far the process of inward alienation from his persistently unbelieving nation may have advanced before the fall of Jerusalem. There is nothing by which we can infer any such active interest in the observance of the law in John as we find in James the Lord's brother.

Schürer does not advert to the points so often urged in defense of the apostolicity of the Gospel, and renewed by Lightfoot, namely, the fact that in this alone, of the four, the Baptist is never so designated, but always called simply John; that the sons of Zebedee are mentioned only in the slightest way, and are never named; that although Salome appears to be indicated as the Virgin's sister, her name is not given, nor her relationship to John himself, and that no reason can be given why the beloved disciple, who is plainly John, and whose nearness to the Saviour, and whose conspicuous part in the history of the Passion, and of the Resurrection, is so fully brought out, should not be named as unhesitatingly as Peter, except by assuming that he is the Evangelist himself. Schürer does, indeed, remark disparagingly that such a sensitiveness is hard to ascribe to an author who takes such pains to portray his own part in the culmination of the Redeemer's history, merely because he does not give his name. To this the answer seems *in promptu*, that nothing is more common than for men who have evident occasion to describe momentous and honorable passages of their own history, to throw a transparent curtain over them by the suppression of their names. There the fact stands, that in a Gospel which gives more express mention of the apostles than any other, freely introducing Peter, and Thomas, and Philip, and Andrew, and Jude, and Nathanael the son of Talmi, and Judas the son of Simon Iscariot, the names of the two chief apostles after Peter, and of their mother, are steadily repressed, and that the brothers are only identified once by a single mention of them as the sons of Zebedee at the end of the Gospel.

Professor Sanday's articles in the "Expositor" for January and

March are mostly amplifications of his article in the "Contemporary." This paragraph, however, deserves quotation :—

"The Synoptics, it is true, give a more photographic account of the life of Christ as He went in and out among the peasants of Galilee ; but when we come to look at them a little more closely, we see that they have really the same substratum, the same underlying ideas, as the Fourth Gospel. They are not one whit less *Christo-centric*. The Son of Man there too forgives sins, there too legislates for His Church, there too claims the devotion of His disciples, whose acts acquire value from being done 'for His sake,' 'in His Name.' There too the Son is also Lord ; there too He promises to dwell like the Shekinah among His people, and to give them help and inspiration after He is gone ; there too He seals a new covenant with His blood ; there too He declares that He will come again to judge."

As to the Johannean declarations of preëxistence, Professor Sanday observes that the implications of it in Peter (1 Peter i. 11), Paul, and the Hebrews point to an early common ground of the doctrine. This is most naturally found in the words of Christ himself. If so, then John has simply recorded what the Synoptics have omitted.

It may be said, then, that the present state of the Johannean question is this : External evidence has decidedly accumulated for the apostolicity of the Fourth Gospel ; the impugnors of this have in great measure surrendered the arguments derived from the narrative parts of the Gospel ; they now allow that the author handles an apostolic tradition so authentic and full as to make him in many points a higher authority than the Synoptics ; his chronology, in particular, should be accepted as normative ; the discourses, which some of them declare to be eminently authentic, are allowed by almost all to be by no means so far from the Synoptic point of view as was long assumed. On the other hand, the defenders of the apostolicity concede that that peculiar "ring" of Christ's words, of which Renan speaks, and which attaches so strongly to the remembrances of them in popular tradition, is scarcely to be found in the Johannean words of Christ, reproduced, after half a century, amid entirely different environments, in the memory of an old man. Allowing that the style is thoroughly Hebraistic in tone, it is not yet fully explained how it is so pure of positive offenses against Greek style, in which the Apocalypse so swarms. The two sides appear to agree in attaching high authority to the narrative, the topography, and the chronology of the Gospel ; in allowing the foundation of the discourses to be largely Hebrew, Palestinian, and Messianic ; and in allowing that the discourses are not historical in that sense of a vivid report of recent memory which is so marked in the Synoptics.

It is interesting to know, through the report of the Rev. Mr. Scott, in "Our Day," that Professor Wellhausen declares that the Fourth Gospel "is unmistakably the production of John."

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ENGLISH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. By ROBERT ARCHY WOODS, Lecturer at Andover Seminary, and Head of the Andover House in Boston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 277. \$1.50.

Mr. Woods presents, in well-digested form, an account of the various lines of effort toward the development of a real social organism, on which the forward movement has already strongly advanced in England. A year's residence there, in close and interested study of the whole subject, has produced its fruit in his clear and vigorous sketches of "The Labor Movement," "Socialism," "The University Settlements," "University Extension," "The Social Work of the Church," "Charity and Philanthropy," and "Moral and Educational Progress," which constitute the successive chapters of his book. Such are the groupings in which the author has put before us a multitude of facts important to every student of sociology, which are nowhere else accessible in so compact and orderly a form. Nor has he given us facts only, but comments or interpretations also. He finds that "English workingmen live a more rounded and developed life than the American," grade by grade. He recognizes Socialism as a spirit, apart from a programme, and sees that what Professor Sumner has called "the patrician virtues," imparts the Socialistic spirit to many upper class people, while in many of the middle class self-interest remains proof against it. He observes "the general feeling among progressive Christians in England, that Christianity itself condemns the present social conditions of the poor and of the rich, and demands, independently of any external movements, that society should undergo a series of radical reforms, if not a gradual reorganization." He thinks "the great criticism to be made upon nearly all bodies of Christians in England is, that they are not democratic enough." "And yet," says he, "the most impressive thing in Europe to-day is the slow, steady, irresistible advance of the British democracy." "In the approach toward such a national life — toward a republic of letters, of art, of pure religion and undefiled — England, of all the countries of the world, holds for the next following generations the manifest destiny." The social dangers of our present industrial and economic system have been earlier ripened in England than here, and the antidotes have been earlier sought, but we are not far behind, and the English experiments are of immediate interest to us: —

"Nam tua res agitur, paries dum proximus ardet."

Mr. Woods in his preface briefly refers to "the American aristocracy" as "more powerful and more dangerous than the English," and the problem of lower New York as "in some respects even more serious than that of East London." He has, as we think, done a great service to all earnest students of our social problems by his account of the lines on which similar problems are being worked out by a kindred people, among whom the difficulties interposed by prescriptive rights are even greater than among us.

James M. Whiton.

The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon. The story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors resident at the court of Henry VIII. In *Usum Laicorum*. By J. A. Froude. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. [All rights reserved.] Pp. xi, 476. \$2.50. — This republishes the account as given in the history, enlarged and modified by the great amount of evidence which has since been disclosed, especially the correspondence of Charles the Fifth's ambassadors. The author shows sufficiently well that Henry VIII. was not quite a Blue Beard, though it will be some time before he will persuade mankind that he was not ominously near it. Anne Boleyn may have really turned out no better a woman than her cousin and successor Catherine Howard, but even as Mr. Froude tells the story we can see that Henry was already brooding mischief to the wife who disloyally failed to bear him a son. We cannot easily imagine that he believed his own fantastic story that Anne was plotting to poison him and the Duke of Richmond. As to her father's concurrence in the verdict, the fact that Lord Wiltshire obtruded himself with so unseemly an eagerness on the later stages of his daughter's trial bears plain witness to his craven fear before his regal son-in-law. The single acquittal of Lord Dacre hardly suffices to show that the English nobility had yet recovered from the spell of terror left by the Wars of the Roses. And though Henry was defended by no army, the New Monarchy did not begin to lose its force over men's imaginations till the worthlessness of the foreigner James first shattered it.

Mr. Froude writes on an *a priori* theory, namely, that if Henry was the tyrant mankind accounts him, the English Reformation cannot have been a good thing. We do not see that at all. Henry's grandfather, Edward IV., was a much worse man than Henry, yet if Rome had thwarted him in his passion for Elizabeth Woodville, he could hardly have dreamed of detaching England from her. The ease with which Henry broke away shows how the bonds of spiritual connection had silently rotted off. The author, however, shows well enough that, with all his imperiousness and brutality, Henry was recognized by England as incarnating her inner self, her weariness of clerical despotism and outworn superstition, her longing for a religion that should guide her independent strength without dwarfing and hampering it. Henry and Elizabeth both understood England to the heart, and England abhorred the thought of unseating either. Even the Catholic insurgents against Henry's policy were ready to tear any one in pieces who should talk of deposing him. John Fisher, it is true, saintly as he was, plotted a foreign invasion, and therefore we cannot blame the king for his execution.

Henry perhaps never loved Catherine, but the facts show that he treated her with unflinching reverence, and appreciated to the full the unbending kingliness of Isabella's daughter, coupled though it was with "passionate unwisdom." Even her invocation of the ultimate thunders of Rome, and of her imperial nephew's armies to give them effect, only moved the king to admiration. But Mr. Froude's statement that the Pope is now allowed to have had no power of dispensation for her marriage with the king, is certainly unwarranted. Rome now dispenses without scruple for all marriages except between ascendant and descendant, and between brother and sister. Froude's cool remark, that Catherine was not Henry's wife, and he knew it, after twenty years of marriage, carries no conviction to any but an artificial conscience. His statement, also, that all civilized countries disallow marriage with a

brother's widow, even if we pass over the loose and easy marriage laws of our own country, will probably be found as inexact as his statements are apt to be. Henry may have been ready to overturn all settlements, to go to war with the emperor, and to illegitimize the heiress that he had, for the sake of an heir that he hoped to have, but somehow Mr. Froude does not succeed in impressing us very deeply with the belief in so intense a self-forgetfulness for the imagined good of his realm. Mr. Froude shows, however, that he meditated a new marriage before he fixed on the new wife. But when the bold brown girl swam in sight, the author himself acknowledges that the king fell calamitously in love with her, though even then, as he points out very reasonably, Henry let five years go by before he burnt his ships by marrying her. But Providence in the following reigns gave an impressive commentary on the futility of Henry's fears as to the succession, if, indeed, he ever had them.

The passages in which Mr. Froude vindicates the English Reformation are very noble, and profoundly true. He is fully justified in saying: "I do not pretend to impartiality. I believe the Reformation to have been the greatest incident in English history; the root and source of the expansive force which has spread the Anglo-Saxon race over the globe, and impressed the English genius and character on the constitution of mankind." It may be doubted whether Henry was just, or Elizabeth chaste, but we cannot doubt that they wrought untold good in tearing away England from the Rome of Clement VII.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. A Golden Gossip. Neighborhood Story Number Two. By Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, author of "Faith Gartney's Girlhood," "The Gayworthys," "Ascotney Street," etc., etc. Pp. iv, 348. 1892. \$1.50. — The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton. II. Purgatory. Pp. ix, 216. 1892. \$1.25.

Henry Holt & Co., New York. Series of Modern Philosophers. Edited by E. Hershey Sneath, Ph. D. The Philosophy of Reid as contained in the "Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense." With Introduction and Selected Notes by E. Hershey Sneath, Ph. D., Instructor in Philosophy in Yale University. Pp. vii, 367. 1892. Teachers' price, \$1.50.

From Methodist Book Concern, Hunt & Eaton, Agents, New York. Library of Biblical and Theological Literature. Edited by George R. Crooks, D. D., and John F. Hurst, D. D. Vol. V. Systematic Theology. By John Miley, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. Vol. I. Pp. xvi, 533. 1892. \$3.00. — Our Lord's Life. A Continuous Narrative in the Words of the Four Gospels, according to the Common Version. Arranged by James Strong, S. T. D., LL. D. Pp. xxxv, 218. 1892. 45 cents.

C. J. Clay & Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, London. Pitt Press Series. Milton's Samson Agonistes. With Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Indexes. By A. Wilson Verity, M. A., Sometime Scholar of Trinity College. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. lxvi. 1892. — Graduated Passages from Greek and Latin Authors for First-Sight Translation. Selected and Supplied with Short Notes for Beginners, by H. Bendall, M. A., Head Master, and C. E. Laurence, B. A., Assistant Master of Blackheath Proprietary School. Part II. Moderately Easy. Pp. 132. 1892.

Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. Christian Doctrines and Modern Thought. The Boyle Lectures for 1891. By T. G. Bonney, D. Sc., LL. D., F. R. S., F. S. A., F. G. S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Honorary Canon of Manchester, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Manchester. Pp. xv, 175. 1892. \$1.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Oriental Religions and Christianity. A Course of Lectures delivered on the Ely Foundation before the Students of Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1891. By Frank F. Ellinwood, D. D., Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.; Lecturer on Comparative Religion in the University of the City of New York. Pp. xviii, 384. 1892. \$1.75. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston. — The Pauline Theology. A Study of the Origin and Correlation of the Doctrinal Teachings of the Apostle Paul. By George B. Stevens, Ph. D., D. D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University. Pp. xi, 383. 1892. \$2.00. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston.

The following books are *imported* by the Messrs. Scribners; published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh; for sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual: Being a Translation of the Substance of Professor Bickell's work termed "Messe und Pascha." By William F. Skene, D. C. L. With an Introduction by the Translator on the Connection of the Early Christian Church with the Jewish Church. Pp. xii, 219. 1891. \$2.00. — How to Read the Prophets. Being the Prophecies arranged Chronologically in their Historical Setting, with Explanations, Maps, and Glossary. By Rev. Buchanan Blake, B. D., author of "How to Read Isaiah." Part I. Containing Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Zechariah (ix.-xiv.), Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel. Pp. 244. 1892. \$1.50. — The Early Church: A History of Christianity in the First Six Centuries. By the late David Duff, M. A., D. D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 623. 1891. \$4.50. — Pseudepigrapha: An Account of Certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev. William J. Deane, M. A., Rector of Ashen, Essex, author of "The Book of Wisdom, with Prolegomena and Commentary," etc., etc. 8vo, pp. 348. 1891. \$3.00. — The Apology of the Christian Religion. Historically Regarded with reference to Supernatural Revelation and Redemption. By Rev. James MacGregor, D. D., Columba Church, Oamaru, Sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, author of Handbooks on Exodus and Galatians. 8vo, pp. 544. 1891. \$3.75. — The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature. Edited by Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D. D. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 476. \$2.00. — Bible Class Primers. Edited by Professor Salmond, D. D., Aberdeen. The Story of Jerusalem. By the Rev. Hugh Callan, M. A., Glasgow. Pp. 93. 25 cents.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Charlotte Wood Slocum Lectures. The Chalcedonian Decree; or, Historical Christianity, Misrepresented by Modern Theology, Confirmed by Modern Science, and Untouched by Modern Criticism. By John Fulton, D. D., LL. D. Pp. vii, 213. 1892. \$1.50.

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In addition to the writers in the March and June numbers, the Editors of THE NEW WORLD have reason to expect early contributions from James Martineau, T. K. Cheyne, C. R. Lanman, James Bryce, C. P. Tiele, A. V. G. Allen, John W. Chadwick, R. Heber Newton, E. C. Smyth, Francis E. Abbot, Charles A. Briggs, J. P. Peters, and E. E. Hale.

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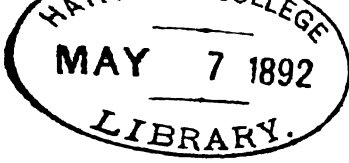
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THE

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. BISHOP BROOKS. <i>Rev. Julius H. Ward</i>	433
2. THE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES TO MODERN RELIGIOUS LIFE. <i>Wolcott Calkins, D. D.</i>	453
3. THE ATTEMPT AT CHURCH UNION IN JAPAN. <i>Rev. Dwight W. Learned</i>	464
4. CHURCH AND STATE IN CANADA. <i>Mr. George R. Stetson</i>	476
5. HAVE WE TOO MANY CHURCHES? <i>Rev. H. A. Bridgman</i>	488
6. MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION. I. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.</i>	496
7. EDITORIAL.	
THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST. I. INTRODUCTORY	510
WHY NOT CLEAR OUR APRIL HOLIDAY OF RELIGIOUS PRETENSE?	513
DR. PARKHURST AND THE NEW YORK POLICE	515
8. NOTES FROM ENGLAND. <i>Mr. Joseph King, M. A.</i>	518
9. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
MacRealsham's Romans Dissected, 522. — Muirhead's The Elements of Ethics, 526. — Müller-Simonis' Relation des Missions Scientifiques de MM. Hyvernats et Müller-Simonis, 527. — Spalding's Education and the Higher Life, 528. — Godard's Poverty, its Genesis and Exodus, 529. — Clark's Savonarola, 531. — Carter's Mark Hopkins, 533.	
10. BOOKS RECEIVED	536

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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:
A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

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BISHOP BROOKS.

THE incidents in the career of Bishop Brooks are few, but his points of contact with life have been numerous. In his public position he has become an elemental force in the community where he is best known, and where his opinions have the weight of personal character behind them. In the recent contest over his election and confirmation, it was the weight of his character, the confidence that he could be trusted, the belief that if he accepted a great office he would live faithfully up to its spirit, that caused many to vote for him who did not agree with him in points of Churchmanship. The way in which he conducted himself during the contest of opinions that prevailed before his confirmation was the model of dignity and self-respecting reticence. When Charles Sumner was the candidate in the Massachusetts legislature for United States Senator, he absolutely refused to turn over his hand or to say a word to advance his cause. Dr. Brooks was equally impassive while his confirmation was delayed, not because he was not deeply interested in the event, not because he did not feel that he could make himself useful among people in the community where he is best known, but because all self-seeking is thoroughly foreign to the spirit of the man. His opinions as a Churchman had not been hastily formed, and they were not in accord with those of the majority of the American bishops. He had taken a lower view of the episcopate and the Christian ministry than now prevails in the Episcopal Church. His belief had been that the starting-point of the Church of Christ was not with the Apostles, but with the one hundred and twenty disciples gath-

ered in Jerusalem before the day of Pentecost and waiting for the divine blessing, and it will be found that all his ecclesiastical opinions are colored by this conception of the first beginnings of Christianity. The contest over him was not only a triumph of personal character, but the vindication of the right of this view to a legitimate place in the church. It is what may be called moderate Episcopacy, not the denial of any legitimate sacerdotal teaching, but the identification of the church with the life of the people, and the belief that the members of the body of Christ are a royal priesthood unto God.

His acceptance by the House of Bishops on these terms, though the result was far from a unanimous consent, enabled him to begin his duties untrammelled. He had given no pledges to anybody. He entered upon his office in the simple strength of his Christian manhood, and had nothing to do but to take up its duties and discharge them according to his personal conceptions of what a bishop ought to be and to do. It is perhaps too early to speak of him at any length in his new office, but at the moment of writing he has already held his hundredth confirmation, and given to the clergy and people a fair idea of what his work as a bishop is to be. His first act after his consecration in Trinity Church was to put himself into close and personal relations with the candidates for orders in the diocese, making himself their best friend and trying to penetrate to the heart of their motive in seeking the sacred office, and inspiring in them a growing consecration of mind and heart to its demands. His visitations have been remarkable for their genuineness and simplicity. If he is too new in his office to have acquired the fatherly unction which was conspicuous in the official services of the late Bishop Paddock, he has already shown in his visits to different parishes that he has a high conception of what the bishop may be as a spiritual head and guide to old and young alike in the parochial and pastoral relation. He has made a new departure in his confirmations, giving up at that service the usual sermon, and confining himself almost entirely to tender and helpful addresses to the newly confirmed. The result has been that he has wonderfully touched the hearts and minds of the people in the discharge of his official duties, and is setting forth what the ideal bishop may be. In his intercourse with the clergy, the bishop is easily lost in the friend, and the humblest clergyman in the diocese is sure to receive as much attention as those who stand nearest to him. He is universally accessible. In earlier days he never denied himself to any

caller or neglected to answer a letter, and the habits of those days still rule his life. The effect of his episcopate at this early stage has been that the bishop and clergy and people in the diocese in Massachusetts have become like one large family, and the parental rule is so wise and gentle that the head of the diocese is constantly forgotten in the relations of a personal friend. When one of his clergy felt it to be his duty to leave the church and enter another communion, he gave him his blessing and treated him so kindly that he quickly changed his mind after an experience among new-found friends and came back to serve the church again under his own direction. If I were at liberty to go behind the reserve with which his official life must be treated, I could furnish many touching incidents of the way in which Bishop Brooks has quickly become the veritable head of the diocese and gathered up its different interests into his own hands. He has repeated in the first six months of his episcopate the success which Bishop Wilberforce nearly fifty years ago achieved in the diocese of Oxford, which he made the model of what nearly all English dioceses have since become ; and if the same modest, earnest, and consecrated activity continues, and is inspired by the force of personal character which will inevitably work into it, Bishop Brooks is likely to set forth a new type of what a spiritual leader may accomplish in the episcopal office for the American people.

The impression has prevailed that in early life Dr. Brooks was a keen partisan. His training in the evangelical beliefs of Low Churchmen at the Alexandria Seminary was not favorable to the historical and catholic interpretation of fundamental truth, and his early fellowship with men like Maurice and Stanley did not help him to understand or appreciate the great ritual development which has been going on since the Oxford Movement restored its earlier worship to the Church of England ; but strongly as his interest has been rooted in evangelical teaching and in the humanitarian interpretation of Christianity, no man can read his discourses or talk with him freely on ecclesiastical affairs, without finding that he is least of all a party man. It is said that he has been the chief of American Broad Churchmen, but he has never favored a Broad Church organization in this country. He has been too good a Churchman to be a partisan, and while a member of the Standing Committee in Massachusetts, his broad and comprehensive views of ecclesiastical questions were the surprise and delight of his associates. He has strong and positive convictions, but it has always been a principle with him to try to understand the other side.

On this point he has given his testimony in two lectures entitled "Tolerance," which were delivered before the students of several divinity schools, and which present his settled belief in regard to the treatment of persons from whom one differs. Tolerance does not mean to him indifference, but, "first, positive conviction, and, second, sympathy with men whose convictions differ from our own."¹ In this opinion he accepts the axiom of Frederick Maurice, who believed that charity is founded on the certainty of truth. To use his own words: "Conviction of truth and allowance of dissent are never in perfect balance and proportion to each other; now one and now the other of them is always in advance, as the whole man in this uneven, sidelong fashion moves unsteadily forward toward the time when he shall be tolerant of his fellow-men just in proportion to the earnestness with which he holds his own well-proven truth."² One who holds this conception of tolerance is prepared to be both a positive and a many-sided man, and it is in his exposition of this subject that one reaches to the fundamental principles which have guided his public and private life, and are likely to guide it in the future. Stating the same truth in a little different way, he affirms that "true tolerance consists in the love of truth and the love of man, each brought to its perfection and living in perfect harmony with one another, but that these two great affections are in perfect harmony only when they are orbéd and enfolded in the yet greater affection of the love of God."³ His definition of tolerance is "the willing consent that other men should hold and express opinions with which we disagree until they are convinced by reason that those opinions are untrue."⁴ "Cordial, discriminating, positive, outspoken, conscientious; all these things the perfect tolerance must be; all these things it is bound to be by its very definitions."⁵ He holds that there are four concentric circles or horizons of life in which one stands related to the declared and visible fellowships of men, and that they are all real. "There come times in the life of the member of Christ's church when he needs each one of these four horizons of life, times when a close foreground of completest sympathy is what his soul requires; times when the middle distance of a more genuine general unity of faith, a unity with those who own and love the same Christ, differently conceived, or with those whose souls are touched with the same great general aspirations in some pagan faith, enlarges

¹ *Tolerance*, p. 7.² *Ib.*, p. 12.³ *Ib.*, p. 25.⁴ *Ib.*, p. 49.⁵ *Ib.*, p. 51.

his view of the presence of God in the world ; still other times, when nothing short of the great mountain-tops which stand around all special human living and thinking will satisfy his gaze."¹ It is "in forgetfulness of this doctrine of the concentric circles that the secret lies of many of the corruptions of the church's faith in life." The true Churchman stands in the midst of these circles and is the centre of them all, "and the first thing of importance is that each one of the four should be real to their central man and never wholly lost out of his consciousness. It will not do for either of them to become unreal ; all the others will surely suffer if it does. To the true disciple, to the real member of the Church of Christ, it must still be a fact of which he is aware, and which he thinks most important, that he belongs with other Christians who think of Christ differently from himself and religious men who never heard of Christ, and with all men simply in virtue of their being men, whether they are religious men or not."²

Bishop Brooks notes that men can only hold the inmost unity of faith who constantly feel the unities of faith which lie beyond. His words are: "I cannot live truly with the men of my own church unless I also have a consciousness of common life with all Christian believers, with all religious men, with all mankind."³ Here is the position of the true Churchman, positive in his faith, and extending a true sympathy to the religious spirit in the whole of mankind. "The Churchman [as he lives in the circles of humanity, of religion, of Christianity, and of the church] becomes aware that, actually distinct as they are now, they are ideally and essentially identical with one another. He feels a throb and thrill through all the system, which he finds to be the effort of the smaller circle to embrace the larger. Each smaller circle is restless and discontented until it at least has touched the larger circumference of which it always is aware. The special church reaches out and craves to enlarge itself, until it shall be able to include within itself all Christianity. Christianity is anxious to claim all the religious life of all the world for Christ ; and true religion grows more and more anxious to declare that religion is not something foreign to humanity, that it is simply the fullest utterance of human life, that all human life which is not religious falls below itself. Not man with religion is something more, but man without religion is something less, than man."⁴ This is a square and strong statement of the atti-

¹ *Tolerance*, p. 75.

² *Ib.*, p. 74.

³ *Ib.*, p. 76.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 77.

tude which Bishop Brooks has maintained as a rector and religious teacher, and which he is likely to take in the future. A nobler conception of what should be the position of an honest and earnest believer and Christian teacher in his duty toward his own church and toward those who differ from him has seldom, if ever, been presented to the world. Bishop Brooks feels deeply the lack of right which any part of the church has to the claim of catholicity, unless it is prepared to insist on the claim of universality, and in his effort to show what a cordial tolerance ought to be, under these circumstances, he lays down a principle of ecclesiastical fellowship which is not more important than it is catholic and practicable in the divisions of American Christianity:—

“So long as any church is aware that there are Christians to whom she, as she is now constituted, cannot open her doors, she must be more than content — she must be thankful and rejoice that there are forms of worship and groups of believers in which those Christians, for whom she has no place, may find fellowship with one another, and feed their souls with truth. While she is ever trying to make her own embrace more large, to bring herself into a true identity with the absolute Christianity, she will be glad enough that in the mean time the souls for which she has no place are not to go unhoused, but that there are other Church Homes than her own in which they may live, that she is not the whole church, that in the largest and truest sense the church, even to-day, does embrace all servants of Christ in their innumerable divisions. Such souls there must be, so long as there is no church in the world which is exactly coincident, no church which makes the standards of her membership exactly the same, — not one whit more as well as not one whit less than the standard, by which a man would have a right to count himself and to think that Christ would count him a true servant of the Lord of Christians. If there are two circles, one less than the other, those who live in the space between the two must be accounted for. This is the ground on which the man and the minister who believes most enthusiastically in his own church may yet keep — nay, must yet keep — a true tolerance for other churches.”¹

This view of the nature of church unity and of what constitutes true tolerance in the position of a Churchman toward others opens the way to a statement of the religious beliefs upon which Bishop Brooks has laid most emphasis as a Christian teacher. Late in September, 1876, he preached a sermon in Trinity Church on the enlarging aspects of Christianity as they had been developed in his own deepening convictions of what had then been no short period of ministry or study. What he then attempted was

¹ *Tolerance*, p. 82.

to bring together and recount what had been his own growing convictions about religion, what truths had come out into increasing prominence and given more and more controlling color to his thought during many years. While reporting them as his own experience, he presented them as aspects of truth into which God had been leading very many, and which were characterizing the whole spirit of our time. He said:—

“First of all, both in time and importance among religious growths, I put the increased conviction that all the truths and doctrines of Christianity are to be considered as essential and not arbitrary. The difference is this: that which is essential results necessarily from the nature of things themselves, and could not be otherwise than it is; that which is arbitrary depends upon the arbitrium or choice or will of some person who might have chosen differently and so changed the whole. That which is essential was conceived of as being in conformity with uniform and definite principles; that which is arbitrary is conceived of as the result of special determination or arrangement. The difference is clear. All the ordinary activities of the world, such as the processes of nature, are regarded as essential; they result from the nature of things; but the processes of religion are often conceived of as purely arbitrary, the result of a will of God upon principles of which we can know nothing. The consequence is that religious processes, the way in which our souls are treated, the laws of spiritual life and destiny being wholly different in their origin from the processes with which we are familiar, acquire a look of unreality. Christianity has a tendency to become fantastic. . . . It loses naturalness. The good tendency, which I recognize and rejoice in, is to get rid of this, to look upon religious doctrines and spiritual processes as essential, not as arbitrary. This or that happens to the soul of man because it must, because it is as inevitable for it as it is for fire to burn or for frost to freeze. Its causes have been preparing and the result must come. It is essential. It is in the very essence of things. God does not step forth and declare a faith to a being who has been prepared for no such destiny, saying ‘Be happy’ to one whom He might condemn to misery, saying ‘Be wretched’ to one whom He might invite to bliss. It is not arbitrary, as that would be. God’s word is the sublime announcement of that which is eternally, inevitably necessary, declaring that true which is true, which has in it the essence of truth, and pronouncing destinies which are written in the very nature of the beings whom He dooms.

“All this change from the arbitrary to the essential aspect of religion I hold to be a very great one. It throws its light upon every side. It brightens everything and it deepens everything. It is the growing disposition of our time, and one in which we all share. No doubt it has its connections with the other habits of our age, with its love of physical sci-

ence and its study of nature and her laws. But we must not on that account mistrust it. It is thoroughly consistent with, nay, I hold that it is productive of reverence and love. It does not do away with the supernatural, but it believes that the supernatural, like what we call the natural, is all pierced through and through with those great beams of necessary principles and inevitable laws which give to any world its solidity and strength. It chooses to look at God, not as a fitful omnipotence, choosing each hour's color by that hour's whim, but as essential law in whom all things move by moral necessities, which He cannot change, unless He changes himself and is no longer God. So it does Him the profoundest honor.

"But I shall make this claim clearer, if I take, one after another, a number of the Christian truths and show in each of them the difference between the essential and the arbitrary aspect. There it may be brought out very distinctly, and show just how much it involves. Shall we take first the proof of God's reward and punishment? They certainly are his. No blessing and no curse can come to us in this or any other world that does not come from Him. But evidently there are two ways of regarding them. They are either the necessary results, the inevitable flower, of the goodness or the sin themselves bound up in their very natures, so that they must come where the goodness or the sin has come. That is the idea of essentialness. Or they are the decrees of God awarding their appropriate deserts to each different kind of life, not conceived of as linked to the life naturally and essentially, but by the choice of God. That is the arbitrary idea. Under the essential idea of punishment and reward they are like the fruits of trees which must bear that fruit and could bear no other. Under the arbitrary idea they are like crowns of fire or of gold set by the will of a king upon the heads of his servants who, he thinks, have served him badly or well. The poor sinner suffering in eternity, — I may see in his suffering the necessary consequence of his sin, which not even God could have hindered so long as the sin was there. Or I may see in it the vengeance with which an angry God has lashed the soul that has offended Him. The saint who has entered into everlasting bliss, — his joy is either a necessary result, the flaming token of his holiness, or it is the premium which God has given him in witness of his approbation. I know that both ideas are true, that both hold the sovereignty of God intact. Perhaps, carried to the bottom, they are not two, but one. It is God who punishes and rewards, whether He has put the power of reward and punishment in the nature of the acts themselves or holds it in his own hand. But here I certainly hold that it is a growth, a something to be thankful for, a truer and a larger knowledge, when in the thought of a period or in the thought of an individual, the essential idea more and more preponderates, when holiness is conceived of as rewarding itself by its own necessary development into happiness, and sin is seen punishing itself by its necessary development into

suffering. It satisfies our moral nature. It furnishes a stronger and steadier strain of action. It brings the future and this life nearer together. It makes sin all the more terrible. It substitutes for the terror of the slave who does not know where the blow is striking, the reasonable fear of the man who is sure that his sin will find him out. It makes holiness all the more winning. It substitutes for the vague hope of the favorite who trusts that he is somehow meriting some kind of reward whose nature is as yet wholly strange to him, the patient expectation of the son who finds himself already growing into his place in his father's house as he acquires more and more fully his father's character.

"Or take another truth, the truth of God's forgiveness of the soul that comes to Him. There are certainly here the two ideas. The old belief in election made it arbitrary. God called and welcomed and forgave whom He pleased. The doctrine of fitness makes it essential. God will forgive and welcome all that He can, — whoever is capable of pardon, by penitence, by submission, shall have it. We see some poor soul coming up to God, nay, shall we put ourselves in the midst of the eternal picture, and say we see the prodigal of the parable who all these years has been coming to his father's house? Once more the father stands there at the door and waits for him, nay, by and by he cannot wait. He runs and falls on the returning sinner's neck and kisses him. What does this welcome and forgiveness mean? Shall we say that the father weighed the reception and rejection as if he might have given either, and preferred the reception? There is something surely deeper than that. It was in the nature of the Father and the Son that the moment the son repented and submitted the father forgave him. It was in their very essential being and their necessary relation to each other. And it is in the very nature of God that when one of his children yields and repents, the divine arms open and the divine heart receives him. There is no deliberation, no delay. Man's repentance and God's forgiveness are like sound and echo.

"Or, to go a little further back and take the doctrine of conversion, How is it that a man turns to God and is brought into the new life? It is possible for us to dwell upon the mysteriousness of the change, — to see in it a choice of God, a strange and unaccountable visitation of his spirit, which took a soul and, by some process wholly beyond our ken, wholly unlike the processes which we do understand, brought it from death to life, from hardness and selfishness to tenderness and obedience. Sometimes that may be the most impressive thought about it all, but certainly the great change becomes more beautiful and solemn the more we see how natural it is, how in it there are no new fantastic processes, but the most primary and noblest powers of our human nature are working at their healthiest and best. It awes me when I think that God may come and by a thunderclap change me into another man. It spiritualizes and ennobles me when I discover that all my most familiar powers are

capable of divine use, and that by them, by their most natural and healthy exercise, I may come into the new life of God. I have but to let my gratitude embrace his mercy, and let gratitude grow into love, and love ripen into obedience, and obedience do its necessary task of assimilating me to Him whom I obey. Conversion is not something strange and unnatural. To be the new man in Christ Jesus is to be fully and thoroughly a man.

“Again, it seems perhaps as if this progress, of which we are speaking, could not come in at all with reference to the profoundest mysteries of our faith, the deep wonders of the Incarnation and Atonement. And yet there is certainly something corresponding to it there. We come, I think, to feel that those great mysteries, unmatched and wondrous as they are, may be, nay, surely are, in no sense unnatural, that we understand them best if we think of them as thoroughly natural, involving nature too high for us to measure, but which lives by the same principles whose lower operations we are always tracing. More and more clear it grows to me that He who lived in Palestine, and whose story is written in the Gospels, was different from every other being in the universe, the manifestation of God, whom other men have imitated, but who was in Him, and that what He did therefore was unique. His power over man, the way in which his life and death brought man and man together, was unlike the work that any other being could accomplish or attempt. All this grows plainer as we think more and more upon the wondrous story, but clearer also grows the certainty that the Incarnation was the consummation of that showing of God to man which had been going on ever since man began to be. He had shone forth in Nature. He had uttered himself in the laws of life. In Jesus He made the human flesh his vehicle, and came to man through the interpretation of manhood; and the same disposition toward man which had brought all his other exhibitions brought this last. And his Atonement, which some men make, and many men call so horrible,—there, too, we come to see how natural are the divinest things. Christ gave himself for man with a richness, a freedom, a power that no man has ever equaled, but it was the consummate sacrifice which is suggested and represented in every sacrifice of one man for another, and its wondrous power is faintly foreshadowed in the way in which such a sacrifice always draws the soul of him for whom it is made to Him who makes it, and through Him to all the purity and divinity in which He belongs. The glory of the other world’s enlightenment will be that we shall see that these great wonders, the Incarnation and the Atonement, were not unnatural and monstrous, but the completion of the most familiar processes, the fulfillment of the most familiar principles, of life; and it is a growth in our religion as we more and more fully perceive this same truth now.

“It is more plain, perhaps, when we think about the Christian Church. There the distinction between the essential and the arbitrary ideas is very

clear. What is the church? How did Christ make it?—for that He did make it all Christians will agree. Did He construct a system, decree a government, designate officers, establish a perpetual economy by the direct interposition of his divine authority? Or did He establish principles; set truths at work which of themselves were freely to shape the outward form in which they were to live? That to a certain extent He did the first there can be no doubt. That he ordained an outward church, established sacraments, intended a ministry, there can be no doubt; but more and more, the longer I am in the church and in the ministry, it appears plain to me that He did not order the details of the church's government, or appoint the grades or functions of its ministers. He left that to be essential; to proceed, that is, out of the essence or nature of the Christian life itself declaring its own needs. He taught his truth, He gave his spirit, He sent his ministers; but He did not make bishops, priests, and deacons; He did not establish any pattern of worship; He did not declare how or when his sacraments should be administered. All those things shaped themselves out of the free life of the Church. They came after the Gospel, not before it. They are free to change as the Gospel, always the same, changes its attitude towards each changing age. Surely we must set this down, for there is strength and freedom in the conviction that the constitution and action of the Christian Church is not arbitrary, arranged by Christ beforehand in its details, but in large part essential, left by Him to be shaped freely out of the needs of the personal Christian life to which primarily his thought and anxiety were given.

“Let me touch one point more. Nowhere is the distinction between the essential and the arbitrary ideas more plain than in reference to the sacraments which Christ ordained. Nowhere does the natural tendency of men's minds, to one idea or the other, more distinctly show itself. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not powerless forms. They work great results in men's lives. You and I who receive baptism once, and who have received the Lord's Supper many times, are witnesses of their power; we carry their consequences in our character, and are different to-day from what we should have been without them. What is the nature of their power? Is it arbitrary? Must we simply say, ‘God has decreed that he who comes to the font and is baptized shall receive spiritual good’? ‘God has chosen that the man who partakes of the Lord's Supper shall be spiritually strengthened’? Or is it essential? Can we see how out of the very nature of the sacrament the power comes? Shall we say, ‘Baptism is an utterance of faith, a claiming of position, and the faith is strengthened, the position is assured, by the perpetual inevitable necessity of human nature’? The Lord's Supper is the confession of dependence and the pledging of consecration. It could not help confirming and clarifying both. Christ's institution of them both did not endow them with power, but opened the fountain of essential

power that was already in them. It was not like his turning of water into wine, but rather like his feeding the multitude upon five loaves of bread. It brought out, that is, and multiplied by his consecration of it, the essential power of the sacramental action. Here, as I have already intimated, some men's primary dispositions make them look more at the arbitrary, and other men's minds more at the essential side of the sacramental truth. For myself, the very richness of the sacraments lies in my recognizing, and deepens as I recognize, more and more, how natural they are, how free from anything like magic; how they employ and illustrate the simplest and broadest laws of human nature; how their mystery is the mystery of perfect light, and not of darkness.

"But I must not add to these illustrations. I have multiplied them almost without scruple, because so only could I make the idea perfectly distinct. I hope I have not failed in this. It is the growing perception of the essentialness of all religion as a true sign of Christian progress. To look on all the great events of Revelation as not unnatural and isolated, but as the supreme embodiments of those principles of divine government and influences of divine love, of which the world is full, — to look on all our religious experiences as affected through the powers to which all our other experiences appeal; to see the spiritual issue of every action latent and waiting in the act itself, — all this, I earnestly believe, strengthens and establishes our belief. It roots our faith in our life. It does not destroy mystery. God forbid. It rather increases it. It takes the sacredness and mystery which have been crowded into a few spots and spreads them richly through our life, making it all mysterious and sacred. It clarifies responsibility. It exorcises magic. It makes God and the things of God intelligible. It blesses mind and heart alike, and so it is a noble and blessed growth, for which a man may well thank God."¹

The convictions expressed in this sermon present, as in a focus, the outline and spirit of the religious teachings of Bishop Brooks in a more concise form than I know where to find them in any of his published writings. In none of his discourses is it his habit to develop his beliefs in logical form. He preaches sermons, not to teach theology, but to bring men to surrender their minds to the truth and their wills to God, and his theology is presented always incidental to this end. By going through his published volume, opinions will be found expressed here and there which convey a more complete view of what in this sermon is expressed as a statement of "growths into things essential, and a few of these passages are here given in order to further illustrate the principles which have guided his life and the convictions on which he has acted. In speaking of the influence of formalism in ecclesiastical and religious methods, he says: —

¹ Taken, by permission, from an unpublished sermon.

"When a man tells me that religion cannot stand unless the church be just so organized, or that God will be lost out of men's thoughts unless you teach certain traditional things about Him and worship Him with a certain ritual, that man seems to me to be an unbeliever of the most dangerous kind. He has lost his real faith in God and Christianity and the church by his very devotion to the means, or second causes, through which they work. . . . Our jealousy for certain forms, our magnifying their importance, our fear that Christianity will not stand if we do not state and utter it just so, — what is it all at the bottom but the lack of faith in Christianity itself, in its vital power and its original truth? Dogmatism and ritualism are all wrong when they think themselves supremely believing. Both are really symptomatic forms of unbelief. Whenever a man believes that only his machinery can save the nation or the church, he is a disbeliever in the vital force by which the nation or the church lives."¹

On the principle of authority in religion he speaks with no uncertain conviction: —

"That comes only when a seeker after truth dares to believe that God himself sends to every one of his children the truth which that child needs; that while God uses the Bible, the church, and the experience of other souls as channels for his teaching, He himself is always behind them all as the great teacher and the final source of truth; that He bids each child in his family to use the powers which belong distinctively to him and apprehend truth in that special form in which the father chooses to send it into his life. It is this directness of relationship to God, it is this appeal of the life directly to Him, it is this certainty that no authority on earth is so sacred but that every soul may — nay, that every soul must — judge of its teachings by its own God-given faculties enlightened and purified by devout consecration to God; it is this which makes the true experience of faith. What comes to the soul in such an experience is not infallible certainty on all the articles on which man craves enlightenment, but it is something better. It is an hourly communion with the Lord of truth. It is a constant anxiety to turn the truth, which He has already shown, into obedience, and a constant eagerness to see what new truth He may be making known. It is a thorough truthfulness."²

This statement throws a flood of light upon his strong belief in the reality of intercourse with God, and upon his conviction that the highest faculties of man are given for this purpose.

The underlying principle in his teaching is that of personality, the belief that sin is a matter of personal defilement, and that holiness is a personal building up of the life into likeness to the personal Christ. The central truth of Christianity to him is the

¹ *Sermons*, p. 161.

² *Candle of the Lord*, p. 282.

personality of Christ, and all the thought and purpose of his religious teaching is to bring men into the acceptance of his divine personality as their own principle of life. This principle of personality pervades everything that he has written. In his essay on "The Pulpit and Popular Skepticism" he says: "The reassertion of the fact that Christ is Christianity, and that not to hold that this or that concerning Him is true, but to follow Him with love and with that degree of knowledge of Him that has been given us is to be a Christian,"¹ is the fundamental idea at the basis of all his teaching. The Christianity of the New Testament to him is in the person of Christ, and to accept Him with the intellect, with the will, with the heart, in utter loyalty and self-surrender, is to drive out sin and to begin the building up of a new life. His general principle is thus expressed:—

"Personality is the only power in which mystery can become real and vital and practical. You describe thought, love, hope, fear, life itself, and men are all bewildered. You set a living, loving, thinking, hoping, fearing man before them, and without the loss of one particle of the mystery which your abstractions try to describe, the emotion, the condition, the being is instantly real and realized. A child learns life in the interpretation of fatherhood. Now, if at the bottom the secret of skepticism is the unreality of religion to the skeptical soul; if it is not mystery, but the inability to seize and realize mystery, that makes the trouble; if we believe in a Christ so completely powerful that once perfectly present with the human soul He must master it and it must yield to Him; if the reason why men doubt Him is that they do not, cannot, will not see Him, then I think it must be certain that what they need is a completer, liver, presentation of his personality, so that He shall stand before them and claim what always was his claim, 'Believe in Me,' not 'Believe this or that about Me,' but 'Believe in Me.' That always is the faith of the Gospels. They had no creed but Christ. Christ was their creed. And it is the glory of the earlier Church that it had for its people no demanded creed of abstract doctrine whatsoever. In the venerable wisdom of the Apostolic symbol it believed in Father, Son, and Spirit, the one Eternal God."²

In the same paper he also says that in the personal conception of Christianity lies the only combination of stability with progress by which the larger thought and knowledge of religious things that comes with one's individual growth can be adjusted to a living faith.

In this statement lies the secret of the method which Bishop Brooks adopted from the first as a preacher. The single and

¹ *Princeton Review*, March, 1879.

² *Ibid.*

primary purpose of all his sermons is to come at once into contact with personality in men, and all his illustrations of truth are expressed in terms which set forth what is the determining spirit in man. He is always concrete in his purpose. His point is to bring the individual into personal contact with Christ, and to accomplish this he bends his energies, his thought, his culture, and all his moral power to show to men what is their weakness or deficiency, and what are the attractive qualities in the person of Christ. The subjects of his sermons are greatly diversified, and their treatment is so rich and varied that the thought and illustrations captivate the listener or reader, apart from the purpose of the preacher, and yet the central purpose is always the same. He grasps each one's points of contact with life and brings him to a personal conception of what it is to be a disciple of Christ. I have never heard him preach a sermon and I have never read a discourse of his where this highest and supreme claim was sacrificed to moral and spiritual entertainment. The very structure of his sermons bears witness to this vitalizing process. Master as he is of literary form and concise expression and the graces of style, he is never able to stop long enough to dally with his gifts. They are consecrated to a purpose, and his aim is so high and earnest that they are mainly used to help him to fulfill the great aim of his preaching. The only volume of his discourses in which this literary gift is allowed any freedom is that which contains his sermons preached in English churches, and even here it finds somewhat scant expression. The same characteristic is found in Robertson's sermons and in Cardinal Newman's. In each instance the preacher uses his gifts in subordination to his purpose. This recognition of the highest aim is also the secret of success. All great preachers have been men who reached out at once to what is highest and supreme in men, and have refused to appeal to anything less. This is the secret of their success. It flatters the persons whom they address; it opens the way to their minds and hearts; and when the conquest is made on the great lines, everything subordinate falls into place. Bishop Brooks rises into the ranks of the great preachers because he is a man of great gifts, and because his mind is always directed to central things. Every sermon which he preaches marches straight out in its development from a particular point to the statement of a universal truth or principle, and to its relation to the life of God in the soul of man. Without expressing in formal words a system of theology in definite form,

he appeals at all times to convictions which have their roots in a complete philosophy of religion. His mind is self-active, always working from within, always moving toward what is central, always proceeding to universals. He is so constantly working out his own ideas along the higher planes of thinking and believing, that he reaches his conclusions independently of others, and his reading and his intercourse with men are chiefly useful in furnishing illustrations of his own convictions. It is a rare thing for him to quote an authority or refer to his experience or reading in support or illustration of his propositions. Even his rapid speaking is undoubtedly controlled by this mental vigor, which exults and delights in pouring itself forth whenever it has occasion. The rush of his thoughts and feelings is such that the words can hardly be spoken fast enough to keep up with the ideas. His use of simple language, the severity and the plainness of his style, grows out of the concentration of thought, which seeks the most direct expression. The same habit of mind is illustrated in his occasional speeches and addresses. However special may be the starting-point, he always lifts his speech to beyond the time and place into the higher thought to which it relates.

Bishop Brooks is an individualist. In approaching society and studying life, he sees the man before he recognizes the institution to which he belongs. This is illustrated in his "Lectures on Preaching," and in his Bohlen Lectures on "The Influence of Jesus," a very remarkable study of the human life of our Lord, something in the style of "Ecce Homo," and an attempt to show the reality of that life on its human side. In both volumes it is the individual conception of life which is insisted upon. Frederick Maurice was both an individualist and an institutionalist. Bishop Brooks has intense sympathy with him in his strong appeal to the human consciousness and in his conception of the Person of Christ, but he falls below Maurice in his view of society as an organism and of institutions as the chief agencies by which society is controlled. Nothing which he has written has the constructive purpose which marks Maurice's "Kingdom of Christ." He is comprehensive and universal in his views of men and things. He is quick to see all sides of a question. Humanity as a whole, life as a whole, human activity as a whole, the application of truth to life as a whole, the life of God in the soul of man as a whole, — these expressions represent the flow of his thought and feeling and control his action, but when he looks out upon society, and takes a constructive view of its institutions and regards it as

an organism, his expression in word and deed is that of a positive individualist, a confirmed optimist, a man who believes that the movement of ethical thought will lift us above the evils which men undertake to reform, and who trusts more to the renewal of the individual through changes in personal character than to the reform of the world by associated energies. What may be his development as a bishop in laying hold of the constructive agencies, in which people serve God by working together, cannot be anticipated, but it would seem as if this limitation were temperamental and constitutional.

This study of the opinions and convictions of Bishop Brooks gives an understanding of the totality of the man which explains the fact of his eminence and furnishes an adequate reason for his success. He has in a rare degree the quality of sympathy. It affects his imagination, and enables him to see and appreciate and interpret the thoughts of others. It acts upon his will, and gives him the power to restrain himself from acts which would put up bars between himself and others. It affects his emotional nature, and opens his heart to large and free communion with others. It affects his judgment, and makes him a well-rounded man, whose large common sense in important matters can be depended upon. It enters into his whole conception of life, so that when he stands up before an audience and begins to think with reference to them, it puts him in immediate and close communion with them. You feel this in the very look and bearing of the man before you. It is his atmosphere, his unconscious expression of himself, and the moment he begins to speak, the conditions are ripe for a proper understanding between him and the people whom he is addressing. He needs no elocution, no tricks of expression, to secure attention. It is a mutual engagement from the start. You feel the sincerity and the manhood of the preacher. He once remarked that "he who is most powerful in strengthening faith in people's lives by the way in which the power of faith is uttered through his own character is the successful preacher," and this is the charm which lies hidden in the man and breaks out like gleams of light as he proceeds with his discourse. The rapid utterance, the toss of the head, the frequent looking up from the audience, the lack of gestures suited to the word are entirely forgotten in the communication of his thought to the people. Even the imposing physique is lost sight of. The very form of the sermon itself is forgotten. Silently, gradually, the speech, whether written or unwritten, becomes the contact of soul with soul, the wrestling of

a master in dealing with the whole of life, which goes on between the preacher and those before him. I never have met one who could define the oratory of Bishop Brooks. It is easier to say what it is not than to analyze what it is. It is the flowing together of so many qualities which come out from the man himself in his speech that it cannot be defined, and yet its effect is due to mental and spiritual laws that are in happy combination. It is, after all, his favorite principle of personality, which he once described as "the only power in which mystery can become real and vital and practical." Bishop Potter expressed, at the close of the sermon preached at his consecration, in words which cannot be improved, the almost ineffable communication of grace and light which characterizes his preaching, and has caused people to hang upon his lips: —

"It is not learning, nor eloquence, nor generosity, nor insight, nor the tidal rush of impassioned feeling which will most effectually turn the dark places in men's hearts to light, but that enkindling and transforming temper which forever sees in humanity, not that which is bad and hateful, but that which is lovable and redeemable, — that nobler longing of the soul which is the indestructible image of its Maker. It is this — this enduring belief in the redeemable qualities of the vilest manhood — which is the most potent spell in the ministry of Christ, and which it seems to me you have never for an instant lost out of yours."¹

It is a great thing that a man with the unique gifts possessed by Dr. Brooks and with twenty years' experience during mature life among all sorts of New England people should be placed in the office of a bishop in that part of New England where the antagonism to Episcopacy has been stronger than anywhere else in America, and where the conflict between historical Christianity and modern thought and life is unceasing. If such a man has the qualities of leadership which enable him to give direction to religious forces, he soon comes to have a wonderfully shaping influence upon the social and religious life of the people, and it is just this position which Bishop Brooks has come to occupy in our New England society. Too much a son of the Puritans to ever forget that their blood is in his veins, and too loyal a Churchman ever to forget the great principles of historical and organic Christianity, the antagonisms between the conceptions of Christianity which have divided the English-speaking world are constantly finding in him their reconciliation. In his word and deed they

¹ *Waymarks*, 1870-1891, p. 382.

become complementary to one another. The Episcopal Church during his administration of the diocese will not be engaged in insulting those who have been educated in Puritan traditions, and the children of the Puritans will no longer find it possible to maintain their hostile attitude toward the children of the Church of England. Bishop Brooks will never cease to be a Puritan because he has taken the spirit of New England too deeply into his life to lose its vitalizing power, and it remains for him to show that it is possible for an Anglican bishop to be the type of what the Puritans failed to find in the cruel days when Archbishop Laud was at the head of the English Church. His own ecclesiastical and religious position represents the two principles in happy combination which have been working apart since the English Act of Uniformity of 1662. On this point of unity of religious forces he has said:—

“I do not see the slightest promise in any dimmest distance of what is called the organic unity of Christendom on the basis of Episcopacy or upon any other basis. I do not see the slightest chance of the entire harmonizing of the Christian doctrine through the Christian world, that dream which men have dreamed ever since Christ ascended into heaven, that sight which no man’s eye has seen in any age. But I do see signs that, keeping their different thoughts concerning Him and his teachings, men, loyal to Christ, owning his love, trusting his love, may be united in the only union which is really valuable wherever his blessed name is known. In that union, and in that alone, can I find myself truly one alike with Origen and Athanasius and Augustine, alike with Luther and with Zwingli and with Calvin and with St. Francis and with Bishop Andrewes and with Dr. Channing, alike with the prelate who ordains me and with the Methodist or Baptist brother who is trying to bring men to the same Christ in the same street where I am working. And no union which will not include all these ought to wholly satisfy us, because no other will fully satisfy the last great prayer of Jesus.”¹

This declaration is in happy accord with the spirit in which the common work of all Christian people must be done. It does not mean that Bishop Brooks will neglect his own flock in order to take care of those who do not belong to his fold. It means that he is in sympathy with the largest interpretation of our Christian life in its relation to society in New England and in this country, and that he stands immutably for what we all mean by American Christianity. It is believed that his Episcopate will be so marked by fidelity to his own part of the church, and by such eminent and

¹ *Princeton Review*, March, 1879.

candid sympathy with those people over whom he does not have spiritual charge, that in some sense its blessing as well as its influence will be felt by all Christian congregations.

The crowning fact in his life has been his thorough identification with the life of the people. This is seen in his unwillingness to accept any definition of the Church of America which is less than "the great total body of Christianity in America, in many divisions, under many names, broken, discordant, disjointed, often quarrelsome and disgracefully jealous, part of part, yet as a whole bearing perpetual testimony to the people of America of the authority and love of God, of the redemption of Christ, and of the sacred possibilities of man." It is this conception of ecclesiastical life which conveys the largeness and the inclusiveness of his vision, his human sympathies, and his Christian common sense. "The Episcopal Church's only real chance of powerful life," in his opinion, "is in the more and more complete identification of herself with the genius and national life of America." It is this identification with our national life which seems to be foremost in his work in the part of the church to which he belongs. As a man, as a Christian, and as a bishop he is not willing to shut himself up from the whole American Church, not willing to be isolated from the great tides of life in the nation, not willing to think of the kingdom of God except as coextensive with humanity. He stands for all that is vital and fundamental in our common Christianity, and his work as a bishop will be to bring the Episcopal Church into quicker and stronger sympathy with the American people. It means everything in the thoughts of the best men when such a person becomes an influential member of the House of Bishops and is able to illustrate in his own life and character the ideal of what all men are longing to see in a spiritual leader.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES TO MODERN RELIGIOUS LIFE.

ENGLAND is the only Protestant nation which succeeded in reforming and perpetuating the Roman Catholic hierarchy. All the forerunners of the Reformation had made the attempt. John Hus explained, without explaining quite away, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, image worship, and all the Roman dogmas, and finally laid down his life rather than separate from the church of his fathers. The German reformers reduced to the lowest terms the demands which they were obliged to make in the Augsburg confession. They hoped to the last that the great schism might be avoided. Melancthon made further concessions, retained only a few doctrines which were absolutely necessary, and prolonged the struggle for compromise after the death of Luther. John Calvin gave up the attempt and carried the whole continent of Europe with him. One united reformed and Catholic Church became the object of all prayer and work under the lead of the greatest of the reformers of the sixteenth century. In Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Poland, Spain, and Italy, at the death of Calvin in 1564, the reformed churches had discarded the government and the ritual of Romanism completely.

There were two obstacles to this uncompromising reformation in England. Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell had succeeded in making an absolute monarchy of the government. Parliament met only to sanction the royal decrees. At every mention of the absent king, the Lords would rise and bow down to the throne. They were ready to vote that Abel killed Cain, if this were the royal pleasure. The reformation of the church was a political expedient, and went only so far as the royal prerogative required. The atrocious six articles of Henry VIII. restored the worst superstitions of Romanism. The Church of England went zigzag, half reformed under Henry, well reformed under Edward, back again to Rome under Mary, and finally severed from the Pope under Elizabeth, but always a political establishment subservient to an absolute monarchy.

The other obstacle was insuperable. The people of England had proved before, and have often proved since, capable of coping with tyrants. But in the sixteenth century the people were ignorant and superstitious, and as a whole they did not want a better

reformation than the Tudors chose to give them. They did not know how to pray without a book, and had little ardor for the preaching of the true word of God. They were fascinated by vestments, by ceremonies, and by the parade of authority. Cranmer had the sagacity to see how much of a reformation the people could bear. Somerset and Cecil were with Calvin and Knox at heart, but knew better than Hooper and Latimer and Ridley and the Puritans afterwards, that a complete reformation would involve a revolution for which the people were not yet prepared. The time had not come for the "reformation without tarrying for any." The Church of England tarried for the throne and for the people; the hierarchy was a political necessity. But we must never forget what created this necessity. Wiclif had undermined the Roman hierarchy one hundred and fifty years before by his definition of the church as a communion of saints consisting only of those who shall be saved in heaven. He had sent his poor preachers all over England, and his Lollards had formed little churches proclaiming a pure gospel and celebrating the sacraments in a simple way. They had managed to survive a strong church government which harried, hunted, and burned them. What if they had been let alone, without support or persecution, until the fullness of time? And what if Queen Elizabeth had minded her own business of state, and left the kingdom of God to take care of itself without help or hindrance from the throne? What if Oliver Cromwell had lived and had his way until 1688? Episcopacy and Presbyterianism would have survived. Churches that needed and desired a strong government would have had sessions, presbyteries, and assemblies; or rectors, dioceses, and convocations, to their hearts' content. But they would have neither attempted nor desired to enforce conformity upon others. There would have been no political churches in Great Britain after the Reformation. The Lollards would have taught the people without hindrance, Brown would not have been imprisoned and seduced back to a church of which he never approved, and his little congregation in Norwich would have increased and multiplied. Barrowe and Greenwood and Penry would not have been murdered, and their churches in London would have extended over England and Wales. Brewster and his Scrooby congregation would not have been exiled. Toleration would have come earlier and would have saved England from her bloody revolutions. The civil and religious freedom of the nineteenth century would have blessed the sixteenth. We have lived to see both, in England and America, everything ac-

complished for which Wiclif, John Robinson, Milton, Cromwell, and all the fathers of Congregationalism prayed and worked. The Church of Christ is let alone. Its kingdom is not of this world. Civil governments have no jurisdiction over it. A political church is forbidden by Scripture, and demoralizing in its tendencies. This is the American principle to-day. It is equally dear to all Protestant denominations, and to our most loyal Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. Episcopal and Lutheran ministers abroad have assured me that their American churches have practically more in common with our Congregational churches than with the political establishments of England and of Germany. We all stand together for the complete separation of our churches from political support and authority.

Our Pilgrim Fathers held this principle from the beginning. Their suffrage was never restricted to church members, and civil courts had no jurisdiction over the churches. Just two hundred years ago, in 1692, they were absorbed by the new Colony of Massachusetts, and the half-Presbyterianism of the Puritans gradually gave way to the pure Congregationalism of the Pilgrims. Elders ceased to be rulers in the churches. The General Courts ceased to call synods and to enforce their decrees by law. Churches were no longer disciplined nor ministers ordained and deposed by civil authority. And at last taxation for the support of churches was repealed. These were always the principles of the Pilgrims, and they have become in these two centuries the most cherished principles of all our churches. This is the greatest and best contribution of pure Congregationalism to modern religious life.

But it rests upon a more fundamental principle for which churches with a Congregational polity are still standing alone. What do you mean by the Episcopal Church? You certainly do not mean what your Hooker describes: "Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards his church, the only proper subject thereof is the mystical body of Christ which can be but one, neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest are on earth, and the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense."¹ Your Presbyterian Church is neither the "whole number of the elect that have been or shall be gathered into one under Christ the head,"² nor "all those throughout the

¹ *Eccl. Pol.*, iii. 1.

² *Larger Catechism*, 64.

world that profess the true religion, and their children.”¹ You have in mind a third thing, which is neither the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, nor the Church of God which was in Corinth, and is now in Trinity, or in Fifth Avenue, or in the Old South, consisting of those who in every place call upon the name of the Lord, are sanctified in Christ Jesus, are called of God, and are true saints. And this third thing of yours is a pure fiction, or else it is a jurisdiction of mere human authority. And that authority, with its pains and penalties, has an inherent tendency to perpetuate the evils of a political establishment.

Pure Congregationalism has always protested against this third thing. It has only two essential principles; righteousness of heart and life is the indispensable and only condition of church membership; and the presence of Christ in the midst of any number of his disciples, gathered together in his name, constitutes them a true church. Congregationalism is therefore a witness against two heresies: the heresy of religion without righteousness; and the heresy of a church composed of a mixed multitude of saints and impenitent sinners exercising authority. The two principles are one in substance, because the two heresies are inseparable.

The worst and the most persistent heresy in the world is the dogma that the practice of an established religion is acceptable to God without personal righteousness. Our Lord found it in full sway. The Sadducees were avowed unbelievers of everything spiritual and supernatural, and yet were all the more bigoted in their attachment to the Levitical system. Opposed to them was a party which compounded for frauds and scandalous immoralities by fanatical adherence to their traditional ceremonies. That awful separation of religion from righteousness, which always blasts personal and national character, was proceeding with frightful celerity, when the Lord came suddenly to his temple to purify the sons of Levi, and to purge them as gold and silver, that they might offer an offering of righteousness.

The epistles of Paul are directed against both forms of this heresy. What he is denouncing as “works of the law” is a formal religiousness of fastings, ceremonial cleanness, and superstitious incantations. This so-called righteousness of their own manufacture is like filthy rags. The only righteousness which is acceptable to God is the perfect obedience, even unto death, of

¹ *Westm. Conf.*, xxiv. 6.

our Lord Jesus Christ. By faith in Him we may become partakers of this genuine righteousness. And then our sacrifice will not be a formality conformed to the world, but a transforming of the whole life by the renewing of the mind.

It was no part of the apostle's purpose, at first, to demolish the Jewish system completely. His doctrine of personal righteousness through faith in Christ might have reformed and Christianized it. His plea for the toleration of it in the fourteenth and fifteenth of Romans is pathetic. But it proved to be too bigoted for reform. The gospel of personal righteousness demolished both forms of the great heresy: a ceremonial religiousness, and an exclusive class of religious persons under a hierarchy.

Puritanism was a revolt of the common sense and of the conscience of our ancestors against this persistent heresy, and to this extent Puritanism has been triumphant. Protestantism means Puritanism, in the English language. Nobody really believes that a man is a Christian merely because he has been baptized and confirmed, and practices devoutly his religious ceremonies. Liturgies have ceased to be a substitute for holiness of character and life. Episcopacy has accepted everything which it opposed with bloody persecutions under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, and with contempt and ostracism against the Wesleys. Its theories of baptismal regeneration and of sacramental salvation may be retained, modified, or discarded. But in practice it repudiates as cordially as any other branch of the Protestant church the great heresy that religion is a makeshift for righteousness.

Ponder the searching questions which are now generally used in the preparation of candidates for confirmation: —

- "1. Have you determined to avoid whatever you know to be sinful?
- "2. Will you constantly seek the help of the Holy Spirit to live a Christian life?
- "3. Will you maintain the habit of prayer wherever you may be, morning and night?
- "4. Will you come regularly to the services of the church on the Lord's Day, and whenever else you can?
- "5. Will you try to be a devout and faithful communicant?
- "6. Will you do what you can for the cause of Christ by personal effort?
- "7. Will you contribute regularly of your income, whether large or small, to the support of your parish and to other religious purposes?
- "8. Do you understand that the vows you renew in Confirmation are to be life long?"

A regenerate heart and the beginning of a holy life are certainly needed to answer these questions in the affirmative, with intelligence and sincerity.

This contribution of the Puritan spirit to the American religious consciousness seems to have been divinely designed for these times. For all our Protestant churches are drawing their adherents from those classes which are most of all exposed to the danger of formality in religion. It is true that the papal church has always held masses of the poor and vicious under this delusion. But their ignorance itself is some protection from its worst effect on conscience. The constituency of American Protestant churches is too intelligent to yield to formalism without smothering the light that is in them.

We have fifteen million families in the United States, and about thirteen million members of Protestant churches. Children and others associated with us in our congregations are more numerous than our communicants. By a moderate estimate, the number of nominal Protestants is equal to the aggregate of two persons out of every American family. But eleven and a half million families are wage-workers. They are largely Roman Catholic immigrants. Our average in all other families must be immensely greater. In fact, it includes a large majority. Out of two million families of skilled workmen, we have a majority; of one million families of small capitalists, we have a larger majority; of a hundred thousand families worth over two hundred thousand dollars each, we have a still larger majority; and of ten thousand families worth over a million each, we have an immense majority. Two estates of one hundred and fifty millions each belong to the Episcopal Church; three out of five estates of one hundred millions each are also in the Episcopal Church. Presbyterians have the next largest portion of these enormous incomes. And Congregational churches are next in this dangerous eminence.

Now it is safe enough to say that all these families have organic relations to the kingdom of heaven. But it is not safe to say that this long procession of camels can march through the eye of the needle into the church of God without unloading their high-mindedness. It is not safe to say that a field sown with good seed and oversown with the noxious tares of covetousness is the holy church of Christ. The field is the world, not the church. The good seed is the church, and it consists of those only who are children of the kingdom. The few who are rich, the many who are growing rich, and the exceeding great multitude that no man can

number who are trying to grow rich, are coming in these times into our evangelical congregations. They are welcome. We have a special message for them. We are to tell them that covetousness is idolatry ; that if they leave their neighbor to perish at their gates, they will die and be buried, and then in hell they will lift up their eyes being in torment ; that they must do good and be rich in good works, and not trust in uncertain riches, but lay up in store a good foundation and lay hold upon eternal life. But baptizing and confirming, and laying hands on them, with the historic factor of the apostolic succession, and encouraging them to say liturgies by rote, without strenuous efforts to convert their hard and impenitent hearts, is the most dangerous business in the world. It would smother their own conscience and corrupt the church of God. If the principles which prevailed at the first reformation of the churches of England and Scotland were now in force among us, the worst church establishment ever known would be possible. A church established by mere money endowments and by the predominance of moneyed men would be the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not.

Scientific research and critical scholarship are training another class of men, who are affecting our churches for good or for evil more than at any other period of history. They form scarcely an ingredient of papal churches in America. They are either avowed agnostics, or nominal Protestants. If their hearts are filled with the spirit of God, they will become our teachers and the prophets of the golden age of Christianity. But religious observances without a spiritual experience of the divine life are of all things most dangerous to men who think for themselves. Our churches are ready to welcome these leaders of the thought and of the business of our times, but not a moment before they are new creatures in Christ Jesus. Saints are safe in the house of Cæsar, and the church is safe with Cæsar in its house, if only Cæsar be a saint. We need saintliness in the bank, in the exchange, in the court of justice, in the newspaper office, in Congress, in the laboratory, and in the university. But the church can exist without a representative from these institutions. We must have saintliness in the church of God. It is nothing else than a communion of saints.

This is the truth for which Congregational churches have stood from the beginning. Dr. Dale, the president of the London Council, has expressed it briefly in a message recently sent to his American brethren :—

"All Protestant Christendom is passing through a time of transition in its religious thought and life, a perilous yet glorious time. What is the service that we are called to render to our brethren? In England, sixty years ago, John Henry Newman and the men associated with him in the Oxford movement foresaw the severity of the trial to which faith would soon be subjected by investigations of criticism, and believed that safety was to be found in demonstrating the authority of a great historic and venerable church. I venture to think that the fundamental principles of our own polity suggest a far diviner security. It is for us to bear testimony through age after age, on the ground of personal experience, to the power and grace of the living Christ; and this testimony is not merely the testimony of individual men, but of societies of men — of churches. We know that Christ is alive; we know it, each man for himself. And when we meet together in His name, we often discover by actual experience what we believe is always true, that He is among us.

"With this immediate knowledge of Christ we may watch, not without the keenest interest — but without any alarm — the great critical controversies of our age. Whatever be the issue, the eternal foundations are unmoved."

It would be unpardonable to leave this exalted ideal to speak for itself without the frank acknowledgment that Congregationalists have not always been faithful to it. Our worst departure from it is a fact of ancient history. But two others have extended to our own times.

The practice of requiring formal assent or subscription to theological articles of belief as a condition of church membership is absolutely inconsistent with Congregational principles. We believe and teach that every person who has the divine life and meets with us in the name of Christ is by virtue of his regenerate heart a member of the church. Our enrollment of his name in our local church is only a recognition of a relation which already exists, and a pledge of mutual fidelity. And yet we require a test which we admit to be no certain criterion of his conversion. I have written at length of this anomaly, and need not repeat here the arguments against it.¹ It is rapidly disappearing. An elaborate paper against its continuance was received by the London Council without a single protest.² A genuine Christian experience and a godly life may be considered henceforth the only qualifications for church membership.

Another inconsistency, a little more remote, was the confounding of a genuine spiritual experience with a vivid consciousness

¹ See *Andover Review*, March, 1890.

² *International Council*, James Clark & Co., London, 1891, p. 107.

of it and the ability to talk about it. All the ministers of New England assembled in Boston in 1637 to discuss this question: How may we know that we are truly regenerate? Eighty-two errors were condemned! There are living persons who were asked, in order to test the genuineness of their conversion, if they were willing to be damned for the glory of God. Grave doubts were entertained, within the memory of men now living, whether any one was prepared to join the church unless he could fix the day of his conversion. Episcopalians have rendered us good service in our retreat from this untenable position. But the man to whom they, as well as we, are most indebted is Horace Bushnell. For there is not a trace of sacerdotalism, or of salvation by mere sacraments, in his "*Christian Nurture*." That epoch-making book gave us the clue. It set us to searching for the true evidences of a regenerate heart. And it has been finally adopted as a textbook in the theological seminary which at first denounced its doctrine as heresy! We ask no more questions prompting a perilous introspection, but look for an actual experience of saving grace in its feeble beginnings. The qualification of church membership is no longer a good memory, much less an extended "relation" of questionable "exercises."

But by far our worst departure from the Congregational ideal was the Half-way Covenant. It is astonishing to find Episcopal writers quoting this strange reaction with approbation, and Edwards's Great Awakening with apparent regret. They cannot know what they are saying. The Episcopal Church does not stand to-day for any such demoralizing thing as the Half-way Covenant. In 1648, when the Cambridge Synod started the question, and dodged it in its platform, and in 1662, when the Boston Synod finally adopted the principle of a modified church membership without a Christian experience, both the Episcopal and the Presbyterian churches undoubtedly approved. It was a retreat of Puritans who had been Presbyterians in England, and were half-way Presbyterians still, to the Presbyterian doctrine of the church. But all good Christians of our times, who know its disastrous history, unite with us in deploring it. It was not pure Congregationalism after the way of the Pilgrim fathers, who never adopted it, but a makeshift of this political establishment of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut.

This attempt to retain godless families in the church was prolonged for more than one hundred years. One minister, who had kept no records, testified near the close of his life that, to the best

of his knowledge and belief, he had baptized every person in his parish, except a few Indians. Another invited all persons to the communion table who were not guilty of indictable crimes. In one of the original churches of New England, only fifteen male members, out of several hundred, were in full communion, and the minister was a whiskey distiller! We do not care to recall this darkest period of our history. We have recovered lost ground, and rejoice to find all the evangelical churches standing with us practically on safe Scriptural ground as to the spiritual qualification of church membership.

Our contribution to modern religious life is the restored and reinvigorated ideal of the church. We recognize, with thankfulness to God, the convergence of all evangelical churches towards it. "Even those who maintain with passionate earnestness a doctrine of the priesthood and of the sacraments which appear to us to be irreconcilable with the whole spirit and substance of the Christian faith, are only contending for the sacredness and efficacy of the appointed means which in their judgment first originates and then sustains the divine life in man."¹ They have the same end in view for which we are praying and laboring, and we refuse to be separated from them, even if they withdraw from us.

For this divine ideal of the church of God is the only possible basis for the unity which was the object of our Lord's great intercession, and which is becoming more and more the object of our own prayers. There is no sign that it is coming by the transfer of all other denominations to one. The Episcopal Church has recently proposed that we should all retain our present customs of worship and sacraments, and unite with them on the doctrinal basis of the Nicene Creed, and on the polity of the historic Episcopacy. What prospect is there of such an ecclesiastical transfer? Episcopalians were in America a few years in advance of the Pilgrims. We outnumber them now by a few thousands. But both of us combined are vastly outnumbered by denominations whose work began more than a hundred years later. The "Disciples," a very recent sect, hardly known in New England, are three quarters of a million. The Germans, Lutheran and Reformed, are a million. The Presbyterians, of all classes, are over a million, and the Methodists over three millions. It does not become a denomination which numbers less than half a million to say much about absorbing all the rest.

In fact, if mere numbers are any indication of the tendency of

¹ Dr. Dale's *Address to the London Council*, p. 34.

American churches, it is setting unmistakably towards Congregationalism. The difference between us and the Baptists is an imaginary line. We are practicing immersion if our members ask for it, and they are almost practicing infant baptism, because so many of their children are converted in tender years. And we are absolutely agreed in doctrine and in polity. Our churches thus virtually united number nearly four millions, and are increasing more rapidly than ever before.

But this is a convergence, not an absorption. Baptists and Congregationalists are less sectarian and more denominational than ever before. This is exactly true of all. Christian unity is increasing as church union recedes. There was a church union for many years in the foreign missionary work of the American Board. It is now the agency of one denomination. Every denomination has its Tract Society. The best missionary work in cities is done by denominations. The best work for temperance, for the poor, and for laboring men is done by church missions. The safest and most conservative thinking on social questions is forged at white heat in great denominational conventions. There is no such effective organization for any good thing which needs to be done for the social, moral, and spiritual good of men as the holy church of God, and there is not a church in sight anywhere which does not belong to some denomination. Denominationalism is not subsiding, but growing.

But sectarianism is subsiding. It is the one impressive fact of modern religious life. We lack the heroic spirit of our fathers. Perhaps we lack their intense spirituality. But we love Whittier the Quaker as fervently as Cotton and Mather hated all who followed not after them. A sweeter charity and a more hearty coöperation in every good work are certain signs of unity of spirit in the bonds of peace.

Make the denominations converge. Give over resisting the tendency to denominationalism, and resist all the more earnestly every tendency to sectarianism. Every revival of pure and undefiled religion will do it. Every kindling sermon and prayer-meeting will do it. The election of such men as Phillips Brooks to be bishops will do it. Make the churches converge. If they are true churches of Christ, they are not working on divergent nor even on parallel lines. Make them converge more rapidly to the beloved point where we are sure to meet at last in one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father of us all.

As for Congregationalists, *nous y sommes arrivés*. We are not

a sect. There is not the slightest change we could make in our polity, though many changes doubtless in our fidelity to it, which could draw us nearer to the heart of the Christian brotherhood. We hold every Episcopal church and every other local church where disciples are gathered in His name, in the same reverence as our own, and in the closest fellowship they will permit. The other day a whole conference of Methodist churches became Congregational, without the slightest change of worship or of custom. We have Congregational Churches where the Prayer Book of the Church of England is used without the change of a word. There is no good thing in any church which we are not free to appropriate, and no good thing in our own which we would withhold. "Affirming our belief that those who hold one faith, one Lord, one baptism, together constitute the one Catholic Church, the several households of which, though called by different names, are the one body of Christ, and that these members of his body are sacredly bound to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, we declare that we will coöperate with all who hold these truths. With them we will carry the gospel into every part of this land, and with them we will go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. May He to whom all power is given in heaven and earth fulfill the promise which is all our hope: Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."¹

Wolcott Calkins.

NEWTON, MASS.

THE ATTEMPT AT CHURCH UNION IN JAPAN.

IN view of the widespread interest in church union, a brief account of the attempt recently made in Japan may be of some use, especially as the question is likely to rise whether the failure of that attempt shows the impracticability of organic church union at present, or whether it was due to adventitious causes which might be avoided another time. Since the familiar English names Congregational and Presbyterian will be used, it should be mentioned in advance that neither is used by the Japanese. The churches which have grown up in connection with the work of the American Board's mission call themselves Kumiai, which might be translated "Associated," while the churches planted by

¹ Burial Hill Declaration.

the various Presbyterian (American, North and South, and Scotch) and Reformed (both "Dutch" and "German") missions have been for a number of years united under the name of Itchi ("united"), and now have changed their designation to the Japanese equivalent of the "Church of Christ in Japan." Still, as the one body is essentially Congregational, and the other Presbyterian, it seems more convenient to use English words in an English article. These are the two bodies whose union was attempted, and almost accomplished, a few years ago. Some extravagant reports may have been published abroad, as if a union of all churches was about to be accomplished, but no such great task was attempted, though some of the friends of the movement may have hoped that it would lead in time to a still wider union. At the same time it may be mentioned that the two together include just about two thirds of the Protestant Christians of Japan, and that if they were united there would be seven foreign missionary societies in America and Scotland brought into coöperation in Japan. If it be asked why these two bodies in particular should have meditated union, it may be replied that they were (and still are) the nearest together of the great families of churches, with the fewest obstacles to union. There is between them no difference of mode of worship or of administration of church rites (such as would hinder union with the Baptists), neither is under episcopal government, and neither of them is so integrally united with a church organization in another country (as are the Methodists) that the union with each other need have broken any other ties. An illustration of their nearness to each other is the fact that a joint committee of the two bodies prepared the hymn-book now in use; another is the fact that for several years the Presbyterian and American Board missions united in aiding one common Christian paper in Japanese. It may be added here, too, that the "Church of Christ in Japan" has now a broadly evangelical confession of faith, with no distinctively Calvinistic elements, and that thus there is now no theological difference between the two bodies, although at the time the union was under discussion the Presbyterians were still under the Westminster confession. It might also be mentioned that the two bodies, from the very fact of being so much alike, are perhaps especially liable to come into competition with each other whenever they come into contact.

Fifteen years ago it was thought by some of us that the two bodies would divide the country between them, since the work of the Presbyterians was chiefly in the East, with Tokyo and Yoko-

hama as centres, while that of the Congregationalists was in the West, around Kobe and Osaka (and afterwards Kyoto). Hence, when a church was planted in Mr. Neesima's old home, there was serious question whether it should not be advised to connect itself with the Presbyterians, as being in their part of the country, and when young men who went from our churches to Tokyo wished to form a Congregational church there, their desire was discouraged as much as possible. But in a few years the futility of any such attempt at division of territory was clearly seen, and now both Congregationalists and Presbyterians are working in all parts of the land, from the extreme southwest to the extreme northeast. With the best intentions in the way of harmony, it is impossible to avoid close contact at times, and although in general a spirit of mutual affection has prevailed, there is more or less danger of rivalry and friction. There is also more or less waste of missionary resources, and more or less loss of the best efficiency. For example, it would be a great waste for each body to have two first-class colleges and theological schools, one for the east and one for the west, and yet neither body can use the other's institutions with the same freedom and comfort as its own; it would be a great advantage if the two colleges now existing (one in Kyoto and one in Tokyo) could each serve both bodies in its part of the country.

It will now be attempted to give a brief outline of the history of the movement for union, reserving comments till later in this paper. In April, 1886, at the annual meeting of the Congregational churches held in Kyoto, a letter was presented from the Presbyterians suggesting union. No action on it was taken at this time, but the matter was commended to the consideration of the churches, and it was arranged that the next meeting should be held in Tokyo, and at the same time with the annual meeting of the Synod, in order to give opportunity for negotiations if they should be found expedient. Accordingly, in May, 1887, the two bodies met in Tokyo, and the result was the adoption of a brief outline of a basis of union, and the appointment of a joint committee, who should elaborate the constitution if the churches after ample time for considering the proposed basis should generally express a desire to have the negotiations go on. This committee, consisting of seven Japanese and three foreigners from each side, met at Osaka in February, 1888, and spent five solid days in their work. Some differences of opinion were expressed during the discussion, but all concurred most heartily in the result that was reached, and as we knelt in

thanksgiving at the end, we all felt that we were thoroughly one in Christ, and that there was nothing whatever which need hinder us from full and complete union, a union not only of heart, but of organization and work. The broken voices of those who led in prayer showed the deep feeling of joyful thanksgiving which moved all our hearts. As some critics afterwards expressed the thought that foreigners had too much to do with shaping this movement, it may be right to call attention to the great preponderance of Japanese in this committee, and to testify that they took at least their full share in the discussions and decisions. The discussions were all in the Japanese language. The Japanese delegates included some of the strongest men in the churches on both sides. Among them were the present presidents of the two colleges (the Doshisha in Kyoto and the Meiji in Tokyo) and pastors of prominent churches. If the desire of the Congregational churches failed to be satisfied, it certainly was not through lack of ability and independence in their representatives.

The work of this committee was, of course, published in Japanese, and also an English translation, and was presented to the churches for their consideration. At the spring meeting of the two bodies it was arranged that both should meet at the same time in November, at Osaka, in order that if both accepted the proposed union it might at once be carried into effect. So auspicious had been the meeting of the joint committee, and so little criticism had yet been made of the proposed union, that it was generally regarded as being sure to be adopted. But in the course of the late summer and the fall the prospect was completely changed on the Congregational side. In various quarters objections were raised, and almost a panic arose among some of the churches. The fear of being hurried, against their will, into giving up their freedom became so great that at one time it seemed very doubtful whether any meeting could be held at all in November, the churches fearing to send delegates even to discuss the matter. The standing committee of the general conference was advised by some of the warmest friends of union not to call the meeting, lest the attendance should be so ridiculously small as to bring contempt and shame upon the whole proceeding. But the committee properly decided that there was no option but to convene the meeting according to the vote passed in May, and the result was a very general attendance, though a number of churches sent their representatives not as "delegates" but as "postponers," coining a new word for the occasion. Accordingly it was a mat-

ter of course that the formal discussion of union should be postponed till the next regular meeting of the Conference in May. Meanwhile a committee was appointed to revise the basis of union after hearing whatever suggestions the churches might care to make. This committee consisted of almost entirely the same persons as those who had been the Congregational representatives in the joint committee. But, although no other business was done at this November meeting, the gathering was by no means in vain; four days were spent, not in discussing the proposed basis of union, but in talking over the whole matter of union, its difficulties and advantages, and the principles which should guide in forming a union. Several missionaries spoke by invitation, both those who favored union and those who doubted its feasibility, but the most of the talking was done by the Japanese themselves, and it is significant that no one of them came out as an opponent of organic union. Thus it was felt at the close of this meeting which had begun with so much doubt and fear, that there was good reason to hope for the accomplishment of union at the next meeting.

It may be mentioned here that the mission took no official action either for or against union, it being our policy to leave such matters entirely to the Japanese to decide; but as we seemed to be called on for advice, and as we were unable to agree in our views of the subject (about three fourths favoring the proposed union, and one fourth objecting to it), two of the mission were appointed to present such statements, in their own individual names, as they might think best. These were issued and distributed to the churches during the winter. One brought to the minds of the churches the heroic memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, and spoke of the advantages of freedom and the sufficiency of heart-fellowship without organic union; the other spoke of the advantages of organic union, and endeavored to show the reasonableness of the form of union contemplated.

Early in March, 1889, the revising committee met in the room where this paper is now written, and spent three solid days in their task. At this meeting the Japanese brethren did not only their full share of the talking, but almost the whole of it, the foreigners doing little more than sit by and listen. The result was that no radical change was made in the proposed constitution, but that a number of changes were made, (1) to meet criticisms which did not concern the essential matters of the union but only details; (2) to make plainer and simpler the real spirit of the proposed union. An example of the first is the dropping

of the Biblical word "bishop," which it had been proposed to introduce as a name for ministers, but which was found to excite prejudice, as seeming to claim an episcopal rank for the ministry, and which was thought to be likely to lead to confusion because of the other use of the word by Episcopalians. An illustration of the second is that the right of appeal, which the constitution was accused of allowing from all church decisions, was clearly defined to apply only to cases of discipline.

The committee felt that it would be a waste of time to report to the Conference a string of amendments without knowing whether or not they were likely to be acceptable to the other party; and accordingly we went to Tokyo and presented our suggestions to our Presbyterian brethren. A most frank and friendly conference resulted in the acceptance of all the proposed changes with the exception that one was modified. What this was will be mentioned later.

In May the regular annual meeting of the Conference was held in Kobe, and almost its whole time was given to the consideration of this one subject. There were present a small minority who were altogether opposed to union, and endeavored to defeat it by amending the constitution into so ultra-Congregational a form that the Presbyterians could not possibly accept it. They were few in numbers, but determined in spirit, and did not hesitate to say that they would secede rather than enter the proposed union. They could not carry their points, but the desire to go as far as possible in conciliating them led the majority to make amendments to the constitution which were unacceptable to the Presbyterians, who, moreover, felt that they were trifled with in being asked again to make concessions, after having yielded, almost without exception, all that was proposed by the revising committee. Thus, although in form the result of the work of the Conference was an acceptance of union, in fact it was the death of it, and nothing further has been done in the matter since. For, by a strange piece of blundering, the Conference never officially reported its work to the Synod (which was at the same time in session at Tokyo), and thus had no chance to get an answer to its last amendments. It was universally recognized that the union was, for the present at least, impracticable, and nothing more was said or done about it, except that the Doshisha college church went through the solemn farce of rejecting union.

In describing briefly the proposed form of union, reference will be made, of course, to the finally revised form of the consti-

tution. As to doctrine, the Presbyterian churches were then still under the Westminster Confession, and though they did not demand that Calvinism be made a condition of union, they were not yet prepared to cut entirely loose from the old standards. Hence, in the proposed constitution the Heidelberg Catechism, the Westminster Confession, and the Plymouth Declaration (1865) were mentioned as being entitled to be held in reverence, but only the Apostles' Creed, Nicene Creed, and Articles of the Evangelical Alliance were made the standard. This mention of long, foreign creeds, which few had even heard of, was a stumbling-block to the Congregational churches, and it is to be wished that it might have been avoided. In the revision this was improved by the addition of a note providing for an early adoption of a new creed by the united churches, and the course of events since then shows that there would have been no difficulty in coming to an agreement on a broad and simple evangelical creed.

As to polity, which was, of course, the chief difficulty, it will be convenient to speak of three points,—the church, the bukwaï, and the sokwaï.

1. The church. It was distinctly provided that each local church should be independent in its own affairs. Forms of organization were suggested in an appendix, one with and one without "representative elders," but no preference was given to one over the other, and neither was more than a suggestion. It is, of course, open to any one to say that the example of the churches which had elders would have tended to lead all to adopt that form of organization, but it would be, perhaps, easier to say this than to prove it, and some thought it much more probable that the sessions of elders would, in time, have become simply standing committees. At any rate, each church would have been quite free to do as it pleased in this matter. The only limitations to the autonomy of the churches were that the bukwaï were to be their agents in ordination, installation, and dismissal of pastors, and that excommunicated church members might appeal to the bukwaï.

2. Bukwaï (literally "district meeting"). This word was coined for the occasion, and it may be better to leave it untranslated than to use a foreign word which may give a false impression. It was easy for unfriendly foreign critics to translate it "presbytery," and forthwith interpret the whole constitution accordingly; but in view of the fact that the Congregational churches have since then adopted this as the name of their local conferences, we need not be frightened by the word. The bukwaï, as

before stated, was to serve as the agent of the churches in ordinations, installations, dismissions, and church organization, which work, in fact, is now done by the Congregational bukwei. It was also to be responsible for the discipline of ministers. And thirdly, it was to be open for church members who believed that they had been unjustly disciplined by their churches, to appeal to bukwei for an arbitration of the case. In other words, the bukwei was to combine the functions of councils, both mutual and *ex parte*, and local conferences, besides having charge of ministerial standing. In case the bukwei should find that a person had been unjustly excommunicated by his church, it might either direct the church to receive him back, or might certify to his Christian character and recommend him to some other church, it being recognized both that it might be unwise sometimes to force a man back upon a church which had expelled him, and also that if there was no other church in the region it might be unjust to the individual unjustly condemned to leave him without church connection.

3. Sokwai ("general meeting"). This also was a word without prejudice of former use, and this also is now used by the Congregationalists. This body was to meet once a year, to discharge the natural functions of a general conference, to appoint and oversee missionary committees, and to receive appeals from the bukwei in cases of ministerial discipline. No other cases of discipline could be appealed to the sokwai; thus in all matters of discipline there was opportunity for one, and only one, appeal.

If, now, we proceed to inquire into the causes of the failure of this movement, we are off from the safe ground of historical narrative, and need not be surprised to receive a variety of answers. Some are inclined to think that the Japanese Congregationalists found their polity in the Bible, and therefore were unwilling to change it. It might, however, be difficult to point out the exact chapter and verse where they learned that pastors ought not to be delegates to bukwei unless especially chosen by their churches, and some of us who heard a good deal of discussion at that time fail to remember that the Bible was used as a storehouse of arguments by the opponents of union. Another view of the matter is that the defeat of union was due to Japanese fickleness, which some think was illustrated by the wonderful change of public sentiment in regard to treaty revision not long after that time, or that it was brought about by the mistaken zeal of the Doshisha students, who were certainly among the most energetic and ex-

treme of the opponents of union. Perhaps the best that can be done is to point out the two features of the proposed constitution which aroused the chief opposition, and also to call attention to two or three adventitious causes which at least greatly impeded union.

And, taking them in reverse order, one difficulty was that the Congregational churches were then almost entirely unorganized in their relations to each other, and had nothing whatever in the shape of a constitution. Hence this proposed constitution, which to Presbyterians seemed short and simple, appeared formidable to the Congregationalists, and it was easy for them to get the idea that it was a piece of ecclesiastical machinery which would steal away their liberties. It was, perhaps, a mistake that a commentary was not sent out to the churches with the constitution, pointing out what its spirit was, and what its working was expected to be, or that some of the friends of union did not go about among the churches and explain it to them. As it was, the opponents of union had the field entirely to themselves for some time.*

Another infelicity was the manner in which the question finally came before the Conference for decision. The committee which framed the constitution was a small one, there being on it only seven Japanese Congregationalists, and the only layman among them was unfortunately unable to attend the meetings of the committee. Hence, although perhaps no better and stronger representatives could have been selected, the most of the churches had no direct relation to the constitution, and the charge could be made that it was framed by ministers for the promotion of their own power; moreover, the work of the committee came before the Conference not as a finality to be either accepted or rejected, but as a draft which was subject to any amount of amendment. The result was, that, instead of discussing the broad question of union, and its advantages or difficulties, days were spent in debating minute points, and finally the constitution, while nominally accepted, was burdened with amendments which the Presbyterians could not have been expected to receive. If the work of framing the constitution had been done by a joint convention, say of fifty from each side, in which most of the churches might have been directly represented, and which should have included a fair share of laymen, and if the resulting constitution had come before the Conference for rejection or adoption, without amendment, while it is true that such a convention would have been a more cumbrous body than a committee of twenty, yet some of us

believe that it would have come to substantial harmony, and that its work would have been adopted. If we consider what would probably have been the fate of the Constitution of the United States if even one powerful State had been free to propose amendments *ad libitum* before adopting it, the result of this attempt at union will not seem strange.

While it is no part of the purpose of this paper to indulge in personalities, it is hardly possible to avoid mentioning one name which must ever be mentioned with the greatest respect. No account of the failure of this attempt at union would be complete that omitted to notice Mr. Neesima's influence. Although he made no public attack on the proposal, it was well known that he regarded it with very great doubt and dislike, and no one who knew him can wonder that this had great weight. And well it might, for if there ever was a truly good and unselfish man, Mr. Neesima was such, and if good men were always infallible in their judgments his opposition would decide the matter at once. It is, however, a fact that Mr. Neesima had a strong prejudice against the Presbyterians entirely apart from the question of church government, and that he was also afraid that the proposed sokwai might get control over the Doshisha; so it is possible that his judgment of the union was not unbiased. But, however that may be, there can be no doubt that his unfriendly attitude had great influence.

Still, it cannot be claimed that these incidental or adventitious causes were all that operated adversely to union, and attention will now be called to the two chief points which aroused objection. The first great criticism made was that the plan was aristocratic, and contrary to the democratic spirit of modern Japan. This was based partly on the provision for committing the discipline of ministers to bukwei, but more especially on the membership of bukwei. If it is then inquired what this so aristocratic body was to be, some may be surprised to hear that it was to consist of "the pastor and a representative from each church." (Churches of more than three hundred members were to be allowed to send two delegates beside the pastor.) Possibly not all American Congregationalists may recognize the aristocratic and un-Congregational character of this membership, and perhaps not all may appreciate the alleged unreasonableness of the Presbyterians in wishing to retain this constitution; but among the churches here there had grown up the custom of a pastor's being a member of councils only when expressly chosen by his church, that is, a church

chooses two delegates to send to a council, of whom the pastor may be or may not be one, just as the church pleases. The right of leaving the pastor at home and sending two lay delegates is practically exercised; thus to the Conference which decided the fate of union, the Doshisha church sent, not its pastor (a Japanese professor), but two students, and at least one other church did the same. In fact, a very scanty respect for the pastoral office, as such, is shown by the churches at times in various ways, as, for example, one may sometimes see a church with a settled pastor, and in his presence celebrate a service of baptism and communion with the largest proportion of the service (except the sermon) conducted by laymen. Hence many of them were much displeased at the proposition that a pastor should be a delegate *ex officio*. The revising committee proposed that each church should send two delegates, of whom the pastor should be one if possible, and this is the only one of their numerous suggestions which the Presbyterians did not accept.

The other great objection was to the provision for discipline, both to allowing an excommunicated church member to ask for a review of his case by *bukwai*, and to making any mention of discipline at all. It seemed to be felt that church discipline could always be conducted as a purely informal and brotherly affair, and that nothing ought to be said about it in the constitution, and no rules laid down in regard to it. It must be acknowledged that the directions for procedure in matters of discipline occupied so considerable a space, comparatively, in the first form of the constitution, that, although they were purely designed to secure a fair trial to an accused brother, and had nothing to do with any special form of church government, they were liable to give more the impression of a court of justice than of a church. In the revised form they were all put into a separate appendix, as mere suggestions, but still they stood in the background and served to maintain prejudice against the whole plan. But, apart from this, it seemed to some of us that our brethren were certainly mistaken in not recognizing the possibility that a church member might sometimes be excommunicated unjustly, and in not being willing to make provision for relief in such cases, and also in not seeing that the sad necessity of discipline of ministers could not always be escaped. In fact, it was not very long before a preacher went astray, and was deposed from the ministry rather irregularly (there being no question as to his guilt, no one was disposed to inquire as to the authority by which he was deposed), and in a more

recent case of a minister accused of serious divergence from sound doctrine, no one seems to know where there is any authority to inquire into the matter.

The amendments adopted by the Conference, which proved to be the death-blow to the union movement, bore upon these two points, — the membership of bukawai and discipline. It will be seen that in neither was any essential point of Congregationalism at stake; that, in fact, the Conference took ultra-Congregational ground, and demanded that the Presbyterians come over to it. It may be added that the Congregational churches have since then become largely organized in bukawai which have almost exactly the functions provided for in the proposed constitution, except as to discipline, and that there is reason to believe that the discipline of ministers will be soon recognized as properly belonging to these bodies.

No attempt will be made to sum up the case, and pronounce judgment, but a few remarks are appended. (1.) It is thought that all candid judges acquainted with the full history must admit that the Presbyterians showed a noble spirit of conciliation and fair-mindedness, and readiness to make any reasonable concession, and that any who charge the failure of union to their graspingness and unwillingness to yield are surely misinformed. Whether the Congregational churches have merited equal praise is left to the reader to say. (2.) It is a striking fact that a usage which is not more than a dozen years old, and which is unknown to churches of a similar polity in other lands, is yet clung to so firmly as to be an almost insurmountable barrier to union. (3.) Is it not a significant fact, that in all *joint* meetings there was most delightful harmony, and no serious difficulty in coming to agreement? (4.) Are we to suppose that it is Christ's will that his church here should be permanently divided into rival branches because of differences on such points as the right of pastors, as such, to be members of bukawai, and the provision of relief for a brother unjustly condemned by a local church?

Dwight W. Learned.

KYOTO, JAPAN.

CHURCH AND STATE IN CANADA.

To the student of history and of politics, the Province of Quebec, in the Dominion of Canada, furnishes a modern object lesson in the exhibition of the power of an established dominant church to control the state, to develop its ecclesiastical polity, and to carry out its temporal and spiritual designs unchecked, as well as to maintain and perpetuate itself by influencing or controlling the political action of its adherents.

No modern European or American state furnishes such an example of complete spiritual unity, which is the synonym of national unity; and to find the nearest historic parallel we must go back to the days of the ancient régime.

By the census of 1891, the population of the province was 1,488,588; by that of 1881, the population was 1,359,027; of this number (the census of 1891 not being yet available) the Roman Church claimed 1,170,000, and thus outnumbered all other sects nearly one million.

Of the entire population of the Dominion, 4,324,810, nearly two million were members of the Roman communion.

With such a preponderance of numbers, it is master of the politico-religious situation in Quebec, and is able by its powerful organization and influence to direct and control legislation in its behalf in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, as well as in some, if not all of, the neighboring provinces. The extent of this power is best indicated by what it claims to have accomplished in legislation, as an important factor in the conservative party, since the federation.

Among the measures in which it takes a particular pride is:—

(a.) The law establishing religious orders: under which the bounty of the state is bestowed upon the religious refugees from persecution in France and other countries.

(b.) The law authorizing the organization of canonical parishes as civil corporations having a legal existence: a law which emphasizes the close relation of church and state.

(c.) The law exempting ecclesiastical and religious educational property from taxation, provincial or municipal: property the exact value of which cannot be determined, but is supposed to reach a hundred millions of dollars in the Province of Quebec.

(d.) The law by which the education of all classes is put

under the immediate control of a body ruled by the bishops of the Roman Church, and which was obtained by their influence.

This, with the law establishing in Canada foreign religious orders, marks a long step backward toward the days of Jesuitical propagandism whose shackles even Italy long since cast off, declining longer to yield the control of its public schools to any religious body, and insisting upon training up a generation of children whose first instinct of loyalty shall be to itself.

In complete harmony with this legislation is the act of the province, passed in 1888, giving to the Jesuits \$400,000 as compensation for their estates confiscated by the British government; of which sum, "\$60,000 was assigned to Protestant educational purposes to satisfy the opposition."

This act of the province is described as "a rampant assertion of Roman Catholic ascendancy, by the endowment out of a public fund of an order formed specially for the subversion of Protestantism, and at the same time a recognition of the Pope as the ecclesiastical sovereign of Quebec."¹

Another instance of this ascendancy is the granting of a special lottery charter, by the Dominion Parliament, to the Province of Quebec for church and educational or charitable purposes; such associations being classed as criminal under the general law of the Dominion.

But these are but modern additions to a power almost imperial. With the consent of Great Britain, Canada was allowed to retain with her language and law (the Code Napoleon), the *dîme ecclésiastique* and the *dîme seigneuriale*; the former still survives in full vigor, the latter having been extinguished in 1854.

By virtue of this ancient historical relic, granted by the mother country at the time of its first establishment in Canada, the Roman Church now collects from its adherents one twenty-sixth part of their grain product, or the twenty-sixth bushel, which is recoverable at law.

The curé of the parish also claims the twenty-sixth child of the families of the faithful, to be trained and educated at the expense of the church for its own purposes.

If no grain be raised, other produce is contributed; and where no produce can be furnished, as in towns and cities, the tax is levied upon income by the clergy, upon information gained through the confessional or otherwise.

It is maintained that all taxes thus levied, excepting the twenty-

¹ Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 218.

sixth bushel, are of doubtful legal authority, and if questioned would hardly stand.

In the settlement of an estate, for these tithes or other established charges, the church has by law the first claim after the payment of the legal costs. The exaction of these tithes by the church, and of other taxes by the provincial and municipal governments, keeps the peasants upon the border land of misery. Molinari asserts that there are curés of country parishes who obtain in this way more than 15,000 francs annually.

Among the most significant victories of the church were the concessions made to it and to French nationalism in the act of federation, or union, "without which the Dominion of Canada would never have been formed;"¹ and to an American, one of the most intolerant of its hierarchical measures is the division of the public school fund.

In all the provinces except Manitoba, which by a recent act has repealed the law, the school fund is apportioned between the Romanists and Protestants, each having absolute control and direction of its own schools.

A general council, composed of Catholics and Protestants, has in charge the general educational interests, while the system is under the immediate supervision and control of a Romanist and a Protestant superintendent.

The effect of this division of the school fund, instead of softening racial prejudices and increasing social harmony, has been to increase intolerance and intensify racial feeling, and to create them where they had no previous existence.

A study of the existing relations of the races and religions in Canada will prove a useful, if not convincing, object lesson to those who look upon the Roman Catholic effort to divide our school funds with complacency and indifference; it is the entering wedge of social disintegration.

The relations of the established church and the civil authority in Quebec are extremely intimate. To the church the state looks for inspiration and guidance; it is its arbiter, the supreme authority to which its first allegiance is due, and its final court of appeal, at which his Holiness the Pope presides.

Under its occult influence the civil, municipal, and ecclesiastical parishes have become nearly identical; and upon the parish glebe stands the church, the municipal council house, the presbytery, the convent, the monastery, and the hustings, each ready to minister

¹ Martin J. Griffin, *Blackwood's Magazine*, art. "Sir John Macdonald."

to the other's needs; the political meetings in country parishes being frequently held at the church door on Sunday mornings after mass.

Ultramontanism is in the ascendant. The hostility and preponderance of the Romanists, and their intolerance of Protestantism, are rapidly driving out all opposing elements, marriages between Catholics and Protestants being interdicted by the church.

The generous distribution of pontifical orders and titles is another method employed in religious propagandism.

Of Mr. Mercier, the ex-Premier of Quebec, the "Electeur," the French liberal organ of the province, recently remarked: "He (Mercier) has gained the active sympathies of the Court of Rome, which, in heaping upon him its honors and favors, has increased his prestige." On a recent pilgrimage to Rome, this Liberal leader, who so happily combines religion with politics, was made a Roman Count, and on state occasions displays to his democratic admirers the grand cross and the glittering insignia of the pontifical order of St. Gregory the Great.

It is affirmed without denial that the Pope sent by the same hands hundreds of medals and titles for discriminating distribution among zealous politico-religious workers, the Papal Zouaves, and other faithful propagandists, as a reward for services rendered and sacrifices made in behalf of the church. Those intended for the remnant of the Papal Zouaves who offered their services to the Pope in his extremity have already been presented by Mr. Mercier, with many flattering messages and congratulations from the Holy Father.

As an incentive to piety, and to keep alive the mediæval faith of the peasantry, processions and pilgrimages, the modern memorials of ancient customs and rites, are encouraged by the church.

The objective point of these pilgrimages, the Romanist Mecca of the faithful, is the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré (the patron saint of Canada) in the neighborhood of the city of Quebec, on the borders of the "giant" river. Unlike the Arab pilgrims, footsore and weary, hungry and ragged, in poverty and squalor, sleeping exhausted by the wayside, with only the stars for a covering and the sirocco for a lullaby, the Canadian habitant, reasonably fed and comfortably clothed, hies to the wondrous thaumaturge, by rail and steamboat, at the bidding of his master, offers his prayers and sacrifices, and in the plenary inspiration of the moment leaves at her feet the unpleasant memorials of his physical suffering and trials. The teaching of the church is, that there is no authority

for the belief that the age of miracles is past, and to the inquiring mind they make the same answer as one of the early Christian bishops made to Phædo, a pagan philosopher: "That in all questions of divine mysteries he should never ask the wherefore or the how."

It has been aptly said that "Canada is the representative of France, and the *filz aîné* of the Roman Church in America."¹

Quebec has not only outgrown the Romanism of the mother country, but manifests an enthusiasm in her devotion, and an obedience to the mandates of the church, unparalleled in any modern European state.²

The New England of the Puritans is rapidly becoming the New England of the Romanists. The ecclesiastical province of Boston, which embraces the New England States, reports 1,004,605 communicants, with an estimated population of 1,155,000 belonging to that faith, while in the North Atlantic Division, so called, including New England, with New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, there is reported a Roman Catholic population of 3,371,000.

The French Canadians swarm in our northern manufacturing villages, occasionally controlling them, and it is their hope and belief, carefully fostered by their teachers, that at a time not far distant, the Roman Church will not only dominate New England, but the whole of eastern Canada, beginning at Prince Edward Island, and extending to and including the fertile valley of the Ottawa.

The government of Quebec is as clearly a hierarchy as was that of Rome during the temporal power of the Pope, or the government of Massachusetts Bay two and a half centuries ago; and the Canadian peasant, honest, industrious, and faithful, but unenterprising, unambitious, ignorant, and poor, is in his religious

¹ "This rejected plant beyond the seas guards the ancient monarchical spirit of the metropolitan, and nourishes under the domination of the stranger all the old customs which have disappeared among us." — Duvergier de Hau-ranne.

² A young lady recently refused the invitation of an officer to dance at an entertainment given on board a French frigate in the harbor of Montreal; giving as an excuse, that such dancing, together with low dressing, opera bouffe, and balls are strongly denounced by the Roman church of which she was a communicant.

The officer, somewhat piqued by her refusal, appealed to the venerable chaplain of the ship, who replied: "Mademoiselle, you are not in Montreal, you are in France."

zeal, crude philosophy, and sublime confidence, completely satisfied that whatever is, and the church commands, is right.

An attempt to describe the political situation, or the relations of the numerous factions and parties existing in Quebec and Canada, by a casual observer, or by any one not "to the manner born," would be presumptuous. There are, however, certain surface indications of the turmoil and tumult beneath, which even the casual visitor cannot avoid if he would, and of which he has a right to speak.

In Canada there are two great political parties : the Blues and the Reds. In general terms, the former are Conservatives, the latter Liberals.

In a state of comparative social disintegration resulting from racial and religious separation, amid the conflicting opinions upon economical questions, and upon the relations with the United States, it is not easy to find a question of governmental policy, or administration, other than one purely racial or religious, upon which the party lines can be drawn with any approach to absolute distinction.

Whichever party is in power is opposed by that out of power; and in the absence of leading questions of public policy, the contest is, as usual, between the "ins" and the "outs," for the emoluments of public office.

Political warfare is carried on with a heat, bitterness, personality, acrimony, recklessness, and corruption to which we in the United States are as yet happily strangers.¹

The party in control does not hesitate to sustain itself by liberal subsidies for public works and improvements; neither does it, judging from public report, hesitate to demand most publicly and unblushingly its share of the money value of the benefits which such legislation has conferred upon corporations and individuals, as a political election fund for its own maintenance.

From the recent examinations and reports of investigating

¹ A "Conservative" journal of Montreal brands its "Liberal" contemporary as an "impostor and public liar."

The Liberal of Quebec makes the retort courteous, that "one must have a brazen front to attempt to impose upon the public with so much knavery and impudence."

"Nothing," says another, "is more easily put to flight than the Liberals, if we unloose against their chiefs all the furies of hell, if we let out at the same time all the vipers of calumny."

These comments are found under such striking headlines as "Black Villainy Unmasked," "The Vipers let loose in the Country."

committees appointed by the Legislature of the Dominion, it appears that official corruption has existed in Canada to an extent unknown even in the days of Intendant Bigot; and that money and influence have been used in ordinary and contested elections, and for party purposes, in amounts and to a degree equaled only in England in the days of Walpole, and during the period immediately anterior to the passage of the recent election laws.

As in the borough described by Lord John Russell, it would appear that the electors of Canada do not invariably ask the political opinions of candidates for guidance, they do not inquire into private character, "they only require to be satisfied of the impurity of the candidate's intentions."¹

In Canadian politics, as in our own, self is the Alpha and Omega of political action; and being so, the Liberal of to-day becomes the Conservative of to-morrow; the reformer of yesterday, the anti-progressivist of to-day. "Those who were parties to the conspiracy of corruption in Canada in 1872, which was followed by their indignant expulsion from office and power, now, in 1891, pose as reformers; and like Theseus, are preparing to explore the Labyrinth, and heroically destroy the Minotaur of corruption who is ravaging the country."²

In the "Liberal Conservative," or "Conservative" party, so-called, as many heterogeneous elements find expression as are to be found among the people. True to the teaching and leadership of its great master, Macdonald, who in early and late manhood took Walpole for his model, its economic convictions are of a most variable character.

In its ranks may be found Liberals who are conservative as well as Conservatives who are liberal; Nationalists or Colonists, Imperialists, and, in strange companionship, even Annexationists, as well as those who, opposed to annexation, favor closer relations with the United States; and who thus, at the moment within its ranks, stand opposed to the cardinal principles for which the party to which they claim allegiance has hitherto waged an unremitting warfare. But this, perhaps, is no greater anomaly than the advocacy of reciprocity, or limited free trade, by a portion of the protectionist party in the United States.

Under the Conservative banner is also to be found the Ultramontane, or strictly clerical party, which loudly proclaims itself to be the author of nearly all the laws which have favored the

¹ Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. i. p. 130.

² *Saturday Review*.

expansion and liberty of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, and particularly in the Province of Quebec, where that religion shines "with a brilliancy and an *éclat* insurmountable."

At the moment, the basis of the political division between the two great parties is economic; the Liberals advocating absolute free trade or commercial union with the United States, with a minority leaning toward political union and independence of the mother country. In the same political affiliation will also be found large numbers of Ultramontanes in religion who claim to be liberal in everything else. The Conservatives advocate high protection to home industries and isolation from the United States.

The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has, it is said, decreed that in the Dominion of Canada the political parties are not hostile to the Catholic religion, and are not to be reproved by the church, nor to be combated by the clergy. Generally, political divisions have no relation to matters religious or sectarian, and the temporary division of the clerical party among the Conservatives and Liberals has no significance as an indication of a breach in its ranks, or of the weakening power of the church to compel its followers to do its bidding in any emergency, real or apparent. An occasion for the exercise of this power occurred recently in Quebec.

The province is divided into three nominal political divisions: Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers. One of these divisions was carried by the Ultramontanes, at the simple dictation of the bishop, upon the eve of an important election, against the Liberal candidate, whom he disliked, — an exhibition of power the more remarkable, as occurring in a Liberal district.¹

In a division upon any important politico-religious question arising in Dominion affairs, the Romanists, following their Jesuitical standard of duty to the church as superior to the state, would stand as a unit, and seriously threaten the existence of the federation. The position of the Roman Church upon annexation to the United States may be surmised.

Nearly or quite one half of the entire population of the Dominion is Roman Catholic, largely of French parentage, and distinguished by that cohesion for which the race has always been

¹ "A distinguished Canadian, now resident in New York, in a recent interview upon the present political crisis in Quebec, expressed the opinion "that if the cardinals, the bishops, and the priests were for the Conservative government at Ottawa, the Liberals would be submerged; if, on the contrary, they preserved a neutral position, the Liberals, without doubt, would be victorious."

remarkable. Next to the bond of religion is that of blood and of language; which the church, the school, and the politician never cease to exalt and glorify, and which, together, form a formidable barrier to racial absorption. The church's objection to annexation is likely to be founded upon the fear of the loss of its high prerogatives, immunities, and privileges, and its commanding position in the state, rather than upon its love for England or its hatred of the United States. With a powerful contingent behind it accustomed to decide such questions on the ground of nationality and racial feeling alone, and apart from all other considerations, — a contingent which claims, as before remarked, one half of the population of the Dominion, and nearly ninety per cent. of the Province of Quebec, the church's answer to the annexation question is by no means uncertain.

The English and Scotch imperialists and nationalists to be found in the ranks of both the great parties will on this question side with the Roman Church; and but few of the most radical Liberals who voted for reciprocity at the last election would vote for annexation or political union.

M. Laurier, a leading Liberal and French Canadian of Quebec, in his speech in Boston, no doubt voices the feeling of the majority of his own race at least. He said: "I know the sentiment of our people, and I do not hesitate an instant in saying that considerations of finance or of commerce will have no effect upon the loyalty of French or English Canadians, or will tend in the least to alienate their affection for their country, their institutions, their government, and their queen."

It has been aptly said that "consanguinity is the starting-point of a nation, and that local contiguity, community of language, and common political institutions, are conspicuous among its actual conditions; but the real principle of its unity is spiritual: and a common religious creed and cult afford the best expression of that community of thought and will which constitute a nation."

It will be remarked how much more nearly these conditions are achieved by the Province of Quebec than by any of her sister provinces, or by the Dominion as a whole; and we are naturally met by an inquiry for the cause of such an apparent anomaly.

This development of a French nationality upon British territory is mainly due to the failure of the English government, at the time of the conquest, to maintain English rather than French law, and to at once enforce the use of the English tongue in courts and councils; initial mistakes, followed later in the century by the consideration shown to the prejudices of the French

during the American Revolution, prompted by the exigency of an apparent military necessity; the unwisdom of such a policy is now seen in the result: "By giving up Lower Canada to the French, and to French law, the act of 1791 finally decided that French nationality should be preserved, and that British civilization should not take its place."¹

While the mistaken course of the government in 1759 and 1791 was not without precedent, a policy entirely opposite, and more philosophical and practical, was pursued by the government of Edward III., which enacted that "all pleas in the court of the king should be pleaded and judged in the English tongue;" a precedent, among others, which our own government recognized in the enabling act relating to the Louisiana purchase.

Throughout Canada, in subserviency to French influence emanating from Quebec, which still clings to its language, its traditions, its civic law, its historic memories and precedents, its religion, and its habits, the provinces each provide their civil code, the criminal law being administered by the Dominion.

In all the Dominion government publications, in Parliament, and in the courts, there is a coördinate use of English and French, and Frenchmen rising to speak in an English Parliament claim forbearance because of their unfamiliarity with the English tongue.

In the provinces the local laws and proceedings of the legislature are printed in English only, with the exception of the Province of Quebec, where they are printed in both languages, and where the French is not only legal, but absolutely dominant.²

The polyglot population of Canada is naturally no homogeneous one: the French, the English, the Scotch, the Irish, — Orangeman and Catholic, — each maintain their racial and social antagonisms and political representation in the ministry of the Dominion, with a tendency to increasing divergence;³ and the difficulty of uniting distinct populations retaining their languages and prejudices, which Burke pointed out in 1791, is more apparent in 1891.

It has been often remarked that the French and the English have never comprehended each other as nations or individuals, and Lord Dufferin, in an important speech, declared that "the French Canadians constituted a world apart."

¹ Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*.

² The Manitoba legislature is recently reported to have abolished the use of the French language in its own courts and Assembly.

³ "The Cabinet represents provincial interests, race interests, religious interests, and business interests." — M. J. Griffin, *Blackwood's Magazine*.

In the United States we have heterogeneity, followed by homogeneity; in Canada heterogeneity is accompanied by a clash of antagonisms everywhere apparent; in the state, in the church, in the school, in society, and even in vital statistics.¹

"In the relation of the Irish to the French Catholics," says Goldwin Smith, "differences of race seem to predominate over identity of religion."

Americans and the English alike fail to grasp the *raison d'être* of this lack of homogeneousness, or failure in racial absorption, which, in spite of all natural physical or social resemblances or affinities, emphasizes the distinction between Canada and the United States.²

In Canada we have the anomaly under a democratic federation of a race whose homogeneity is complete, scrupulously maintaining and fostering a national life, a national language, a national feeling, and national prejudices within and distinct from another nationality of which it is a part, and to which it owes and observes a legal, if nominal, allegiance.

"New France has a complete autonomy, a national flag, a national language, a national religion, and, as a theocracy, acknowledges the ecclesiastical suzerainty of the Pope of Rome."

"No one better than myself," says Oscar Dunn,³ "comprehends the necessity of concord between the divers nationalities in Canada,—but concord does not mean fusion,—respect yourselves!"

"Remember what you are, English, Irish, or French, preserve your national traditions!"

"Politically, we are English at the head, and French at the heart."

This anomaly, which is to be observed wherever the Canadian Frenchman plants himself and family, is, as has been suggested, especially pronounced in the Province of Quebec, which, standing between the Eastern and Western provinces, presents an insur-

¹ The official vital statistics of large cities, like Montreal and Quebec, are given separately, by nationalities and religions.

² "The provinces of the Dominion are not yet consolidated by union into a single country. They are not yet sufficiently attached, the one to the other, by the same national Canadian sentiment. Our British connection is the strongest tie that binds us together for the present."—Letter of Hon. M. Mowat, Premier of Ontario, to the Hon. Alexander McKenzie, December, 1891.

³ Address before L'Institute des Artisans de Montreal.

mountable barrier to complete federal, racial, or social union, making its influence felt negatively or positively in every corner of the Dominion.

Dominion Day (July 1), which, in the Canadian calendar, indicates the natal day of the Dominion, the federation of eight constitutional monarchies under a central government, as yet arouses no enthusiasm in the Canadian heart.

The closing of the public offices, and a few official *coups de canon*, are all that distinguish it; no unusual life or activity in the streets, few public meetings or military displays, no joyousness or manifest pleasure, mark the holiday which, under proper conditions, would be full of happy auguries.

"Englishmen are caught wondering," remarks the London "Guardian," "why certain Canadians do not think of a mother country which neither they nor their fathers have known."

Although the Englishman in Canada cultivates that mental insularity and continence which distinguishes him at home, he still manifests greater respect and loyalty to the queen than to the government to which he owes his direct allegiance, and of which he is a constitutional unit, and Dominion Day among the English Canadians is outranked by the queen's birthday.

This smouldering love for England, the mother country, while not as active, aggressive, and pronounced as that of the Frenchman for *la belle* France, has of late years been nurtured into greater warmth by the home government for political purposes; and a pseudo-aristocracy has been established in Canada, apart from that created by education or wealth, and entirely out of sympathy with her institutions, through the distribution of titles of nobility, as a reward for distinguished political, economic, or other services.

The people of Canada have as yet failed to acquire or to comprehend that subtle spirit of unity springing eternal from the possession of a common faith, a common country, with common hopes and interests directed and controlled by a single lofty purpose, — the welfare of all, — which we call patriotism.

Instances of federations without union are numerous, and will be readily called to mind, which are only held together by an external or internal pressure, and which will fall asunder whenever the artificial support is withdrawn; and the Dominion of Canada, which must be included in this category, is likely to form no exception to the general rule.

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HAVE WE TOO MANY CHURCHES?

IN the ebb and flow of discussion concerning the church and its relation to the world, we seem to have reached the point where attention is centring chiefly on the material equipment and the practical methods by means of which the kingdom of God is to be set up on the earth. In the early decades of this century, when Mills and Judson and Gordon Hall sounded the bugle-note for an advance upon heathendom, the mind of the church, gradually grasping the idea of the reach and the sweep of Christ's redemptive work, turned toward the great world in its sin. It began to take in the breadth and grandeur of its mission. And as the modern missionary movement has gathered strength and volume with the passing years, the vastness and the intricacy of the problem of evangelization has continually unfolded itself before the vision of the church. Letters from the foreign field, the reports brought back by missionaries and travelers, religious literature in its multifarious forms, personal acquaintance with the needs of our own country in city, on hilltop, and along the frontier, have made us comprehend the nature and the amount of work to be done before the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord.

As the church has grown in the realization of the field of its activity it has also come to apprehend more clearly the message and the ministry which it is bound to bring to the world. There has been a good deal of theological contention in New England during the last half century, but the swords of the combatants have never pierced the marrow of Christianity, and in the providence of God we may believe that they have perhaps served his purpose by stripping away what was accidental and obstructive, and have disclosed the real gospel of Jesus in its simplicity and its might. We are surer than ever that this, and just this, is what the world needs, that no amount of ethical culture, no system of charities however elaborate, no reconstruction of the social order, no romantic philanthropy of the Elsmerian type, can heal the world's diseases or do away with its iniquities.

Convinced, then, of the greatness of the task, certain that it possesses the power adequate to accomplish it, the church of to-day is asking as never before how can the power of Christianity be brought to bear upon the world, how can the leaven be made to permeate the lump, how can the light be directed so as to irradiate the darkness. The question at the front to-day in all our

church conferences, in our newspaper discussions, in every field and line of Christian activity, is the question *how*. Who will show us better methods? How can we utilize more effectively established instrumentalities? It is well for the church to pause long enough to scrutinize its apparatus. The operation may not be as soul-stirring as attending a missionary convention and being fired with zeal to win the great wide world to Christ, but knowledge of one's resources is just as necessary as knowledge of the work to be done and inspiration wherewith to do it. The Crusader who stopped to examine his steed and to tighten a buckle here and there before he rode off to recover the sepulchre of his Lord was doing a very prosaic but an extremely sensible thing. In the long run it expedited his business.

It seems a little strange that the impression which some persons have derived from an investigation of the established institutions of the gospel is that they are too many rather than too few. Is it possible that in our eagerness to spread the glad tidings zeal has outrun discretion — a healthful rivalry has degenerated into an unwholesome and scandalous competition, so that now we have on hand more churches than we can profitably handle, and are guilty of an extravagance and waste of men and means which would not be countenanced if we were doing any other business than that of the king? These queries are not to be answered by simply counting the population and the church sittings to see how they tally with each other. So many other considerations enter as factors of the problem. The point of view determines in large measure the answer given. If you were standing on a certain street corner in Boston from which half a dozen spires are visible hardly a pebble's toss away, your first thought would be that the churches are too thick, or if you went into a Massachusetts hamlet of five hundred inhabitants and saw an orthodox Congregational church on one side of the green and another orthodox Congregational church on the other side of the green, you would say again that one of those sanctuaries is a superfluity; but if you happened to be on some eminence in China from which you could look down upon perhaps a score of thickly settled villages without a sign of a house of Christian worship, or even if you took your stand in almost any section of New York city below Fourteenth Street, your complaint would be of the dearth of churches rather than of their abundance. Driving about Denver a few months ago, I found a plenty of churches in the new and fashionable districts and others near them in process of erection, but as we came down from the avenues

lined with elegant residences into the business heart of the city, my companion informed me that, with a single exception, every Protestant church had retreated from the shops and tenement houses and poorer streets, leaving that one enterprise to care practically alone for a good third of the population. From a geographical point of view we should say, then, that trouble arises and waste ensues not from having too many churches, but from not having them properly distributed.

But we are treading on precarious ground when we attempt to solve this problem purely by a relocation of existing churches, and we cannot dogmatize too quickly in regard to this or that church being or not being a superfluity. Our differing conceptions as to the most effective form of church organization to further the object for which the church exists will color our judgment. We do not all think alike, for example, as to whether more good can be done in a community of considerable size by one or two large, strong churches centrally located, or through a number of churches scattered here and there, new ones being formed in the outskirts just as fast as they are likely to take fairly deep root. Strengthen the down-town and long-established organizations says the advocate of the policy of concentration. We must at all hazards maintain the ground already occupied. Moreover, in a great working church there are a movement of life, an enthusiasm for service, which are wanting in a small church. To this argument the champion of the policy of disintegration and colonization replies: Not only are the best interests of the community served by a number of churches, but workers are developed every time a shoot goes off from the parent vine. Where the church is comparatively small every one feels, or ought to feel, his responsibility. Furthermore, the large church is not in the long run enfeebled by the departure of a colony, for others of its members come forward to take the places of those who go. Latent talent becomes active.

This variance of opinion as to the comparative merits of large and small churches complicates the problem which we are considering. It is further aggravated by the fact that parishes overlap and intersect. We might all admit that, were we starting *de novo* and could control the erection of churches as the Roman Catholic Church is able to, the ideal plan would be to run a sharp dividing line between one parish and another, and oblige each worshiper to attend to the church nearest his residence, there being enough churches as a rule to have one within easy walking distance of every family that cares to attend. This would obviate the neces-

sity of resorting to Sunday horse-cars and trains, which in the judgment of a good many persons would be a long step in advance, for it must be admitted that a certain kind of Sabbath reform will never make much headway so long as Christians patronize freely public conveyances on the Sabbath. But we are not starting afresh, and we are dealing with parishes and parishioners as we find them to-day. And as a matter of fact the boundaries between parishes are altogether obliterated. The minister of a city church is quite as likely to make pastoral calls two miles from his house of worship as he is in the next block to it. Nearly everybody goes to the nearest bakery and the nearest market for his bread and his beef, but we are all a bit fastidious as to where and in what form and through whose hands we shall obtain the bread of life. Personal preferences count for a great deal. People will go a long way to hear the preacher they like. Or the attachment to the church of their childhood holds them to it even though they may have removed to a distant quarter of the town. Financial considerations, too, are influential. It may cost a mechanic less to transport his family by horse-car to a church where pews are cheap or free than to hire the same number of sittings in a church near his home. These and other forces operate with tremendous power against the drawing of hard and fast lines between parish and parish. And back of them all I suppose is the energy of the Protestant conviction, that a man has a right to worship God where he pleases, and it's nobody's business where he goes, and he won't be dictated to by church congresses and inventors of schemes for the promotion of church unity, and religious newspapers, or anybody else great or small.

I have dwelt at length upon what may seem side issues in this question, because they must be considered before we can fairly decide whether we have too many churches, and what we are going to do about it if we conclude that we have. To brand one fourth of our churches superfluous is putting a stigma not only on them, but on the other three fourths as well, most of which consented to, and in many instances advised, the formation of a great portion of those now charged with cumbering the ground. I do not believe in this wholesale condemnation. Yet without doubt there is a large, perhaps a deplorably large, number of churches East and West, North and South, which may fairly be called superfluous. There are two classes — those which always were superfluous, and those which have become so. There are churches up and down our land which never had a right to be, for while the church uni-

versal is a divine institution, not every local church can claim such an origin. It may have a source no higher than human jealousy, a family feud, a neighborhood quarrel. Or it may be simply a monument to some trifling difference in polity or faith. Its spire may point heavenward, but it has a frail and human underpinning. The other class consists of those which have had a long and quite likely a useful and an honorable career, but which have suffered from the fluctuations of population and the migrations of their members. We may find such churches to-day alike in the hill towns and in the busy metropolises. They are practically stranded.

What shall we say as to the former class? It may not be possible to do much for them or with them, but this much we can do: we can try to create a Christian public sentiment which will prevent their number from being increased. Stop organizing superfluous churches. The danger of this is greater in the new fields of the West. Yet a better understanding prevails between the home missionary superintendents of the different denominations than existed a score of years ago. Still there is call for the display of greater comity and courtesy. In South Dakota, during the three years ending January 1, 1891, under the lead of Superintendent Wiard of the Home Missionary Society, thirty-four Congregational churches were formed, with a single exception all in fields unoccupied by any other church enterprise. Into no less than twenty-five of these fields another evangelical denomination soon pushed its way, in nearly every case, apparently in the hope of sectarian advantage, crowding itself into fields already occupied and fairly well tilled. This method of trying to extend the particular form of church polity, under the guise of preaching the gospel to the destitute, is a disgrace to the denomination which countenances it, whether Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, and the united voice of Christendom, dishonored indirectly thereby, should repudiate it. In the East it is easier to control the erection and organization of new churches, and prevent wasteful competition not only between denominations, but within denominations. The formation within a comparatively short time by Congregationalists of Church Extension societies in Worcester, Syracuse, Cleveland, Columbus, and elsewhere, is a wise move, and one which ought to consolidate denominational interests, and provide for judicious extension and expansion of existing agencies.

The more difficult question remains, What shall we do with existing churches confessedly superfluous, which have no distinctive

field of their own, whose work could be done, and better done, by other organizations, which appear to be wasting the Lord's money? It is not within our province, and it is certainly not within our power, to go into Boston or Hartford or New Haven, or any city or village, and "doom" any particular church. One hesitates to say that any given church is a superfluity, just as he shrinks from declaring that a particular individual is not a Christian; but he may venture to express his opinion that, so far as outward appearances go, a given church has no longer any particular reason for existence. Such a church is confronted with three alternatives: it can migrate; it can combine with some other church in the neighborhood; it can adjust itself to the changed conditions. The first has been the customary method when a church has found itself in danger of being stranded, and we are not prepared to say that it is always a mistake to follow the stream of population up Fifth Avenue and out on the Back Bay, though our city churches have been too prone to do this without regard to the demands of the field which they were abandoning. Well-to-do and cultivated citizens need the gospel, and no inherent sanctity attaches to the particular spot where a church edifice has always stood. The method of combination has much in its favor, though it is hard to apply it practically. A church does not like to merge its distinctive life in that of another, and the question which immediately rises is, Which shall give place to the other, or how shall the union be effected? Two churches in the same field are each inclined to reason somewhat as did Johnny, who was contending with his sister for the occupancy of the hobby-horse. Said the boy to the girl: "There isn't room for both of us; if one of us should get off, there would be more room for me." Yet Christian love, coupled with a willingness to lose the church life in order that eventually it may save it, can devise means whereby two apparently competing churches can be made one strong effective organization.

Where neither migration nor combination is feasible or desirable, a third alternative is left, — readjustment. By this phrase is meant, first of all, a realization on the part of the church that if it continues its work along the old lines it will dwindle and die, but that it can have a future in the place where it is, if it will only set about beneficent ministration seven days in the week to the people close to its doors. To readjust is to enter the great field of applied Christianity, to aim to touch the whole life of men; by baths and gymnasiums to show that it

cares for their bodies; by reading-rooms and evening classes that it cares for their minds; by the provision of games and wholesome amusements and pleasant places of resort that it cares for the social side of their natures, and is ready to make the church the centre of all the innocent and joyous life of the community. Can it do this and keep the spiritual uppermost and turn all to spiritual account? It can if the heart of Christ is beating in minister and in members. The success of the few institutional churches already established among us proves the possibility of linking the gospel of redemption to the gospel of ministration. Such enterprises as Berkeley Temple in Boston, the Fourth Church in Hartford, the Tabernacle in Jersey City, and the Plymouth Church in Milwaukee are not mere busy hives of activity along secular lines. If they were only that, they would rank but one grade higher than a large commercial emporium or a big manufacturing plant. They are true churches of Jesus Christ, charged with his vitality, communicating his life. Not every church can do, at present, all or even a slight part of the work which they are striving to do, but many churches can move forth in that direction, and there are not a few of us who believe that the next two decades are to show a mighty leap forward along these lines.

What is the real feeling which prompts our question? Is it not a great dissatisfaction, not with the number of churches which we have, but with the prevalent type of church? Too many of them remind one of that clock which they show the tourist at Melrose Abbey. Its works are in perfect order, and it is wound up regularly, but there are no hands on the dial. To be sure it strikes every hour, and if one happens to be around just then it informs him of the time of day, but for fifty-nine minutes out of the sixty it is of no service to inquiring humanity. Our churches are useful for a few hours on Sunday, and handsome pieces of architecture the rest of the week. How many of the poor, the unhappy, the friendless, and the outcast who pass their doors day after day look up at them with any thought of finding there refuge, cheer, hope, salvation from the sin which is a millstone about their necks? A recent writer, deploring the number of superfluous churches, and calling loudly for the obliteration of one out of every four or five existing ecclesiastical organizations, proceeds in his article on the assumption that we have enough churches when we have provided sufficient evangelical sittings for the population that wants to go to church. How about the people who don't

want to go to church, who seem to care no more for the blessings of which it is the dispenser than they do for the rightful claims it makes upon them for recognition and support? Has Christianity nothing to do for these indifferent, callous individuals, to be found by the score in every community? Is this the best thing that can be said about the churches, "that they have ministered to the saints and do minister?" Has the gospel done all it can do for Boston and New York, for New England and the nation?

The great perplexing problem of reaching the masses, of penetrating society with the leaven of Christian truth, will never be solved until the churches readjust themselves to the age in which we are living, relying, as of yore, solely on the old gospel, but applying it through new channels and methods to the life of to-day. There is a feverish thirst for ministers who will draw. Prominent pulpits in large cities have been vacant many months simply because the men who own the pews say they must have a man who will draw, backed by a choir that will draw. Why not shift the emphasis and clamor for a church that will draw, — draw by the inherent power of the spiritual energy stored up in its membership, a church in which through holy lives and loving ministration, He who promised to draw all men unto Him is constantly lifted up? In a Western city there is a church which a short time ago came to feel that it had a larger duty to the community than it had yet performed. Among the new ways whereby it obtained access to families and persons before untouched was the provision of comforts for invalid poor people. One great sufferer had found his lot alleviated by an easy-chair, an occasional delicacy for his table, and one or two ornaments for his sick-room. When he came to die he said: "I don't know much about religion or Christ, but I'm not especially afraid to die, and yet I would like to live and go to the church to which these friends belong and hear more about Christ. The Christ that leads these people to do these things for me is the Christ I want to know." Some day those Christian workers will hear Him who was the inspiration of their simple service saying unto them: "I was sick and ye visited me." The church which labors thus to reproduce Christ before men is in no danger of becoming barren and useless.

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MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION.

I.

THERE is at present a great deal of perplexed and uncertain talk about the relations of these two subjects. There seem to be two main reasons for this confusion. One is, that the civilization of Christendom is essentially a Christian civilization, and that its communication to outside nations can hardly be conceived as without a certain infusion of Christianity itself. The other is, that until within a century Christendom, after the violent suppression of the Catholic missions in the East, had little to do except with outside nations whose systems of thought and society were so crude, that if they received anything from the superior community they could hardly fail to receive almost everything, as is seen in the history of the German and Slavonic races, and, in later times, of the American aborigines and the Polynesians, so far as these have been amenable to transformation. Even the Mexican and Peruvian civilizations had little body, and no power of resistance. Therefore, for ages it made but little difference whether civilization or Christianity was mentioned as the good to be communicated. The one commonly implied the other.

Christendom, however, now finds itself in a double, or rather a triple relation to the outside world. And here let us first remark that Christendom is still a concrete reality, and not, as some will have it, a surviving habit of speech, signifying little more now than "Holy Roman Empire" signified before Francis II. gave up that now meaningless title in 1806. The one common mark which unites nations varying widely otherwise is the recognition of the same supreme ideal. If Antichristianity can detach itself from this, and constitute a distinct society, then it would no more be of Christendom. At present, however unwillingly, it is coerced by the organic law of a great organic unity. Hinduism has always harbored various, and even negative and hostile, influences within its bosom; but Hinduism, with all the sharp antagonisms of its two great sects, and of their subdivisions, recognizes itself, and is recognized by the world outside, as essentially one thing, which makes those who receive it, in the deepest sense, one people. So is Islam, and so is Christendom. Whatever the unbelief of individuals, and however worldly and selfish the particular schemes and motives of governments, Christendom recognizes itself, and is recognized by the outside world, as a great religious, intellectual,

and social unity, whose very discords emphasize its essential coherence, and which is bringing the rest of the globe under its power.

Over against it stand three classes of mankind. The swarming millions of Africa (deducting the North) are simple wild heathen barbarism. The Mohammedan nations, on the other hand, are a vast opposing community, with a low civilization, which is merely the secular side of its religion, from which latter it derives its sole power of self-subsistence, but that a very stubborn and tenaciously resisting power. Then there are India, China, and Japan, which are civilized through and through, and each far more perfectly in its kind than we of the West. It is certain, then, that no one of these three nations, or races, is begging a civilization of us, any more than Greece or Rome was begging a civilization of the apostles. Indeed, there is far less of rude, anarchical self-will, of ethical force running to waste, in their society than in ours. They may wish for our arts and sciences, just as we wish for their teas and silks, but of our civilization, regarded merely as such, they do not account themselves to have any need.

And yet, when they attempt to appropriate some of the instrumentalities of our life, they are apt to find that these cohere with quite another order of things than theirs, and that they have their choice between taking the whole and leaving the whole. It is that question which China is pondering to-day. The thus far insurmountable aversion of the Chinese to railroads is not from any distaste to their obvious advantages, but because these are incompatible with something which appears to them immeasurably more important. Fung-shwui, the genius of direction and locality, whose imperious claims check railways and telegraphs at every step, is an essential part of Chinese religion, resting on principles which, though not fully formulated until some seven or eight centuries ago, date back to the most ancient national theories of the universe. These principles are not identical with ancestor-worship, but they have so interwoven themselves with this, that the compound result may be regarded as the common axis around which Confucianism, Taoism, and Chinese Buddhism alike revolve. It is the superstitious and fantastic, but deeply rooted popular form of the innate Chinese reverence of social, political, and ethical order, the Chinese disposition to regulate everything, public and private, by a uniform ideal, and the Chinese determination to find the ground of this ideal in the order of the universe itself. It is not theism, it can hardly be called pantheism, for there seems to be in it hardly any sense of an indwelling power. It may rather

be called a regulated, ethical atheism, hovering on the borders of something higher. Whatever it is, it is the ground of all that gives meaning to Chinese life. Its subversion, except by the regenerating force of a higher principle, might well be thought likely to bring down the pillars of the whole national fabric upon the heads of this mighty people, and leave them a mere meaningless swarm of animated atoms. It cannot lift them far above the earth, but if it failed them, it would leave them prone upon it.

The Chinese, therefore, must be honored for their willingness to sacrifice material gain, which they value so much, to ethical ends. The fact of such a preference converts them from a merely *huge* nation into a really *great* nation.

What, then, are we to think of their progressive statesmen, such as Viceroy Li, and the lately deceased father of the emperor? Are they thoughtless innovators, caught with the sight of some specious advantage, or contemptuous materialists, indifferent to the moral consequences of courting Western ways and appliances? We have no reason to think so meanly of them. They are probably men who have made up their minds that there is a fated or providential necessity that the ways of Christendom shall prevail, and who, without any disposition to declare the whole compass of their thoughts, are willing to receive every palpable outward advantage that may offer itself, and resigned to all the ulterior consequences which may gradually come to view in its train.

It is not impossible that these progressive men of China are really of two antagonistic tendencies. They can hardly be ignorant of the growth within Christendom of a new religion, bent on overthrowing Christianity, arrogating to itself the exclusive name of Science, that is, of Gnosis, and using the vast achievements and discoveries of later times to serve as missionary weapons for the overthrow of the church. These modern Gnostics, whose negative name of Agnostics merely signifies that they have turned their backs on the fundamental intuitions of Christianity, are very ready to make common cause with Chinese religion, recognizing in it their own fundamental assumptions, of a necessitated order, not controlled by infinite personality, but creating, controlling, and dissolving finite personalities, and limiting them in themselves to the compass of their material existences, and in their influences to the duration of each individual planet. The essential unity of the Chinese religion (for the three are now practically only different sides of one) with Western Antichristianity is very clearly and fully brought out by the late Professor John

Draper in a paper written for "Harper's Weekly." He hopes great things from alliance with a system which has no use for the belief in God, and which he intimates would be quite ready, if it had as much occasion as there is in the West, to suppress all mention of the name of God as a distinct social, if not even political, offense. He rejoices also, as he that findeth great spoil, in a vast and ancient community whose ideal may be summed up in the words *Carpe diem*, "Seize the shadow upon the dial of time," yet he would recognize, and the more enlightened Chinese secularists would recognize with him, that the Western wing of the alliance is a higher form, and well worthy, with due modifications, to supersede the Chinese form of secularism in China itself. The European race, even in the days of its crudest and rudest heathenism, was bolder and more aspiring, and many centuries of Christianity have mainly cleared the ground of those abject superstitions under which China stagnates. There may, therefore, be Chinese statesmen who welcome, not Christianity, but European secularism, as a higher and more rational form of their own religion, and one that has a more determined energy to root up all forms of spiritual belief, and to set the nation into movement on the plane of a more highly perfected and less embarrassed enjoyment of pure worldly good. These statesmen doubtless lay their account with a certain measure of temporary ethical confusion, but hope to be easily able to show their people that their aim is only purification, not revolution, that they mean to leave China on her old foundation, and that they will duly maintain every ancient institute to which the people are attached so long as the people are attached to it.

If there is a school of Chinese statesmen which desires any such transforming assistance from the West, such as at the same time that it reconciles the people to so many innovations shall yet leave them essentially, and even more intensely, what they were before, it is safe to say that their hopes are futile. The Chinese nation is essentially atheistic. Yet atheism is no object of its zeal. Its ideals have been dear to it because they have lifted it so high; not because they have lifted it no higher. Should the present forms of these ideals, now become untenable because so implicated with popular superstitions, be swept away by the advance of Western science, there is no reason to believe that the Chinese people would feel any interest in that persecuting Antichristian propagandism of which such men as Draper would like to make them partners. If they must readjust themselves after Western

models, they would naturally prefer the authentic religion of the West, rather than a merely negative school, whose only positive energy is an energy of annihilating hate, in which they do not share. And doubtless the higher school of their progressive statesmen looks forward to this benignant result rather than to an Antichristian alliance which would reduce them to a mere makeweight in the great antagonism now developing in the West. A tremendous makeweight they would be, but more probably on the side of Christ than of Antichrist.

It bears somewhat on this, that Buddhism, which alone of the three great streams of Chinese thought, came in, though not from Europe, yet from the Indo-European race, and which coalesced the more easily with Chinese life because it knows no higher principle of the universe than the universe itself, was nevertheless welcomed by the people not on its negative, but on its positive side. So devout is the Hindu mind, that even the leavings and spillings of its religion have been for many ages a spiritual refreshment to the more materialistic Mongolian temper. In the North of Asia, far more than in the South, the underlying atheism of the Buddhist system has been "denied, concealed, or explained away," and, in popular consciousness at least, it has been largely developed into a semi-theistic religion, of consoling and in some measure of regenerating and exalting power. Had Buddhism, in its native India, developed into an aggressive energy of negation, the Chinese would have had no interest in any such reversed crusade. And if they consent, willingly or constrainedly, to a reconstitution of their national life on Western lines, they are not likely to welcome the negations of the West, but its highest affirmations.

In either case, however, it is, and must be, a matter of religion. The question is not whether China shall be civilized. She is civilized already, only too elaborately. The question is, seeing that her more thinking citizens are beginning to feel that her civilization is too straitened to allow them room for so free and various a development as they discern in the West, and seeing that this civilization, such as it is, is the true outgrowth and expression of the national religion, whether that religion shall be so profoundly modified by the adoption of Western secularism as to become to the general consciousness another thing, or whether, if the old foundations are to be given up, the sublimer doctrines and eternal vistas of the gospel shall be accepted, and the whole national life be reconstituted from this centre. Certain questions of exter-

nal civilization, it is true, are the first occasion of deliberation, but no final conclusions can be reached short of a decision as to the deepest bases of religious thought.

In Japan civilization and religion do not seem to be quite so completely interfused. The greater lightness and mobility of the Japanese genius disposes it to a more easy eclecticism. It is less inclined to carry fundamental principles firmly through to a great coherent result. Besides, of its three philosophies or religions, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, not two, as in China, are of native growth; but only one, Shintoism, if even this is native. Assuming it to be so, it is the lightest of the three. It is emptier of thought than Confucianism, and of both thought and religion than Buddhism. In China Confucianism has coerced the other two systems, one native, one foreign, into complete subordination. Taoism has sunk into a fantastic popular magic; Buddhism has declined into a mere luxury of private sentiment, which leaves the whole course of public life as much of the earth earthy as our secularizing clergymen at home are endeavoring to make the whole course of our public life. Dr. Faber reluctantly concludes that could Rome have been persuaded to refrain from condemning the concessions of the Jesuits in China, Christianity would, like Buddhism, have sunk into just such an ignominious subjection to pure secularism as Buddhism has sunk into, and we may say again, as so many Protestant Christians seem solicitous to have the gospel humiliated into among ourselves. But Shintoism has had no such coercive force in Japan. It is more a rude form of patriotic instinct, incarnating itself, on ancient foundations of vague religiosity, in a worship of the monarch, and implicit submission to him, than a system of thought, or of developed ethics. Indeed, in its ancient and famous shrine, as has been remarked by missionaries, its phallic emblems and consecrated immoralities show it to be of a level immeasurably below either of the two certainly foreign religions, which are wholly unstained by such abominations. At the same time, Confucianism is too completely Chinese to be in Japan what it is in China, the inmost expression of the national mind. While in China it controls the nation throughout, in Japan it is rather a luxury of the upper classes, though doubtless through them, even in Japan, by no means without a wider influence. On the other hand, Buddhism, which during its first ages in Japan was rather the religion of the nobility and the court, having long ceased to be that in any great measure, has (after being rather deeply alloyed with native idolatries) become

the religion of the Japanese masses in a far deeper and more transforming sense than it has perhaps ever been, certainly than it has been for ages, of the masses in China. "O blessed faith! a religion never to be set aside," is the liturgical formula devoutly recited by its Japanese congregations. It lives, it is true, on amicable terms with Shintoism, and seems to have no quarrel with Confucianism, but it veils its crest before neither, as it is constrained to do before the latter in the great continental empire.

Thus, while in China the one alien and the two native religions are combined into one strong cable, of which Confucianism is the determining strand, in Japan the one native and the two alien religions are so loosely coherent that the abstraction of any one of the three would, so far as a distant foreigner can judge, leave the other two very much as they were. Shintoism, moreover, whose position has some slight analogy to that of Confucianism in China, is too empty of either theology, metaphysics, or ethics to furnish a soil in which indigenous superstitions can grow to such body as to become a powerful obstruction to progress. There is no Fung-shwui in Japan. The nation is free to snap up any material advantages it finds anywhere in the world, and neither priests, sages, nor sorcerers will make any complaint.

The external appliances of Western civilization, therefore, are so easily appropriated by Japan that their appropriation is of incomparably less significance than in China. Change the whole outward guise of living, and you would have done little, either ethically or spiritually. In China, every railroad spike is driven into the very heart of an old religion. In Japan, it is driven into wood and iron, and into nothing else. The spread of the gospel is impeded only by unbelief, misbelief, worldliness, and wickedness, as among ourselves; it is not impeded by stiff prejudices and immovable superstitions in which the religious soul of a nation has incorporated itself. Missionary work in Japan, therefore, since its earlier stages, has as good as nothing to do with the extension of civilization. For all such wants the Japanese themselves are now abundantly and redundantly able to provide. The missionary has but to heed the command: "Go thou and preach the kingdom of God." The free and fluent forms of Japanese life admit of an entire regeneration of their soul without any danger of national collapse.

India, though so different from China, is much more like China than like Japan as to the relations of religion and civilization, though the way in which the contact with the West works upon it

is very different. A railway in India, for instance, is not, as in China, supposed to disturb the repose of the dead, or the equilibrium of the universe. In reality, however, by the use of itself into which it tempts all classes of the people, and which the English government refuses to regulate by any rules of caste, it breaks up the whole foundation of national life more completely than in China. And while, in China, fantastic notions of geography and chronology are not wholly lacking, but form no articles of faith, and therefore may be revolutionized without either a religious or an ethical shock, in India the most incredible and portentous fantasies concerning the constitution of the universe, given in the utmost fullness of imperative description, are an integral part of national religion. It would be too much to say that certain fundamental tendencies of the Indian religion might not survive submersion in the flood of Western knowledge; it is certain that Hinduism cannot.

The fundamental distinction between Christian civilization and that of the far East is more distinctly illustrated in India than in China. In either country, though civilization has had great developments and great revolutions, it is now relatively unprogressive. But in China, unprogressiveness is simply a fact; in India it seems to be likewise a logical necessity. In China, All is God; in India, God is All. To the Chinese, the universe itself is supreme. Its reality, therefore, is apprehended, and the reality of its parts. It is an object of interest, and of modifying activity. In India, on the other hand, the universe is only the uneasy dream of a slumbering Deity.¹ There is no reality in it, and no meaning or progress. It is a phantasmagoria which will after countless æons sink back into the unconsciousness of the then dreamless Brahm, to be succeeded after another series of æons by another phantasmagoria, independent of it, and equally meaningless with it. As there is no reality in it, and no significance, as it is merely the fruit of an irrational endeavor of the sleeping Godhead to perform the impossible act of creation, there is no obligation and no encouragement to endeavor after any development of it to any rational end. How irrational, to aim at rationalizing a dream! Unprogressiveness, therefore, is stamped ineffaceably on Indian civilization. Accord-

¹ Dualism, it is true, is also powerful, but as it comes to no true doctrine of creation, and in one of its two main schools, to no essential distinction between God and the universe, it does not seem to contain any guarantee of a triumph over the doctrine of Illusion.

ingly the contact with the essentially progressive civilization of Christianity must have been felt by it as a still greater shock than that given by the same contact to the Chinese civilization, which, stagnant as it has become in fact, can hardly be said to be bound to immobility by its very idea. At least the inherent necessity is not so immediately and overwhelmingly evident.

What effect would be produced on the form of Indian life, that is, on Indian civilization, if Western atheism, secularism, agnosticism, or whatever we may choose to call it, should succeed in pushing Christianity aside, and, in Scottish parlance, "serving itself heir" to the present Christian control of the East? This is an event for which many of the Hindus revengefully long, who despair of the future of their own religion, but have become thereby only the more implacable in their hatred of the gospel. Of course the mere appropriation of Western sciences and skill is neither encouraged nor condemned by Hinduism. It is an *Adiaphoron*. And the combined force of Western energy and of Christian tradition would for a good while make an agnostic civilization progressive. Ultimately, however, the doctrine, not widely distinguishable in its last results from Hinduism, of a formless energy, to which, as in Hinduism, we must deny every possible attribute, and which, being declared suprapersonal, becomes, as has been well remarked, by inevitable necessity of thought, *infra-personal*, this doctrine would not be restrained by the mere fact of having come out of the West from working the same results which since the hoariest antiquity it has wrought in the East. Where reason is denied of the source, reason, in the long run, will be denied of the result, and between these two unreasons all intermediate rationality, and with it all perseveringly progressive energy, is sure at the last to be smothered. This is the end to which the philosophies of unbelief are very evidently tending in the West, and this is the end to which they would still more certainly concur in the East with the native habits of thought. The vast amount of devout thought and feeling in Hinduism, which is, so to speak, floating free, without any definite attachment to its underlying principles, is likely, in the end, greatly to enrich and fortify Christian faith. A large infusion of Western agnosticism into the Hindu pantheism would naturally, sooner or later, result in an explosive dissociation of its negative element, which would be precipitated into an angry atheism, from its positive element, which would be precipitated into a Christianizing theism. India would thus, much more certainly than China, be

involved in the great internecine conflict of Christendom itself. India, we may safely say, will never be suffered to sink back into the stagnation of the past, unless she can help to insure victory for the Great Negation which is now endeavoring to cover the universal globe with the glacial epoch of a final despair.

If the negative and the positive sides of Hinduism part into atheism and theism, what will become of its doctrine of Karma, conceived as pursuing each individual through countless transmigrations, with the consequences of his good or ill deeds, and what effect will result upon the life of the people?

Karma plays a more conspicuous part in Buddhism than in the orthodox Hinduism, from which, however, Buddhism has derived it, and even in Buddhism its popular form remains as a system of metempsychosis. Its doctrine of Ixion's wheel, endlessly hurrying the being bound to it from an upper illusion of bliss into a lower illusion of despair, and back again, belongs rather to the negative than to the positive side of Hinduism. This explains how, when negation, in the form of Buddhism, detached itself into an independent system, Karma sprang at once into the forefront as the supreme principle, the calamity of calamities, whose most exalted good is still an unimaginable evil, and from which only the Buddha can deliver men by showing the way into the nothingness of Nirvana. Just so far as Hinduism verges towards the apprehension of a loving God (as it often does), just so far the iron bonds of Karma must be relaxed, and the doctrine of moral retribution, of which it is the very crudest, most externalistic, and mechanical form, must be mitigated into something more worthy of a personal relation between the Creator and the creature, into something admitting a true doctrine of forgiveness. When atheism and theism, now conjoined in Hindu pantheism, finally part company, Karma will have no place in the latter. Whether it can find any place in the former, after this has reconstituted itself under Western influence, is more than doubtful. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," would more probably be the watchword of an Occidentalized Hinduism, as Professor Draper has gloried that it is the watchword of Chinese philosophy. The passive bewilderment in which Karma enthralls the powers of the Indian character seems destined to pass away, alike under the effect of Christian and of Antichristian missions, though perhaps not without some vigorous temporary reflections, in the form of a diseased theosophy, into the West itself.

The Hindu mind appears to be the most profoundly religious of

any national genius in the world. It is true, no impulse, not even the deepest of all, unregulated, can enable man to fulfill his destiny. A sense of God so deep as to absorb the sense of the creature destroys the foundation of religious thought, by denying the possibility of a subject of religion, and by denying the possibility of creation, as well as by a reverence which submerges all determinations of thought as unworthy of the Godhead. The gospel alone, affirming steadfastly the distinctions of God, the Soul, and the World, has room for the profoundness of Hindu devotion, which otherwise loses itself in its very redundancy of depth and breadth. And it may be questioned whether the gospel is not waiting for this reinforcement of the spiritual life, in order to come to its fullness of effect. What St. Paul says of the conversion of the Jews may perhaps be expected of the reception of India into the church, that the receiving of her will be "as life from the dead." India, we may depend upon it, will abundantly repay all the benefits, material, intellectual, and spiritual, that she may receive from the West.

It is fortunate that in India, whose civilization has been dishonored by a larger number of moral stains than that of either China or Japan, there has been a coercive force at hand to work towards the removal of them, in the shape of a government which, though only too studiously neutral in point of religion, has yet, as representing a Christian nation, and made up of men of Christian training, and many of them of ardent Christian faith, been unable to avoid responding to a pressure of Christian feeling at home which could not otherwise have been applied. Widow-burning, female infanticide, enforced perpetuity of widowhood, child marriages, and the merciless pressure of caste on the lower orders, together with a contempt of woman formulated into a fundamental article of faith, make a much worse showing for society than is found in either of the two northern countries. Here we see illustrated *corruptio optimi pessima*. Where religious feeling has been so profound, social evils which have been taken up into it have been far more hopelessly consecrated into permanence than in the north of Asia. And even yet the abrogation of some of these abominations, and slow pressure against others, is too much an external coercion, and too little a work of internal moral development, to render it probable that were Christendom to withdraw its hand they might not revive. Fortunately, that is an event in no way within probability. Even could Russia wrest India from England (which we do not anticipate), she would not

go back from the point thus far gained. Nor, indeed, has any step of this remedial legislation (which is in itself an educating appeal to unperverted human instincts) been taken without a previous process of moral cultivation through the diffused influence of Christian feeling, powerfully aided by missionary labor, through which, as the Indian government declares, a new conscience is awakening in the younger generation of India. This new conscience goes far beyond the small percentage of avowed Christianity. Indeed, the religious veneration of Christ himself, as spiritually supreme, extends far beyond this. Missionary influence, moreover, has some remarkable effects among the common people. Sir Bartle Frere says, that under this influence, exerted by both Catholics and Protestants, whole villages, and even tribes, of the lower aborigines have substituted deities of mercy and purity for their former deities of cruelty and lust. It has been asked rather scornfully, by a leading missionary journal of India, whether there is any redeeming efficacy in such changes. Undoubtedly there is. The rise from unworthier to worthier apprehensions of the Godhead, through whatever mists of polytheism and idolatry these are still refracted, is unquestionably of the highest value for this life and that which is to come. It mellows and purifies the soil of society; it deepens all forces of good in the individual soul; and renders it more hopefully receptive of the brighter light which shall hereafter shine upon it. It waters the roots of a nobler civilization with that which alone can insure them an abiding growth, namely, the influences of a nobler religion.

It is an interesting but difficult question, what effect the fifty millions of Mohammedans in India are having upon Indian civilization and religion. Islam is a monotonous and sterile region of thought. Yet it kills a multitude of the poisonous growths which are bred by the far richer soil of Hinduism. There seems to be no doubt that the Mohammedans stand higher in intelligence and character than the masses of the Hindus. Mohammedanism¹ delivers its disciples at one stroke from the bondage to Karma, to caste, to the Brahmins, to perpetual widowhood, to child-marriages, and even lightly as it accounts of woman, from a religious acrimony of contempt towards her. The ethical appeals of the Koran are rather coarse and commonplace, but they are mostly sound, they are intense in tone, and they are incessantly reiterated. Its sensualities are infinitely less glaring and prurient than those of

¹ Its fatalism has its own depressing effect, but it is quite different from Karma.

Hinduism, nor are they suffered to stain the Divine nature. Islam, moreover, although it makes God so incongruous with man as to leave little room for love or trust, and so incongruous with his universe as to deaden a rational endeavor to trace out in it the divine ideas (in this resembling agnosticism), yet has at least rescued the doctrine of his personality, which, under Christian influences, is perhaps not wholly incapable of expansion into a more genial fullness than it has ever shown in any prominent form of Mohammedanism. A certain awful reverence and resignation towards God appears to be a distinct and specific excellence of this religion. The fact, also, of a creed so unsympathetic towards Hinduism at every point, and yet professed by one fifth of the people, must have vastly weakened the self-maintaining power of the old system, while the fact that Islam, which we do not understand to claim sinlessness for Mohammed, does claim it for Jesus, and even for his mother (apparently teaching the Immaculate Conception of Mary long before Catholicism pushed matters so far), and acknowledges Jesus as Messiah, and even as the Word, seems capable of making it serviceable, willingly or unwillingly, in the spread of the gospel among the Hindus. Moreover, the obligation which the Koran imposes, of studying the Scriptures, has been, we understand, met in India alone, so far as we know, by the publication, on the part of a learned Moslem, of an elaborate edition of the Old and the New Testament. Large numbers of the Moslem gentlemen of Upper India are now said to comply with this injunction of Mohammed, taking it more seriously than he appears to have meant it, to judge from a reported remark of his, which might have come out of the mouth of a mediæval Pope, namely, that "the study of the Bible is profitable, but perilous."

The intense hostility of the Mohammedans of India towards the church need not interfere so much with this involuntary helpfulness as might appear. Two religious parties may be very hostile to each other and yet be very effective in common action upon a third. The violent controversies of the early church impeded very slightly its steady conquest of paganism. And as to the direct conversions from Islam itself, they are at least becoming in Upper India, as well as much more noticeably in Sumatra and Java, numerous enough to make it not unreasonable in an Episcopalian of India to say, in view of the stronger development of character among the Mohammedans, that he expects to see the great bishops of the future in India mainly drawn from among the Moham-

medan converts. Although so widely different from Christian civilization in tone, Moslem civilization is encumbered by few institutes which have any power of survival after its doctrinal basis is abandoned, and therefore there seems to be little reason why an able Mohammedan, once converted to the gospel, should not forthwith develop an unembarrassed completeness of Christian ethics.

We shall consider in our next paper the relation of Christianity (rather than, directly, of Missions) and Civilization in the proper domain of Islam.

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ANDOVER.

EDITORIAL.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

MANY thoughtful persons at the present time are unusually attracted to questions concerning the Divinity of Christ. In some instances this interest connects directly and consciously with a strenuous endeavor to obtain settled and satisfactory personal convictions respecting religious truth and duty. In others it has arisen more quietly and unconsciously. They find themselves inquiring, questioning, perhaps doubting, and increasingly perplexed.

There are many causes for this unrest. A new method of dealing with Sacred Scripture has come into vogue. Its several books are studied in their historical origin and character. Attention is turned to the limitations of revelation in its successive stages, limitations implicit in the fact always recognized that this revelation has been progressive, but never before so sharply defined and strongly emphasized. The doctrinal significance, still more the evidential cogency, of many familiar proof-texts is seen to be greatly modified, if not destroyed. Scientific methods are now primarily inductive, theological construction hitherto has been predominantly deductive. The dogmas of the coessentiality of the Son with the Father, and of the two natures in one Person, arose, it is maintained, through a commingling of philosophies now superseded with an imperfect historical knowledge of the Scriptures. At the least, the forms of thought they employ are believed to be outworn, and they certainly are not those which now would most naturally arise, and most aptly and spontaneously express men's thoughts of God and of Christ. A strong, sometimes an almost painful, longing is manifested for more simple, real, living apprehensions of the Jesus to whom his disciples brought their difficulties and their joys, and from whom they learned of the Father. There is more than a vague suspicion, there is in many quarters a quite pronounced accusation, that the ordinary dogmas conceal rather than make perspicuous the truth about Christ. So far as our observation goes, this discontent does not signify any conscious tendency to the Unitarian position. The divinity of Christ is acknowledged, even when phrases in which this truth has been long enshrined are discarded. The difference between most of those we have in mind and their religious predecessors for many a generation is in general this: the latter had a definite conception of what Christ's divinity means, and an assurance of its truth, the former have not. Some regard such a conception and conviction as wholly unattainable. We know Christ with certainty, it is said, only in experiences which we can verify as historical, not merely as to the fact of their occurrence, but in their contents and character. We know nothing in

this way respecting his preëxistent state, and cannot control anything told us about it by any available tests. We can learn something of his earthly life and of his character, and we can be taught by Him how to live worthily. There is evidence that He survived death. No other earthly life has seemed to be so associated with the divine, to teach so much of God, but of its present activities and personal relation to our lives we cannot make positive affirmations. With others this somewhat negative, or at least indeterminate, conclusion as to Christ's divinity springs from critical difficulties respecting the sources of evidence. Contemporary testimony is preserved almost entirely in the Synoptical Gospels, and there is found to be mingled with later additions. These Gospels fail, it is thought, to make clear that Jesus ever himself claimed to be truly divine, and they show in various ways that his disciples did not so regard Him. The usual proofs derived from other books of the New Testament are likewise deemed inconclusive, either exegetically or for lack of authority. Even if Paul or John, in canonical writings attributed to them, recognize the divinity of Christ, and it is generally admitted that they do, there are still to be met two uncertainties respecting this testimony,—its genuineness and its divine assurance. We are not sure, for instance, that Paul wrote Colossians, and if he did, we are not certain that he gives us more than the result of his own reasoning upon facts otherwise known to us, and upon which we can reflect for ourselves. Large allowance, it is further suggested, must be made for tendencies in an uncritical and unscientific age to give a supernatural explanation of remarkable phenomena, to deify heroes, to put mystical and speculative interpretations upon ancient Scriptures.

Others are embarrassed by the baffling mystery presented in the theological conception of Christ. The church has never yet pronounced upon the unity of Christ's Person, beyond affirming the fact, though some hints have been dropped as it were incidentally. It has, however, affirmed that there are two complete and perfect natures, even to the co-existence of two wills, the divine and the human. The modern psychology finds in such a premise the conclusion that there are two persons, which the church and theology and Scripture deny. It is reasonable to accept a mystery upon evidence; it is impossible to believe in a contradiction. We do not concede that the ordinary doctrine contains a contradiction, but only that it is imperfect, yet its ancient form naturally does suggest to those trained under present modes of thinking something difficult of apprehension even as a mystery.

More important still is the influence of the modern appreciation of Christ in his true and real humanity. This has always been maintained as a part of the church doctrine of Christ. But the ancient and mediæval Christology, as it developed into dogma, tended to make the personality of the Redeemer wholly divine, and the humanity unreal. A reaction from this appears in a modern tendency to make the person-

ality human and the divinity shadowy. Is it not possible to gain a completer view of the person of our Lord? Do not the facts require a statement more comprehensive and, at the same time, more apprehensible and practical? Many are asking this question, many who are deeply impressed with the historical evidence of Christ's true humanity, and yet are not ready to credit even such humanity with strictly divine perfections, nor to claim that it fills out the measure of the stature of the fullness of God, which seems to be revealed in Him. In such minds the question is definitely reached, What are we to think of Christ as respects his real personality? and the approach to this question is thought to be through his humanity, or at least the attested facts of his earthly life, rather than by the way of inference from later statements respecting his pre-existence and eternal Sonship.

There seems to us to be occasion in these and other signs of the times for a new and comprehensive consideration of the subject of the true divinity of Christ. In the faith of the church it is a fundamental article,—something without which Christianity ceases to be what it purports to be, something apart from which its fruits cannot long be gathered. Re-investigated it may be, for no generation can take up fully into its thought any vital truth in a merely traditional way. Set in new relations and seen in new lights it may well be, for the work of the church goes on under ever changing conditions. Disputes may be settled, controversies closed, particular inquiries concluded, dogmas reached which mark boundaries and attest what has been gained, but man's conception either of God or of himself is never a fixed quantity, nor perfect in quality, and the central mystery of our faith combines in itself all the treasures and all the perplexities of divinity and humanity in their distinctness and their union. Their treasures incite to thought, their perplexities admonish to humility. We may not be able by recording some of the results of our own studies to help others who are in need, but we seem to see occasion for making the attempt. Seven years ago we found a similar practical call for an application of a great principle of Christianity, that of its universality, to various doctrinal and missionary problems of the day. The papers thus elicited were afterwards gathered together in a little volume entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy." In it the opinion was expressed that the question which "lies nearest the heart of all modern Christian thought and life is, . . . 'Is the Jesus whose life we know on its human side the Christ in whom religious faith finds its appropriate and permanently satisfying object?'" and we added as expressive of our own conviction, "The Jesus of history is the Christ of faith; the Christ of faith is God revealed and known." The series of papers we hope now to publish will deal especially with the question thus proposed.

WHY NOT CLEAR OUR APRIL HOLIDAY OF RELIGIOUS PRE-
TENSE?

THE statutes of Massachusetts make several days of the year "legal holidays," by forbidding the courts to sit and the legislature to convene on those days, and requiring notes falling due upon them to be previously paid. Two of these, "Thanksgiving Day" and "Fast Day," do not have fixed places in the calendar, but are designated by the Governor, year by year. These are called by the statutes (as by the people) respectively "Thanksgiving Day" and "Fast Day." The names which these days respectively bear in the statutes give the reason for their being set apart from business uses by the law-making power. They were devoted to religious uses under the assumption that the people, or at any rate those of them who were religious, desired to spend them in worship and prayer, and to perpetuate a custom dating back to the last decade of the seventeenth century, — not, as is often supposed, to the days of the Pilgrims.

The Governor, in executing the law providing a Thanksgiving and a Fast Day, respects the profession it makes of supplying a religious want. He assumes that the impulse which the law proposes to satisfy still exists, and accordingly sets apart a day of November for giving thanks to God, and one of April for penitential prayer. The announcement of the selected day is, in each case, accompanied by a petition, asking the people to devote it to its specific religious use. The Governor makes this request as the head of a Christian commonwealth, which has expressed a special want of its religious life in the statute to which he is giving effect by his proclamation.

So far as Fast Day is concerned, the assumption made by the law is now contrary to the fact. The impulse to give a day to common penitential prayer is not felt by any considerable number of the devout people of the State. No competent observer of our religious life will question this assertion. The scanty attendance on Fast Day services and the perfunctory character of those services amply justify it. Behind this patent fact is another, only less obvious, and yet more significant, — the disbelief of most thoughtful Christian people in the benefit of an annual fast having no occasion except such as the arrival of April may furnish. There is no assignable reason for making the first Thursday of this month, above any other day of this or any other month, a day of penitential prayer. The Governor's proclamation, therefore, amounts to this: "Since it is a good thing to humble one's self before the Almighty, let us take a day for the purpose. This one is as good as any; let us take it." The answer, spoken or unspoken, of most thoughtful Christian people is, that perfunctory penitence is not a good thing, and that a day devoted to penitence, merely through external suggestion, a day which brings no impulse toward God, is pretty sure to be spent in dull penance. The people, then, devout as well as undevout, do not wish to use the free

day which our statutes call "Fast Day" for the end suggested by that name.

They desire to give it to recreative purposes. The place in the calendar set apart for it by custom makes it one of our most welcome holidays. The winter has broken, sports may begin, the landscape shows some signs of spring, multitudes are glad to go out into the sunshine. Almost every one believes that Puritan New England builded better than it knew in setting apart the day from business uses.

Since the day is recreative, why not call it so? Why should not the Governor admit it to be so when he announces it? Why should he keep on issuing hollow Fast Day proclamations? He cannot enjoy writing and publishing official cant; the people do not enjoy having him do so. The law, so far as we can see, does not oblige him to proclaim a fast. We believe that our next Executive would please nineteen twentieths of the people, as he would doubtless please himself, by making, as the Fast Day announcement of 1893, the simple statement: "I set apart Thursday, the eighth day of April next, for the holiday miscalled Fast Day." Should the Governor shrink from such appearance of disrespect to the letter of the law as this action might wear, the people ought to agitate for legislation giving the day a suitable name and a fixed place in the calendar. Religion and morality are both interested in having dead religious forms decently buried. Some good people will not agree with our suggestion that our April holiday be called by an appropriate name. They have an expedient for making it cease to be a holiday and begin again to be a Fast Day. This is persuading the Governor to put it upon Good Friday. Enough devout people spend that day religiously, they think, to justify applying the name "Fast Day" to it. Then let a fast be proclaimed for that day. As if the thing needed were to find a justification for the name given the April holiday by the statute! Would the number who give Good Friday to devotion receive important increase from the fact that the Governor advised Massachusetts people so to employ it? We believe not. It is unlikely that those for whom the sacred associations of the day have no power would be stirred to religious earnestness by the fact that the Governor of their State had chosen it to be a fast day.

Those who are resolved to treat the day as sacred would in this way be deprived of their spring holiday, and they would be disturbed and grieved by the noise made by the multitudes who would use Good Friday as a holiday. The expedient proposed would not secure the object which its advocates hope to gain by it, and would bring serious evils. It would not please many religious people, and it would be sure to displease those who are not religious, because it would cause Fast Day often to come inconveniently early.

Another suggestion comes from an influential source. The Essex Congregational Club has sent a memorial to the Governor asking: (1)

"That the present Fast Day as a legal-holiday be discontinued ; (2) that to meet the secular end now subserved by the day, the Monday following Easter be constituted a legal holiday ; and (3) that the Governor continue to issue the annual proclamation for a day of religious devotion, naming therefor Good Friday, but not making it a legal holiday."

The course recommended preserves the Fast Day proclamation. But it takes from it whatever affirmative value it may have had. The present Fast Day proclamation is the form clothing an executive act. The Governor issues it to prevent the law setting apart a day for "Fast Day" from being a dead letter. It has a reason in the statutes of the Commonwealth. That reason only exists in the case of the act designating the free day called in the statutes "Fast Day." A proclamation recommending religious observance on any other day would be a gratuitous piece of advice. Suppose, then, that the next Executive should some time in March issue such a proclamation as this: "Inasmuch as most of the people of the State desire to spend the ancient Fast Day as a holiday, I appoint . . . to be a legal holiday, and recommend that it be spent in recreation. But I also recommend that the people of the State make Good Friday a day of religious observance." Would this Fast Day appendage to the proclamation have appreciable religious value ?

The change suggested has, however, a real and important advantage. In fixing Easter Monday as the day for the spring holiday, it connects that holiday with the joy of Easter. For this reason a part of the people would be glad to have the suggestion adopted. A greater number, we believe, would be opposed, on the ground that Easter Monday sometimes comes too early to be a spring holiday, and sometimes too late to satisfy the desire to celebrate the departure of winter by spending a day out of doors, as well as too near the next free day, May 30. Under ordinary conditions, few would desire to spend the 21st of March in out-of-door recreation. A greater number would be willing to defer the spring holiday until the 21st of April, in order to honor Easter, but the majority would not. In designating the "legal holiday," the Governor will doubtless consult the wish of the majority. He will, we believe, as heretofore, select one of the early days of April. The "memorial" of the Essex Club is a cheering indication of a state of public opinion which will prevent him "proclaiming it to be a day of fasting and prayer."

DR. PARKHURST AND THE NEW YORK POLICE.

It is strange that any intelligent person should have missed the aim of Dr. Parkhurst's recent utterances on the criminal condition of New York. His sole contention from first to last has been against the corrupt alliance between the police of the city and the criminals and law-breakers whom they were sworn to detect and restrain. His attack upon them, and upon those whom they represent, has not been an attack upon the

vicious classes. Much less has he made a crusade against vice in general. His work has not been that of an enthusiast, but of a brave and far-seeing citizen. He has made use of the pulpit for arousing his fellow-citizens, because that was the natural place in which he could do his work. Had he been a lawyer, or an editor, or a business man, with the same conviction, he would have used the means at hand. As the "Evening Post" has pointed out, he had a certain vantage-ground in the pulpit, from the fact that all the newspapers of the city would publish his sermons. But it was the man himself who saw his advantage and dared to use it.

The personal methods which he employed to support his charges were purely incidental. He did not visit a house of ill-fame to convert its inmates. He was not at the time about that business. Had he been, he would probably have made more progress toward that end than some of his critics who attempted the object. What he wanted, and the only thing he wanted, was evidence of the criminal negligence of the police. That he gained. The after prosecution of the keeper of the house which he visited was not of his undertaking. It was simply an action, brought by the landlord to dispossess a disagreeable tenant, to which he was summoned as a witness. So far as the keeper of the house or its inmates were concerned, he, too, would have preferred to convert them, rather than to have figured indirectly as their prosecutor.

The fact remains that Dr. Parkhurst has proved his point by the admission of those whom he attacked. It is not a mere coincidence that a new Superintendent of Police has been appointed. Other men than Inspector Byrnes might have been found. Under other circumstances some other man doubtless would have been found. In the present state of aroused public feeling no other man was possible. It remains to be seen what he can do, but his appointment is a concession to the better sentiment of the city. He can at least remove the stigma of corruption fixed by the Grand Jury upon the police as a body. He can make crime more difficult, and remove many of the temptations and solicitations to vice. He can suppress some forms of criminality, like open gambling. Or if he cannot do as much as this, he can show why he cannot. He can fix, in a very definite way, the responsibility for the continuance of the present reign of vice and crime in the city. And when the responsibility has been located in this way, the citizens of New York can decide for themselves whether they prefer the present form of political rule, or true municipal government.

We append so much of Dr. Parkhurst's appeal to the citizens of New York as may serve to make his contention clear to all who may wish to inform themselves:—

"My contention was then, is now, and will continue to be, with the controlling powers of the Police Department, considered as the guardian of criminality, meaning by that simply what was comprised in the presentment of the March

Grand Jury, which held up that department before the community in the character of a criminal, and it still hangs there.

"The evidence, which with the aid of detectives and friends I was easily able to collect, was secured with the distinct end of showing by unimpeachable testimony something of the extent, infamy, and publicity of certain crimes, with the necessary inference that if a police force as competent as ours is conceded to be, and in the possession of all those legal powers known to be accorded to it, fails to hold such crimes in stern check, it can only be because of having entered into some evil alliance with them. It was not at all a matter between me and any individual parties. When I went before the Grand Jury with 284 affidavits, I said: 'Gentlemen, I have no interest in the conviction of these parties. Evidence has not been secured against them for the sake of inducing you to indict them. My object has been solely to secure in the general mind an indictment against the Police Department.'

"When, therefore, for instance, the suit against the keeper of the low resort on Twenty-seventh Street is represented as a contention between Dr. Parkhurst and Hattie Adams, there is not a suggestion of truth in it. I have no personal controversy with her or with the keeper of any other disorderly house or gambling house. My contention is only with the police, who allow the crimes of such houses to be so vile and accessible, in disregard of one of the rules of the department, which is that 'Each patrolman must, by his vigilance, render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any one to commit crime on his post.'

"My connection with the dispossess suit recently initiated against the lessee of the house just mentioned is due simply to the accident of my own knowledge of the character of that house, obtained for another purpose, but naturally enough utilized by the landlord when it became necessary for him to make a show of attempting to dispossess his tenant. My only object in referring to this case is to blow out of the air the smoke that the Police Department and others in alliance with it are blowing into the air, and to bring clearly to the attention of the public the fact that the criminal par excellence is not Hattie Adams, nor "Dink" Davis, nor "Silver-Dollar" Smith, but the Police Department, which the Grand Jury so vigorously scored, — a scoring, by the way, which derives no small part of its significance from the fact that it expressed the unanimous consensus of a jury that was composed of Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, and made up of representatives of every political party.

"Now I am not going to enter into any defense of the methods which I adopted in order to secure my evidence. I will only take the liberty of saying that those methods were adopted after a prolonged balancing of the pros and contras, and in face of every criticism that has been passed, or that may be passed. I desire to stand up in the presence of this community and say that it was the only method by which I could have cut to the quick of this whole corrupt business. It was the only method by which I could earn the power to say, 'I know.' I have waded through quantities of filth in order to win that knowledge, and to win the vantage power that came with it, and I would wade through it all again before I would surrender that vantage power, even though so dearly earned.

"As to certain criticisms that have been passed, even by my friends, I want

to say that I give them full credit for sincerity in their strictures ; at the same time, it is always to be remembered that it is a thousand times easier to criticise another's action than it is to take action one's self, and if while I was planning how I could do something to help the cause some one else had devised a better method than the one I was working out, I am sure I should have been only too happy to strike into it and work at their side and under their head.

"I profoundly hate the conspicuity into which during the past six weeks I have been brought. I beg of you to think only of the common enemy at which it behooves us to strike, and to let me be simply one with you in our common crusade against the organized and salaried criminality with which we are municipally menaced. We are none of us so foolish as to think that vice is to be utterly stamped out, but we do have the right to expect and to insist that the department which is employed and handsomely paid to make crime 'exceedingly difficult, if not impossible,' should not be the chief reliance of crime in all the attempts which church and society make to weaken and reduce it."

NOTES FROM ENGLAND.

FOR years past it has been a growing scandal that London, the metropolis of the British Empire, has no teaching university. The University of London has been for years, and still remains, a merely examining body with the power of granting degrees, but with no teaching staff and no real educational machinery. There has recently been an attempt made to remedy this, but an attempt so feeble and so inadequate that probably few regret that it has ended in failure. It was proposed to form a teaching university for London by giving two collegiate institutions known as University College and King's College a charter which would have made them a new teaching university. At first it was proposed to call it the Albert University, after the late Prince Consort, the husband of our Queen ; but it was soon seen to be utterly ridiculous to call a very third-rate proposal after an honored royal person, and the name of the Gresham University was suggested. The gravest objections lay against the whole proposal : in the first place, it would have made a sectarian university, for one of these colleges, King's College, is a purely denominational institution, limited to members of the Church of England, and was originally started in opposition to University College, which was founded at a time when Oxford and Cambridge imposed religious tests on all students. The great names in the history of University College, the object of which has been to give higher education free of all sectarian bias, are John Stuart Mill and George Grote ; and to the religious and philosophical traditions of these men the college has remained true until lately. A few months ago the greed of getting a charter between them made these two rival colleges forget their natural antagonism and unite in a common cause of mutual gain. A second, and even stronger, objection was that the proposed university would have totally ignored many other admirable educational institutions in London, which had every right to recognition as parts of a university in respect of the eminence of their teachers and the wide extent of their work. Had the Gresham University become an accomplished university, the greatest

city in the world would have had, in proportion to the importance of its position, by far the feeblest teaching university in Europe. A third objection was that a royal commission has recently inquired into the whole question, and has reported strongly against any such scheme as that which was proposed.

Fortunately, the proposal was so scandalously bad, and found condemnation from so many quarters, that its authors from very shame were obliged to recede; and Parliament having presented a unanimous petition to the Queen, praying her to withhold her consent, the matter is in abeyance. A new attempt will of course be made before long to establish a teaching university for London, and it may be safely expected to be finally acceded to on more generous and liberal lines.

There is one social and political aspect of our national life illustrated by this proposal for the Gresham University, namely, that though we pride ourselves on the purity of our politics, there is an enormous amount of "back-stairs" influence and favoritism in the high affairs of state. The Gresham University charter would never have been proposed or promulgated were it not for the efforts and influence of a great dignitary of the Established Church, who is a *persona grata* in court circles. It would have received the support of the government in office, and have passed into a public institution, had it not been so ludicrously inadequate that the opposition became quite irresistible, because the objections were absolutely unanswerable.

A recent appointment, of great interest to the world of letters and scholarship, is just announced, and illustrates the favoritism of our political system. Mr. J. A. Froude has been named to succeed the late Professor Freeman as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. The late Professor Freeman was undoubtedly the greatest authority that ever breathed on early English history: it is not too much to say that Mr. Froude is not an authority on any historical subject or period at all. He is, after Mr. Ruskin, perhaps with Mr. Ruskin, the most splendid master of English prose style; he is a brilliant literary man, but not a serious historical scholar. Yet, because he has been very prominent recently as a political partisan of the government in power, he is made Regius Professor of history, and such a master of historical research as Mr. S. R. Gardiner is passed over. But then Mr. Gardiner is a political opponent of the present government, and Mr. Froude is a friend to it!

The progress of our institutions for higher education is one of the remarkable features of the day. The old universities of England — Oxford and Cambridge — have never been since the time of Wyclif so democratic or popular as the Scotch or German universities, and to this day the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge remain close corporations, with the faults and luxuries of antique and rich foundations; for example, they spend far more on their college entertainments and dinners than on their college libraries. But in various ways Oxford and Cambridge universities contribute an enormous amount of energy and popular education to the country's life. To mention only one agency, the University Extension lectures: able scholars, mostly young men, go out from the university to deliver courses of lectures, and to conduct classes in connection with their lectures in all parts of the country. In the north of England, especially, these lectures and classes have had a surprising success, attracting many of the best artisans of our manufacturing districts.

This University Extension movement is growing and developing. One development is a series of admirable manuals especially written for University Extension students. Another is the summer meeting for students at Oxford during August, when the university men are of course absent in vacation, and when Oxford lecture-halls, galleries, laboratories, and class-rooms are crowded with a mixed throng of working-people and governesses, elementary teachers and fathers of families, drawn together by the common desire to enjoy for a couple of weeks a sort of university life. The thoroughness of these meetings may be judged from the fact that at the next August meeting in Oxford special (but not exclusive) study will be devoted to the Renaissance period, about which one hundred lectures will be delivered by such leading authorities as Mr. J. A. Symonds, Mr. Walter Pater, and Mr. J. Churton Collins.

Another development in higher education of recent growth is the instruction in technical education which during the last few months has been organized under the law, which allows the County Councils to devote to technical education a portion of the taxation raised on the sale of beer and spirits. Almost invariably the County Councils have used this power, and generally with great success: in agricultural counties lectures and practical instruction in horticulture and dairy work, or in manufacturing districts in mechanics or plan drawing, and in all parts instruction for boys in the use of tools and materials, and for girls in cookery and domestic economy have become a regular institution. The teachers are peripatetic, and often cover wide circuits. Satisfactory as all this educational progress is, there is no doubt a need of a regular system of secondary and intermediate education in England, the lack of which is made all the more noticeable by such movements as these just described.

The great influence of our religious organizations has been curiously illustrated lately in London. At the recent School Board election the Church of England clergy were very prominent, and brought all their church organizations very strongly to bear to support the Conservative or so-called "Moderate" policy, while the Nonconformist ministers and churches were indifferent, or took no active part in the campaign. In the result, the church or Conservative party were completely successful. A few weeks later the London County Council elections came round; this time the church clergy took a much less active part than the Nonconformist ministers and their people, who supported the Liberal or so-called "Progressive" policy. In the result, the Liberal or Progressive party were returned to power in the proportion of just three to one. There were, doubtless, other causes, which contributed to the results in each case, but still it is impossible to ignore the fact that the religious organizations are very influential at times of elections, and that the pulpit is a splendid engine for raising enthusiasm.

The cause of Christian reunion and of a more fraternal spirit among Christians of different sects continues to find many supporters, at least in the pulpit and the press, and some few practical results also are apparent. The Archdeacon of London and Dr. Joseph Parker have been exchanging compliments, but an exchange of pulpits, having been suggested, was found impossible. The "Independent" newspaper, the semi-official organ of the Congregational churches, has suggested that at the coming general election campaign there should be no imputing of sordid or mean motives on either side when the question of the Estab-

lished Church and its political privileges is discussed. This fraternal suggestion has been generally approved, but apparently it will have very little practical effect. The editor of the "Review of the Churches" has already taken a "church-reunion party" to Switzerland, when men of different sections of the church traveled, lived, and discussed things together, and he proposes during the coming summer to hold several church-reunion conferences at Grindelwald, at which men of different denominations will meet and join in discussions and devotions. These promise to be a great success; but the cynical ask, "Would the editor be as successful if he were to arrange parties to help in the work of an unsectarian mission, while they lived together for a few days in the East End slums of London, and to join there in a common religious ministry of the outcast?"

On the other hand, there are signs that the genius of the churches is growing continually more liberal. There are not a few cases in which neighboring churches of different Nonconformist denominations now make it a practice to unite once a year, at least, in a service of common worship, or ministers periodically effect an interchange of pulpits. Again, the spirit of what is known as the "Forward movement" is spreading simultaneously in the Methodist, Independent, and Baptist bodies. Alike in home and foreign mission work, in efforts to strengthen the faithful and to reach those out of sympathy with any church, the "forward" policy means that more work must be accomplished and more money collected each succeeding year: progress is held necessary to healthy life. The "forward movement" takes many forms: the London Missionary and the Baptist Missionary societies are increasing the numbers of their missionaries; the conferences and unions of churches insist at once on more meetings for deepening spiritual life and more philanthropic energy; in some places new and unusual efforts are being made to interest non-church-goers; in Bradford, for example, the Free Churches have organized a systematic house-to-house canvass of the whole town, and give special invitations to those who attend no church to join in some religious worship: social and semi-political questions which affect the moral and religious condition of the people are much more than ever discussed in the pulpit and connected with the duties of Christians.

The question of the observance of Sunday as a day of rest is always coming up again. At the recent County Council elections in London it was loudly objected to the "Progressive" policy that its supporters had allowed the public parks to be used for band music performances on Sundays. The objection does not appear to have prevented the Nonconformists from voting for the Progressive candidates. More important is the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who some few years ago spoke emphatically against the Sunday opening of museums and public galleries; he is now considered to have changed his views, for a few days ago he formally opened the annual picture exhibition in White-chapel (East London), which the clergyman of St. Jude's organizes every Easter in the schools adjoining his church. The exhibition is kept open all Sunday, including even during the hours of divine service. The Archbishop's action in opening the exhibition and his speech of unstinted praise of the institution have naturally been regarded as significant.

Joseph King.

HAMPSTEAD.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ROMANS DISSECTED. A New Critical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.
By E. D. McREALSHAM. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

This is the American edition of a book that has been published in England, and in Germany, where it bears the name of Carl Hesedamm. The anagram rather discloses than conceals the author's name, Charles M. Mead.

It is not in good taste for the party who is subjected to ridicule to venture a reply, or to attempt to stem the tide of laughter; but the laughter caused by this book has perhaps passed by, and it is time to ask what is the actual value of the work. Its claim upon the attention of serious students of the Bible rests upon something quite distinct from that quality which makes one laugh. If it is a *reductio ad absurdum*, it is a legitimate mode of argument. It is supposably such, and has been so called by a reviewer. In the presence of that claim for it we do nothing out of taste or impolitic in examining seriously what right the book has to the rank assigned it.

By the use of certain methods an indivisible book, Romans, can be made to show clearer indications of divisibility than the Pentateuch exhibits when tested by the same methods. The method leading to an absurd result in the one case is thereby proven to be unreliable, and its results absurd in the other case. Such is the argument which the author would bring to bear, evidently expecting, as another professor expressed himself recently, to "prick this bubble in a few minutes."

To be scientific, we should ask first if an indivisible book has been chosen. It was very unfortunate for the author that certain scholars made a serious attempt to prove for Romans a composite authorship at just about the same time that he was working on his *jeu d'esprit*, and the whole scheme threatened to suffer shipwreck for this very simple but sufficient reason. The happy thought of an explanatory "Postscript" saved the book to the public. However, we gladly grant the assumption of the Pauline authorship of Romans, for we heartily accept it.

A second assumption made by the author, and for him by others, is that his methods are the same as those used by Old Testament scholars. Unless the principles of literary criticism are truthfully represented, the whole affair is valueless, save, of course, that it is a good joke. Perfectly conscious of the necessity of disarming criticism at this point, "McReals-ham" has shrewdly taken many expressions verbatim from the German critics; in his very presumption he is careful to imitate the failings of one and another of those whom he is ridiculing. All this makes, to be sure, very interesting and amusing reading, but it conceals the weakness rather than exhibits the strength of his position. He selects various accidents, and parades them as the essentials of literary criticism. He makes the personal traits of individual critics do duty as characteristics of the system which he is holding up to ridicule.

Referring to Baur's school he remarks: "Every intelligent man knows that the inspiring animus of this criticism was the conviction that Christianity must have been a gradual growth, fully accounted for by the historical forces at work at the beginning of our era; and that the notion of supernatural agency must be ruled out." Grant the fairness of the

characterization of Baur's school, it has no place at the foundation of this *jeu d'esprit*, unless it be also true of Old Testament criticism. It is simply untrue that a consistent literary critic must rule out of his consideration any notion of supernatural agency. He may do so, of course, but he need not upon pain of being called unscientific. "McRealsham" would make out that all critics are hostile to Christianity; how far this is from being correct need not be demonstrated. Take a single illustration. Astruc in his "Avertissement" says:—

"The work was composed some time ago; but I hesitated to publish, fearing that the pretended rationalists, who seek every possible prop, would be able to abuse it to diminish the authority of the Pentateuch. A well-informed man, and one very zealous for religion, to whom I communicated it has dissipated my scruples. He assures me . . . that in place of ever being prejudicial to religion, it would, on the contrary, be very advantageous to it, in that it would remove or clear up some difficulties that present themselves in reading this book (Genesis), and under the weight of which commentators have until now been almost crushed. . . . I protest in advance, in all sincerity, that if those who have the right to decide, and whose decisions I ought to respect, find my conjectures either false or dangerous, I am ready to abandon them, or, better, I do now abandon them. Never will prejudice in favor of my own ideas prevail with me over love for truth and religion."

The author says, page 5:—

"There are three assumptions, which we may regard as incontrovertible, lying at the foundation of all scientific criticism of the Bible. They are (1), that all important institutions are the result of a gradual growth; (2) that no miracle has ever taken place, and that supernaturalism is a superstition; (3) that all traditional opinions of a religious nature are to be assumed to be doubtful or false, except as they are confirmed by the general approval of critics."

This cannot be regarded as a candid statement of the critical position, such a statement as should be made by a fair-minded opponent. The first assumption is not to be denied, except as one reads between the lines here, and finds expressly stated a little later, that the author means that institutions are all growth and no beginning. To represent the second assumption as fundamental to scientific criticism of the Bible is untrue; many critics have held it, but that it is an essential feature in the critical position is an absurdity. True it is that conservatives never tire of so representing criticism; but why it is that I must deny that God ever worked a miracle, before I can consistently hold to the composite origin of the Pentateuch, involves a train of logic too abstruse for easy comprehension. The third assumption is true in a certain sense; when the truth of a statement is to be tested, it is ridiculous to assume its truth. If there is to be any criticism of the Bible, any examination whatever of its statements, if the traditional view of it is to be weighed at all, then of course they must for the time be regarded as unproven. Thus far the statement is almost axiomatic; but if the author attributes to the critics an abnormal incredulity, it may be remarked that this fault is not one that attaches especially to literary critics of the Bible.

With statements like these the preliminary chapter abounds. They vary from fairness, through exaggeration, to wholly unwarranted and gratuitous misrepresentations of the critical position.

In the course of the argument itself, as developed, we find no greater degree of fairness. Take this as an illustration:—

"The Epistle is a composite work, written by at least four authors, each (or at least three) of them professing to be Paul."

The point of this statement is of course (for the Old Testament method is to be followed) that the documents of the Pentateuch profess to be written by Moses, and that in spite of that claim the Pentateuch is partitioned. There is, as a fact, no claim in the Pentateuch that it was all written by Moses, and the critics do not assign away from Moses any passage that does claim to be by him. The implication made in the passage quoted will catch only those who do their thinking by proxy.

If there is any one feature of "McRealsham's" method that is just the same as the Old Testament method, it is in dissecting on the basis of the use of divine names : —

"We use the signs G¹ and G² for the reason that in the sections belonging to the first (that is, these) two, there is almost no mention of Jesus Christ, but only of God, as the supreme authority, and the author of salvation. . . . The terms JC and CJ are derived from the circumstance that in the sections belonging to the former the Redeemer is called Jesus Christ, but in those belonging to the latter, Christ Jesus."

It does not require an over-critical examination to discover that this is a very misleading paragraph. God and Christ Jesus are not in any sense interchangeable terms; Jahveh and Elohim are. God and Jesus Christ are not two names for the same person in the sense that Jahveh and Elohim are. If G uses "God," it is because he talks about God; if JC and CJ use "Jesus Christ" and "Christ Jesus," it is because they talk about Him. Let Professor Mead make the distinction if he will, but let no one think there is anything here parallel to the distinction between J and E. In order to save the matter from too great absurdity the author cunningly introduces into the paragraph where he explains his nomenclature *theological* differences between the writers, which are, in fact, all that he can here predicate of the two pairs G¹ and G², and JC and CJ. The difference is not in the name by which they call God, but in the person to whom they attribute salvation. In no sense can this be called the same method as that employed in Pentateuchal analysis.

Not satisfied with the force of his *jeu d'esprit* in itself, the author continually makes direct thrusts throughout the book. For example, page 25, after making a particularly absurd use of R to account for a phenomenon, he remarks : —

"This, whether or not the true reason, is at all events a better one than can always be given for the numerous dislocations in the Pentateuch."

Again, page 38 : —

"No one can object to this critical conjecture who has had occasion to see how often the same process has to be resorted to by Old Testament critics, in order to keep the several constituent parts distinct."

It may be that the writer had for the moment forgotten that in all matters involving textual criticism Old Testament scholars are in an entirely different situation from the New. Instances may be found, even in conservative commentaries, in which curious exegesis is necessarily resorted to from sheer inability to discover any logic or sense in the passage as it stands. It is not peculiar to modern critical views of the Old Testament to invent unlikely hypotheses; it is often a case of an unlikely one over against none at all, or a forced exegesis over against none at all. "McRealsham's" sarcasm cuts deeper than through criticism; it reaches the conditions of the Old Testament text and the poverty of critical helps to the study of the Old Testament. Could we find a man-

uscript running back to within two hundred years of the autographs, it would change the problem entirely. The absurdity of an R for Romans does not argue the absurdity of an R for the Pentateuch. In perfect candor, the author should have recognized this condition of things and not have attempted to heap ridicule upon an attempt that confessedly is made under great disadvantages.

The linguistic argument is also misleading. The author makes a table like that presented by Professor Harper in "Hebraica" of October, 1888, to illustrate the vocabulary of his four writers, then proceeds:—

"If linguistic phenomena brought out by Professor Harper indicate difference of authorship in Genesis i.-xii. 5, *à fortiori* does the result of our analysis indicate the fourfold authorship of the Epistle to the Romans."

The *à fortiori* character of the argument is not very decided, but there is a slight balance in favor of "Romans Dissected." But why does the author fail to quote, or otherwise refer to, a remark of Professor Harper on the same page with part of the table mentioned; it should at least have been refuted:—

"In the consideration of this point it must be remembered that we are not dealing with a modern language, not even with an ancient language like Latin or Greek, but with a language remarkable for its inflexibility. When it is appreciated that writings acknowledged to be a thousand years apart present few more differences than are sometimes found in the work of one man in our times, these peculiarities, insignificant as they appear, are nevertheless very noteworthy."

The pertinence of this remark is illustrated by "McRealsham's" own figures; the vocabulary of Romans embraces 928 words (excluding particles), while that of Genesis i.-xii. 5, a passage of about the same length, has only 485 words. The significance, then, of different but synonymous words in the different writers of Genesis i.-xii. is twice as great as in Romans.

It is difficult to comprehend how any one could think it worth his while to pen such an argument as this:—

"In some respects our analysis may be pronounced even more thoroughly grounded than that of the Pentateuch. . . . The distinctions between the doctrines of the different writers of the Pentateuch are by no means so important, and are not always clearly made out at all."

This he will illustrate by contrasting the Flood story with Romans!—

"But otherwise (than in the number of the animals) there is no clearly defined difference between P and J in their representation of facts, or their conception of God."

Has he forgotten the duration of the Flood, or the source of the waters, or the sacrifice afterward? As to the "conception of God," which is "not so decided as in Romans," who expects the story of the Flood to be as full of it as Romans? If two distinct conceptions of God are essential to dual authorship, what would he say of those passages, not rare or far between, where there is absolutely no conception whatever of God? According to him, these should not have any author! If "McRealsham" can use this as an argument for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, he is welcome to it.

Then follows a digression; that is what the author calls it, and he should know what it is. It suggests a modification of the current view of the Old Testament. It is fantastic in the extreme. It warps facts,

alleges facts utterly without method or reason, and is altogether too wild to be examined.

Lastly he introduces his "historical argument." The result of the whole dissection is that he finds a difference of fifty years between the first and the fourth writer of Romans. Be it candidly asked if "the very same methods" could lead to a result like that. Five hundred years is the interval assigned by criticism for the composition of the Pentateuch, and "the very same methods" employed upon Romans give us an interval of fifty years! J and E are put by critics between 900 and 750 B. C., and it is acknowledged that the criteria available are not sufficient to determine beyond a doubt the question of priority, or more exactly the date of either. Yet we are asked to believe that the "very same method" applied to Romans will enable critics to assign dates to four documents within a range of fifty years!

It is with a feeling of dissatisfaction with the whole matter that we come to the close of our hasty examination. Professor Mead is a strong writer, a clear thinker, and a good scholar of acknowledged ability. He has added nothing to his reputation by the present venture; how much it will aid the cause which he wishes to maintain is yet to be seen.

Owen H. Gates.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE ELEMENTS OF ETHICS. An Introduction to Moral Philosophy. By J. H. MUIRHEAD. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

This little volume is one of the "University Extension Series," and is a little heavier in style and matter than that object would lead us to expect. But it is not to be especially criticised on that account, since it is couched in a much more effective language than is usual in the school of philosophic writers from which the author evidently proceeds. We have only to read Mr. Muirhead's theory of the end of conduct to see that he is a disciple of T. H. Green, and to learn this fact dispenses with the necessity of criticising him. Whatever merits or faults Green had must be charged to Mr. Muirhead, except the one matter of style, which is much superior to that of Green.

Book I. treats of Ethics as a science, and there are some admirable remarks upon the difference between it and other sciences in regard to object and method. Book II. discusses moral judgment, and is the usual analysis of the elements of moral conduct. Book III. states and criticises the various theories of the ultimate end of conduct, the author adopting "self-realization" as a conception preferable to pleasure for the position of the highest good. The criticism of evolutionistic theories is quite strong, but only to modify them. Book IV. does not have a very clear title, — it is, "The End as Good," — but approximates a discussion of the various standards of moral action which the present condition of things renders necessary. Book V. takes up those standards, and shows how they are both the result of past moral progress and the promise of farther progress in the future. We can give no adequate conception of the treatment in the space at our command. It will be sufficient, therefore, if we commend the volume to all who wish to obtain a just conception of the state of present ethical speculation.

J. H. Hyslop.

RELATION DES MISSIONS SCIENTIFIQUES DE MM. H. HYVERNAT ET P. MÜLLER-SIMONIS (1888-1889). Du Caucase au Golfe persique, a travers L'Arménie, le Kurdistan et la Mésopotamie, par P. MÜLLER-SIMONIS : suivie de Notices sur la Géographie et l'Histoire ancienne de l'Arménie et les Inscriptions cunéiformes du Bassin de Van, par H. HYVERNAT. Washington, D. C. : Université Catholique d'Amérique. 1892. \$9.00, unbound.

This work is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to our knowledge of the Orient. It is the report of a scientific exploration of the Caucasus, Persia, Armenia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia made under the auspices of the French government, and the authors have brought to their task the somewhat unusual qualifications of a profound special learning united with a complete familiarity with the literature of their subject. Being already familiar with the principal languages of the countries which they traversed, they have been able to make a careful study of their existing social and political conditions as well as of their archæology and ethnography. Those who are interested in the study of that Eastern problem which has so long been a thorn in the sides of the European powers, and which some day they will be compelled to decide once for all, will find here abundant materials for an accurate judgment upon the existing state of affairs in southern Russia, Persia, and the Turkish Empire. The seventh chapter, on "The Russians in Trans-Caucasus," is particularly valuable to the student of statecraft, on account of its intelligent comparison of the administrative methods of England and Russia, as exemplified in the Caucasus and the Indian Empire.

It is a noteworthy fact that, though both of the explorers were of the Catholic religion, they had many and pleasant relations with the Episcopalian missionaries from England and the Presbyterians from the United States, and give a considerable space in their volume to statistics and descriptions of these as well as of the Catholic missions, discussing the methods, history, and results of their missionary activities with a frankness and impartiality as rare as it is commendable. They pay special attention to an account of the famous American Presbyterian mission at Urumiah, established by the lamented Dr. Perkins.

Unquestionably the most valuable work accomplished by the two explorers was Dr. Hyvernat's location of the cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia.

Much interest has been taken in these inscriptions by Oriental scholars, as they will surely throw much light on the history of that most wonderful country which is held by many to have been the point of dispersion of the Noachian stock, or even the cradle of the whole human race, and which is at any rate intimately connected with the Biblical lands of Assyria and Chaldæa. Unlike the Mesopotamian monuments, those of Armenia are scattered over an extensive range of territory, in a mountainous country, which, being covered with snow in winter, and infested in summer with plundering Kurds, is visited only at long intervals by some unusually venturesome traveler. Comparatively little, therefore, is known of the archæological remains which abound especially in the region of Van. The first intimation of their existence to Western scholars occurred at the beginning of the present century, when they were discovered by Schulz, a young German who, after studying at Paris, had been intrusted by the French government with a scientific mission. He found about forty monuments, which were not seen again by any competent European explorer until about thirty years later, when Sir Henry

Layard visited Van and took copies of the same inscriptions and a very few additional ones. Later on, Hormuzd-Rassam, an Oriental in the service of the trustees of the British Museum, took squeezes of some of the same inscriptions, and discovered a few more.

But so inaccurate and contradictory were the topographical indications and orthography of these explorers that the combined results of their labors and those of other travelers of less note was eminently unsatisfactory; and Dr. Hyvernat has found it necessary to go carefully over the whole ground and verify in all cases the location and nomenclature. In spite of all difficulties, he has not only succeeded in doing this, but also in adding twenty-six new monuments to the list of those heretofore known to European scholarship, and all are carefully located on an annotated chart accompanying the present volume. Thus he has cleared the way for future investigators, who need only go on to new discoveries.

A feature not to be overlooked in the volume before us is the full bibliography of the subjects treated, in which we are glad to notice the works of Perkins and other Protestant missionaries.

Rev. Dr. Hyvernat, who enjoys a European reputation as an Assyriologist, Egyptologist, and especially as a Coptic scholar, is now professor of Oriental Archaeology in the Catholic University of America at Washington. His co-laborer, Dr. Müller-Simonds, is an Alsatian priest, nobleman, and savant.

The book is from a typographical point of view worthy of its authors and its contents. It has been printed in Strasburg with the utmost elegance and accuracy known to the printer's art, and is copiously illustrated with photogravures and maps. Most of the illustrations are from photographs taken by the explorers on the spot, and have been executed at Munich. We understand that the edition is very small, and only one hundred copies have been placed on the American market.

Merwin-Marie Snell.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EDUCATION AND THE HIGHER LIFE. By J. L. SPALDING, Bishop of Peoria.
Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1891.

THIS appeal to the general reading public of America is unique in its way. It is not often that a Roman Catholic bishop gives to the world through a secular firm his thoughts on education and religion. This remarkable book is composed of lectures given to young men about to graduate from college, and an address at the laying of the corner-stone (or the consecration of an edifice) of the Catholic University at Washington.

The mind of the author deals chiefly with ideals through poetic insight into truth, rather than through the logical faculty. Synthesis predominates analysis and gives a completer and therefore a truer view. Every page sparkles with gems of thought set in artistic expression, and the whole is quotable to an extraordinary degree.

"The criticism of the age which gives a better understanding of its needs is good; all else is baneful."

"Natural endowments are not equal; but the chief cause of inequality lies in the unequal efforts which men make to develop their endowments."

"A Christian of all men is without excuse for being fretful and sour, for thinking and acting as though this were a devil's world and not the eternal God's."

"Of a hundred college boys, twenty-five will be ruined by dissipation, by sensual indulgence; twenty-five others will be wrecked by unhappy marriages, foolish financial schemes, dishonesty, and indolence; of the remaining fifty, say forty will manage to get on without loss of respectability, while ten will win a sort of notoriety by getting rich or elected to office. Of the hundred, will one become a saint, a philosopher, a poet, a statesman, or even a man of superior ability in natural knowledge or literature?"

"And if those who receive the best nurture and care remain on the low plains of a hardly more than animal existence, what hope is there that the multitude shall rise to nobler ways of living?"

"Religion dispels more mystery than it involves."

"Minds are not separated by time and space, but by quality of thought."

"In the highest kind of man, Americans are not rich."

"Is the material progress of the nineteenth century a cradle or a grave? The answer is no affair of votes and majorities. What the best minds and the most energetic characters believe and teach and put in practice the millions will come to accept."

"And here we touch the core of the problem which Americans have to solve. No other people has such numbers who are ready to thrust themselves forward as leaders, no other has so few who are really able to lead. Nowhere else is it so difficult to lead, for nowhere else does force rule so little. We need [for leaders] men of wide culture joined to earnestness and Christian faith. We need scholars who are saints and saints who are scholars."

"Let us know the right moment, and let us know that it comes alone for those who are prepared."

Such are a few thoughts taken at random from these weighty pages. Of the lighter kinds of excellence, grace in expression, acquaintance with the whole range of best literature, ancient and modern, devotion to Nature, and passionate admiration of the beautiful, space does not permit illustrations.

Not until the last chapter is reached is there any diversion from universal truth to the particular limits of the Roman Church. Not obtruded, the author's religious affiliations are not concealed. He recognizes the evils and failures of the history of the Roman Catholic Church as the evils and failures of the age and of the environment of the past, and deftly adjusts himself to the new hope of the future. He is thoroughly American in sympathy, pessimistic and optimistic by turns, but genuine, devout, high-minded, faithful, hopeful, and loving, and his book is eminently worth reading both for what it says and for its silent suggestiveness.

M. B. Norton.

SHOREHAM, VT.

POVERTY, ITS GENESIS AND EXODUS. By JOHN GEORGE GODARD. 8vo, pp. 160. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1892. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This is decidedly one of the most interesting and most valuable of all the volumes that have appeared in the Social Science Series. Many of the previous volumes were undoubtedly collections of essays or hastily written books that could not easily find publication elsewhere. But the present one has decided merit of another kind. It of course deals with the subject very briefly, but it is in many respects the better for that fact. The book is only a bare outline, a concise statement of the causes and remedies of poverty. Neither of these aspects is ade-

quately presented, but it was no part of the author's purpose to discuss them at length, and we have just sufficient to ascertain his point of view, and to fill in with the matter of our own reading and thinking. The chief merit of the volume, in our estimation, is the suggestive classification of forces at work in producing the present state of affairs, and which are to be considered in the remedy. The scheme of agencies to be used in modifying the existing condition of things is as suggestive as it is comprehensive, and, whether approved or not, affords an admirable basis of discussion either for a theoretical and ideal or a practical view of the problem.

In presenting the causes of poverty, the author classifies them all under the three heads, insufficient production of necessities; waste, individual, industrial, and national; and unequal distribution. He is careful to observe that any one of them might produce the effect, but that they most likely coöperate. This is a very convenient way of indicating that the remedy cannot be a simple one, but that it must overcome all of these influences at the same time, if it expects to be successful. The discussion of remedies is by far the longest part of the volume. We cannot stop to con it in detail. The résumé will give some conception of the topics treated in the solution proposed for the problem. These are the author's words:—

“Democratic Socialism, or the ownership by the community of the instruments of production and the organization of labor by representative bodies, so as to bring about increased productivity, a minimizing of waste, and an equitable distribution, — this, combined with the loftier conception of ethics involved in the process, is the culminating stage of the present evolution of industrial society. And our practical programme for to-day comprises the extension of the suffrage and other electoral reforms; the further development of the national education movement; a wider dissemination of the truths of economics; a diminution in the consumption of luxuries, and especially of alcoholic beverages; a judicious control of population; an eight hours' labor day; an increased and cumulative taxation of land values; a differentiated and graduated income tax; an equalization and graduation of the death duties; a radical reform of the poor-law system; the increased acquisition of land and capital by the state and municipalities; and the gradual extension of industrial collectivism.”

This is a rather large programme, but it adequately represents the magnitude of the problem. It is adapted to England, of course, but with slight modifications might be advocated in this country. It is socialistic, as is apparent, but the author is careful to repudiate all socialism which does not come about gradually and by evolution. He recognizes the necessity of ethical regeneration in man, but we are sure that he does not emphasize this factor as it deserves. We are convinced that this is the first and last thing to be done in the case. All other “reforms” may be accomplished, and unless this one is attained they will avail nothing. The author has too much faith in economic and political machinery. The problem is at bottom a moral one, and no other final solution of it need be considered. Nevertheless we regard the volume as a very instructive one, as enabling us to see the complexity of the problem.

J. H. Hyslop.

SAVONAROLA. HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By WILLIAM CLARK, M. A., LL. D., Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto. Chicago : A. C. McClurg & Co.

In the year 1452, while the curtain was falling in Constantinople on the exit of the Roman Empire from the world, there lay in the arms of a noble mother, in the ancient and brilliant city of Ferrara, a new-born babe, whose soul was the link between the old civilization and the new. The link, because in that soul reverence for the type of Christianity which for centuries had dominated the world was never to falter. And also the link, because in that soul reverence for the Church, her dogmas, her polity, her modes of worship, was to come face to face with the written Word. In contact with the vital Word, that soul was the centre of a deathless conflict with "the letter that killeth."

Another city of northeastern Italy, Padua, was the ancestral home of this family, where now the Porta Savonarola is their memorial. Michael Savonarola, eminent as a physician and a man of letters, was invited by the house of Este to adorn by his presence their court at Ferrara, a court scarcely less brilliant in art and learning than that of the Medici in Florence.

So it came to pass that Jerome, born of the union of the second son of Michael Savonarola with Elena of Mantua, opened his eyes to the light in Ferrara. Of Jerome's father we know little, but his mother was a woman of lofty purpose and indomitable fortitude, yet tender withal, and devoted to the son who had inherited so much of her spirit. The boy grew up, grave, thoughtful, reticent, shrinking from the gayeties of the court, but given to study and religious meditation. Under the careful tuition of his eminent grandfather he early proved an apt scholar. As he grew older, the sorrows and sins of the world sank into his heart, and wrought there such compassion for the one and such condemnation for the other that he secretly resolved to take refuge in an ascetic life. One evening he seized his harp and poured forth the inarticulate struggle of his soul in strains that needed no interpretation to the sympathetic heart of his mother. "My son," she exclaimed, "surely this is a parting dirge!" He made no reply, but soon secretly left home, and at the age of twenty-two was sitting in a monastic cell, whence he wrote to his father and his family the farewells he could not speak.

But, alas! the conventual life itself needed reform. The gentle, pure, and lofty soul of Savonarola was bowed to the dust. He sought comfort in prayer, in the most menial duties and the greatest hardships, above all, in studying the Word of God. Greek learning and philosophy had possessed charms for the young scholar, but here he found a purer fountain of knowledge. Soon the monastic authorities appointed the gifted, learned, and devout young monk to the work of preaching. In this at first he seemed to fail. The graces of style and utterance, much cultivated by the popular preachers of the day, were by him neglected while his soul was absorbed by study and vigils. Still, he was pressed by his superiors into the work of preaching, and at length the fervor of his soul burned through his words and lighted a flame in the hearts of those who heard. At thirty Savonarola was a great preacher of righteousness and faith.

At Florence the Pazzi, a family but little inferior to the Medici, were in deadly feud with the latter, and had brought about the assassination of

the younger member of the ruling house. Lorenzo de' Medici was still in power, but weakened and watchful.

Brother Savonarola would have continued his search for peace and liberty in his convent at Bologna, but God had ordered otherwise. Ferrara and Venice were in deadly conflict, which so endangered the monks of Bologna that the brethren were sent away for safety. So it was that Brother Savonarola was directed by his superior to betake himself to the Convent of St. Mark in Florence.

The times moulded the man; the man was brought forth by Providence for the time. Already there was another man-child of destiny in the world. In this very year another mighty babe was laid in his mother's arms. It was in the old German town of Eisleben, and he was Martin, the son of Hans Luther, whose work God was getting ready for him in Germany, when Savonarola's work should have been done in Italy.

Not more a preacher than a true seer was Savonarola. If in his long vigils and fasts the flame of devotion consumed the dross and brightened the gold of his character, it may have dimmed sometimes his judgment through physical weakness and human imperfection. He saw visions and dreamed dreams, and thought he had the gift of prophecy. Who shall say that he had not? He at least foretold many events which came to pass. A prophet of the living God, denouncing in burning words the sins of nations and of individuals, and foretelling the wrath of God on all that work iniquity, he surely was. He encouraged the belief of others in his prophetic gifts, and doubtless truly thought he was commissioned to announce special judgments, but on this point he wavered in the later times, when the furnace of trial grew seven times heated around him.

The story of how this preacher of righteousness and prophet of doom came to be, not by his own ambition, but by the stress of the times, by the call of his fellow-citizens, and by the regal right of his intellectual and moral powers, the real ruler of Florence and the arbiter of its destiny; of his undimmed humility and spotless purity; of his ceaseless denunciation of sin, and announcement of its approaching punishment; of the deadly enmity of that serpent on whose head he fain would set his heel; of the strange revulsion and desertion of the populace that had hung on his lips and obeyed his slightest command; of his gentle and yet uncompromising attitude in the face of martyrdom in behalf of all that he had ever preached save his gift of prophecy; of the cruel torture inflicted by his enemies, and the chariot of fire in which his soul at last ascended to heaven from the market-place in Florence; — this story can never grow old in a world, nay, in a universe where love and sacrifice are the central forces.

This matchless human story has been told many times, but has been latest told so simply that all may read it. Though Professor Clark's "Life" can make no boast of originality in view, profundity in analysis, skill in historical grouping, or even brilliancy in rhetorical statement, it bears the evidence of much study, and familiarity with the best that has been written on the subject in English, German, French, and Italian. Especial obligation is acknowledged to the more voluminous and excellent work of Villari, and some light is thrown on the canvas from newly discovered manuscripts.

One of the most profound and brilliant scholars of the French Sorbonne has not deemed the part which Savonarola played in the closing decade of the fifteenth century too well known to preclude its being the theme

of some of the most fascinating lectures in Paris in this closing decade of the nineteenth century. More than one American has listened entranced during the past winter to the lectures of Professor Emile Gebhart at the Sorbonne on the subject which this popular "Life" aims to bring home to the hearts of those who only stay at home and read.

The many who have been fascinated by George Eliot's portrait of Savonarola in "Romola" will find the original in Professor Clark's biography in some respects more satisfactory than in that picture. No page is dull, but the volume grows in interest which becomes absorbing toward the pathetic end.

M. B. Norton.

SHOREHAM, VT.

MARK HOPKINS. By FRANKLIN CARTER, President of Williams College. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pp. 375. \$1.25.

This volume is one of a series of uniform biographies, issued by the same publishers, entitled American Religious Leaders. It has a chronological table of the events of Dr. Hopkins's life (in which, however, we note the omission of his ordination, September 15, 1836); a list of his published writings, including, so far as ascertained, his addresses, sermons, and magazine articles; also a very full index. It lacks his portrait, which we hope the next edition will contain.

The rare excellence of Dr. Hopkins's writings naturally leads us to desire that his biography should come up to his own literary standard. His greatness, as a man and as a teacher, naturally leads us to desire an adequate delineation of his personal qualities and character. But only an extraordinary artist in personal portraiture could make such a delineation of him as would be regarded altogether satisfactory. As a biography this volume ranks well with the others so far published in the same series. It will be welcomed by all who knew Dr. Hopkins personally, and specially by his pupils, who will gladly connect their recollections of his instruction with this record of his whole life. It will recall the strong impressions of those who heard his preaching and addresses. It will add to the interest of those who study his books. As an adjunct to his writings, it will help to continue his influence.

The long life of Dr. Hopkins was very remarkable for its unity. His heritage, environment, native qualities, education, and calling, as well as his ruling purpose, united to make it all consistent and effective. For fifty-nine years he taught in Williams College; for thirty-six he was its president. All his other work, for education, religion, and foreign missions, as well as his writings, sprang naturally out of his teaching in the college. The simple records of this long period of eminent service, in which self-forgetting sacrifice and continual hard work are as evident as extraordinary abilities, are very impressive.

President Carter's estimate of Dr. Hopkins's writing is candid and discriminating. The intellectual history of these writings will be to students of philosophy one of the most interesting parts of the memoir. In his Lectures on the Evidences, the self-evidencing light of Christianity shines out with great clearness and beauty. The arguments which he developed may need to be shaped anew according to the special wants of each generation, but some of these lectures are not likely to be superseded by anything better of their kind. His Baccalaureate

Sermons are recognized as pulpit masterpieces. For depth and clearness of thought, for strength and beauty, for spiritual insight and Christian feeling, for the noblest motive and practical adaptation, all so perfectly united that no element of the best preaching seems scant, these sermons have very rarely been equaled. Yet every one of these discourses is a true representation of the preacher himself.

The books in which Dr. Hopkins contributed most to science, and which will be most used and longest continue his influence, are his "Lectures on Moral Science" and his "Law of Love." These contain, besides his ethical system, the leading features of his philosophy and theology. They exhibit very clearly the working of his mind, which in its processes of study and of teaching was always luminous. Dr. Hopkins recognized mystery; he was reverent before the great subjects which it envelops. He sometimes avoided what he regarded as so abstruse as to be unprofitable, but he never tolerated obscurity or confusion. Wherever his mind went it always walked with firm steps and carried clear light. All Christian doctrine, as Dr. Hopkins viewed it, is preëminently reasonable. In his work on the Evidences, and in all his teaching and preaching, it was his constant aim to demonstrate the entire reasonableness of Christianity. He recognized no faith as Christian which would contradict or transcend or supplement the highest of our intellectual powers.

This memoir fully recognizes Dr. Hopkins's eminence as a teacher, but gives no explanation of it. We do not think the explanation is difficult. It is not found in genius. We never heard Dr. Hopkins called a genius; we doubt whether any of his pupils ever thought of him as a genius. It certainly is not found in any technical skill, for there was not a trace of technique in his teaching. Other teachers, with as much intellectual ability, with equal industry, tact, and good sense, and more learning, have awakened no such interest and produced in their pupils no such formative effects. The difference is no secret. It can be indicated in the single word — personality. The personality of every pupil was paramount in Dr. Hopkins's attention. He valued his pupil; not merely rating him, as teachers so commonly do, according to his talents or attainments or industry, but having the Christian estimate of every man's spiritual worth. The weakest or dullest pupil in the class was no exception; Dr. Hopkins respected his manhood. This feeling was never exhibited in the least; it was so real and so natural in Dr. Hopkins that none noticed it, but all felt it; and this was the motive of his teaching. Accordingly he taught his subject, whatever it was, directly in the interest of his pupil; his aim being not the most knowledge of the subject, but the best exercise of his pupil's powers. Hence, to all the interest the pupil had in finding truth was added the greater interest, his own self-disclosure. Dr. Hopkins also fully engaged in his teaching his own personality. His pupils had not merely his knowledge and skill, but his whole personality, directly engaged with their own. He gave them relatively little learned from other men, but he gave them the whole of himself. He used text-books and recitation, but nothing separated him from his pupils. He taught them to think, because he entered into the conditions of their minds and then engaged them in his own thinking. He made a profound impression upon their characters because he himself connected, and so led his pupils to connect, all truths with the highest ends of human endeavor. There is an impression that Dr. Hopkins's method of teaching is exceptional. It need not be, it certainly ought not

to be. Teachers of arts may teach in other ways, but all true teachers of souls should teach essentially in this way. Excellence of the same kind is attainable by many; excellence to the same degree will be attained only by those of rarely endowed personality.

Two chapters of this memoir narrate the connection of Dr. Hopkins with the American Board, of which he was president for thirty years. We commend them to the attention of all friends of the Board, and specially the chapter on the Crisis at the Meeting in Des Moines, the last at which he presided. At that meeting Hon. Alpheus Hardy, who had been for twenty-nine years a member of the Prudential Committee and for many years its chairman, declined to serve longer; not because he was "disheartened," but because he would not consent to the rejection of well-qualified missionary candidates merely because they entertained a hope, or even a personal belief, that heathen, who never heard of Christ in this life, might possibly have the offer of his grace in the next; because he was opposed to the action initiated at that meeting, by which the Board undertook to decide on questions of doctrine, and so involved itself in theological controversy; and because he knew that after that action his service on the committee would be rendered not only peculiarly embarrassing, but practically useless. "With Mr. Hardy Dr. Hopkins had a warm sympathy. Without any particular interest in the theory, he felt that the discouragement of such young men was sure to have wide-spread and disastrous consequences. The action of the Prudential Committee in rejecting young men, and the whole tendency of the Board to constitute itself a theological court to test the soundness of candidates on the most obscure questions of doctrine, Dr. Hopkins fully disapproved. His whole soul condemned the introduction of partisanship into the activities of the Board, and his mind eagerly sought for a solution of the difficulties that should enable all shades of belief to work together in harmony for the conversion of the world." He clearly saw that the missions of Congregationalists abroad must be conducted on the same common doctrinal basis as their church work and missions at home, and that this basis is practically determined by the practice of the denomination expressed in its ecclesiastical councils. It is now clear that if his judgment had been followed, the controversy which has continued in various forms ever since the great mistake at Des Moines, and the rejection of choice missionary candidates, the repression of missionary enthusiasm, the loss and damage to missionary work, and the dissatisfaction with the administration of the Board, which still continue, would have been avoided. And it is becoming more and more evident that if Congregationalists are to be heartily united in the support of the Board, the Board must come to represent the denomination, in its membership, its catholicity, and its administration. The addresses of Dr. Hopkins at the meetings of the Board, and specially at the last one in his life, are still very timely and profitable.

W. E. Merriman.

BOSTON, MASS.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

American Elzevir Company, Boston. Christ versus Christianity. The Christian Church Cross-examined by a Modern Lawyer. Pp. iv, 388. 1892. \$1.50.

American Unitarian Association, Boston. The Lord's Prayer. Being the last Eight Discourses of James Freeman Clarke. Pp. 95. 1891. 50 cents.

Lee & Shepard, Boston. God's Image in Man. Some Intuitive Perceptions of Truth. By Henry Wood, author of "Edward Burton," "Natural Law in the Business World," etc. Pp. 258. 1892. \$1.00.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. From the Usher's Desk to the Tabernacle Pulpit. The Life and Labors of Charles Haddon Spurgeon. By Rev. Robert Shindler, author of "Notheram Hall," etc. With Portraits of Mr. Spurgeon, Family Portraits, and about 60 other illustrations. 12mo, xii, 316. 1892. \$1.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. A Dictionary of Hymnology, Setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations with Special Reference to those contained in the Hymn Books of English-speaking Countries, and now in common use, together with Biographical and Critical Notices of their Authors and Translators and Historical Article on National and Denominational Hymnody, Breviaries, Missals, Primers, Psalters, Sequences, etc., etc. Edited by John Julian, M. A., Vicar of Wincobank, Sheffield. 8vo, pp. xii, 1616. 1892. \$10.00. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston.—The Fourth Gospel. Evidences External and Internal of its Johannean Authorship. Essays by Ezra Abbot, Andrew P. Peabody, and Bishop Lightfoot. 8vo, pp. vi, 171. 1891. \$1.50. For sale by Damrell & Upham, Boston.—The Bible, the Church, and the Reason. The three Great Fountains of Divine Authority. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Pp. xiii, 298. 1892. \$1.75.

Hunt & Eaton, New York. *Cranston & Stowe, Cincinnati.* Library of Biblical and Theological Literature. Edited by George R. Crooks, D. D., and John F. Hurst, D. D. Vol. II. Biblical Hermeneutics. A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. By Milton S. Terry, S. T. D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Garrett Biblical Institute. New Edition, Thoroughly Revised. Pp. 511. 1892. For sale by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Christianity and Infallibility—Both or Neither. By the Rev. Daniel Lyons. Pp. ix, 284. 1891. \$1.50.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. *William Blackwood & Sons, London.* The Early Religion of Israel, as set forth by Biblical Writers and by Modern Critical Historians. The Baird Lecture for 1889. By James Robertson, D. D. Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Pp. xiv, 524. 1892.

A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago. The Evolution of Love. By Emory Miller, D. D., LL. D. Pp. 346. 1892. \$1.50.

Whitell & Shepperson, Richmond, Va. Plantation Life before Emancipation. By R. Q. Mallard, D. D., New Orleans, La. Pp. xi, 237. 1892.

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THE
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VOLUME XVII.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER CII.

JUNE, 1892

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. MORALITY: WHAT IS BETTER? <i>Amory H. Bradford, D. D.</i>	537
2. LEADERS OF WIDENING CHRISTIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT. II. JOHN MCLEOD CAMPBELL. <i>Miss Agnes Maule Machar</i>	549
3. AN ORGANIZED REVIVAL AMONG THE YOUNG. <i>Francis E. Clark, D. D.</i>	573
4. REALITY IN THE PULPIT. <i>Rev. Charles H. Cutler</i>	580
5. THE GREEK QUESTION AT CAMBRIDGE. <i>Frank G. Moore, Ph. D.</i>	589
6. EDITORIAL.	
THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST. II. THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH	598
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POLICY CONCERNING POPULAR EDUCATION	606
SOCIAL LEGISLATION; THE NEW DANISH POOR-LAW. — BELGIAN COUNCILS OF ARBITRATION	609
DR. STORRS'S ULTIMATUM	613
7. BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM. MARK XVI. 9-20, AND JOHN VII. 53. — VIII. II. <i>A. P. Peabody, D. D., LL. D.</i>	631
8. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
Henry's Patrick Henry, 638. — Winsor's Christopher Columbus, 640.	
9. BOOKS RECEIVED	644

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THE

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MORALITY: WHAT IS BETTER?

THE answer to our question will depend upon the definition given to the word "morality." If that is large enough to take in the universe, there will be no room for discussion, but if with us morality has its common meaning, we shall have no difficulty in understanding one another. One definition, in the new "Century Dictionary," is, "The practice of moral duties regarded as *apart from, and not based upon, vital religious principle.*" Clearly, that is the signification which it is intended to have in this discussion. The phrasing of the question indicates that this is the real inquiry: Is Morality sufficient, or do we need Religion? There will be no difference between us concerning the abstract meaning of the term. Professor Fowler, of Oxford, in his "Progressive Morality," says: "The moral sanction, properly so called, is distinguished from all other sanctions of conduct in that it has no regard to the prospect of physical pleasure or pain, or to the hope of reward or fear of punishment, or to the estimation in which we shall be held by any other being than ourselves, but that it has regard simply and solely to the internal feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with which, on reflection, we shall look back on our own acts" (p. 22).

By morality I understand righteousness. The terms are interchangeable, one being the word of philosophy, and the other of the religion of the Old Testament. If the Jews had done nothing except give to the world that word "righteousness," they would deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. Is there anything better than righteousness? Clearly there is no room for discussion. That is the ideal toward which all things are tending. To

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realize that all churches are working. Considered as an end there is nothing better; but righteousness as a motive has been a failure. Is the practice of moral duties, or righteousness, regarded as apart from and not based upon vital religious principle, the best that can be offered to those who, in the storm and stress of life, are seeking something to satisfy and inspire? Burns, in his dedication to Gavin Hamilton, says: —

“Morality, thou deadly bane,
Thy tens of thousands thou hast slain!
Vain is his hope whose stay and hope is
In moral mercy, truth, and justice!”

There have been two phases of thought concerning this subject. One, satirized by Burns in this stanza, has denounced “mere morality,” and has put all emphasis upon belief; the other, following the example of Burns, has derided theology and religion, and said that all that is needed is morality. As usual, the truth lies between the extremes. There is an evident desire in some quarters to find a basis of moral action other than religion supplies. Philosophy and science have attempted to fashion systems of ethics by ignoring God and the spirit in man. An architect might as well attempt to build a cathedral in the air. Leaving both philosophy and theology, it will be my purpose to present, as distinctly and fairly as I may, certain reasons for believing that morality, in the sense in which it has been defined, is not the best that can be offered to those who in these days are crying, as bitterly as ever, “Who will show us any good?”

1. Standards of right and wrong have always been associated with the idea of a personal God, and have been clear or dim according to the vividness and purity of that idea. James Martineau says: “This sentiment of duty is not the pure essence of the moral idea itself, but the consciousness of its administration to us from the Supreme Source. It thus appeals to us, not merely as a subjective suggestion, but with the solemn persuasion belonging to any revelation of right from a higher personality” (“Types of Ethical Theory,” p. xxviii).

As the conception of that “higher personality” has risen, the standard of moral obligation has risen; and as the idea has fallen, the standard of morality has fallen. If you find a people with no faith in Deity, you also find an absence of regulative ideas of right and wrong. Those who have banished God from their universe, even though they may have attained high intellectual and physical culture, seldom hold with a strong grasp those ethical

principles which the race has recognized as of universal obligation. Eccentricities of genius are offered as excuses for sensual excesses; truth becomes a matter of expediency; chastity is adjusted to physical well-being; and the obligations of brotherhood almost cease to be recognized. Just here I recall the noble words of Dr. A. P. Peabody, in "King's Chapel Sermons," p. 41 *et passim*: "Loose views as to the worth of religious truth and of fixed religious beliefs are already having their inevitable result in a correspondingly loose, vacillating, and low moral standard. Morality never has subsisted, and never will subsist, without religion." President Eliot, in an address before the Nineteenth Century Club, February 3, 1886 (as reported in the "New York Tribune" of February 4, 1886), said: "Nobody knows how to teach morality effectively without religion. There is no such thing as a science of ethics."

On the other hand, with clear and rational faith in God has ever been associated high and fine morality. Communities do not illustrate this truth as well as individuals, because the good and the bad, believers and unbelievers, are always found together. A man with no God, whether he is a savage or a nineteenth century philosopher, recognizes no obligations except those which will best promote his pleasure or probable well-being; but he who believes in God, and believes in Him as holy, inevitably realizes that he should be holy as God is holy. This is almost a truism, and hardly requires argument. It is commonplace to say that all men are moulded by their ideals. If there is no ideal higher than self, then self becomes the end. If, on the other hand, the ideal is the infinite and perfect, then the one holding it is gradually transformed into that likeness. If, now, we turn to our question, Is there anything better than doing right without thought of God? the reply must be, A man's thought of God is always highest and regulative; if he has no Deity he has no lofty morality, or, if he has, it will be for selfish reasons, and may be changed at any moment for something unworthy, since there is no one higher than self who can command obedience. The answer must be, therefore, that religion, which supposes a relation between God and man, is better than the attempt to do right without the recognition of God. Dorner, in "System of Christian Ethics," says: "But morality . . . can be neither perfect nor pure unless it includes in the love of goodness also the love of the primal Source of goodness, the personal God,—in other words, is or becomes piety. This is requisite, not merely for moral

culture and intelligence, but also especially for the reason that, if that secondary form of the good which exists in the consciousness and will of man should be assumed to be the highest and best, the necessary consequence would be self-deification, that is, a want of the virtue of humility. But this want disfigures even the goodness which may already exist, being a sort of selfishness, even though a comparatively intellectual form of it, as is shown by the pride of virtue among the Stoics. Finally, it would be an error to suppose that morality has as firm a basis without reference to God as with it." If it be said that the result of each moral act is increased light, and that the world's belief concerning the Almighty is the result of virtuous conduct, the reply is, The result of doing right is always larger and clearer illumination; but our question is, Which is the controlling idea? The answer is, Since there can be no faith in God without his being recognized as superior and worthy of homage, the belief concerning Him must regulate all other beliefs and influence all actions. Therefore, since standards of faith rise with ideals of God, moral conduct can attain its finest fruit only when it is rooted in the recognition of God.

2. Morality in itself fails to furnish sufficient motive for doing right. I know what the reply will be: "Do right because it is right; that is motive enough." I freely grant that it is better to do right than wrong, even if there is no God, and death ends all. Justice is better than injustice, purity than impurity, honesty than lying, and if nothing besides personal happiness is considered, even then righteousness pays; but it is one thing to recognize this, and quite another to maintain that knowledge of this fact is sufficient to secure its realization. Now and then a few are found who can honestly say that they have no other motive, that they recognize right and wrong, and that following their intuitions they do the right, and eschew the wrong. But how many have reached that altitude? Theoretically the answer is perfect, but practically it is insufficient; it may be good for the elect, but it is useless for the average man. Furthermore, I believe that that motive always fails. Wise souls respond only to strong motives. "We should do right because it is right;" yes, but who is to determine the right? Suppose that the result of doing right is struggle and suffering! If there is a worthy motive we will not flinch, but will face even death, but what motive is sufficient for these things? Banish God and a future life from your universe; then bring to yourselves this question, "Is it enough for me to

ask what is right? Ought I never to seek what is pleasing? What is right anyway? Does it not, like the chameleon, change with its environment? There is no one above who can call to judgment; life is short at the best; to-day or to-morrow I shall go into absolute nothingness. What difference does it really make what I do?" I may be still in a very low state of evolution, but it seems to me that when God and the immortal life have gone out of the universe, all the inspiration has gone from the idea of right, and little but an imagination remains.

Let me take two or three illustrations. There is in Washington a man utterly helpless; he cannot even brush a fly from his face; he is carrying in his body bullets which have been there since the Rebellion. Often in unutterable agony, he simply exists — a bright and beautiful spirit; one who seems to have been made perfect through suffering. Why should that man live, if after a little while he will simply die? Why not commit suicide? If all that keeps him alive is the satisfaction he has in thinking that he is still alive, when he knows that the end of all is oblivion, why keep up the dismal farce any longer? There is no object even in his being made more perfect, if it is only to die. Michael Angelo said: "I will lift the Pantheon into the air." Would he have kept his promise, and "rounded Peter's Dome" simply for the sake of seeing it fall a shapeless mass when once it had been lifted? Some one says, think of the good that sick man is doing to those who are about him! But why should he do that? Why should he spend a life in misery for the sake of making others better when they, too, are hastening to the same destruction? Would Angelo have spent years in chiseling his Moses, if he had supposed that the moment it was completed, a cruel, but resistless hand would dash it into a thousand fragments? A woman was seen rushing along one of the piers of the North River the other night. Hastily throwing aside a shawl, she leaped into the midst of the ice and the water. The chill brought her to her senses, and she cried: "Save me! Save me!" A man on a boat near by heard the shriek, and responded: "If I can, I will," and jumped into the river. After a terrible struggle, having almost lost his own life, he was drawn to the boat; but the woman was gone. Why should he have tried to save her? She had a sick husband and hungry children at home, and could do nothing for them, and had no outlook for the future. The waters were more hospitable than the world. There was less heartlessness in those icy depths than in great and rich New York. If it

was only a question of a few days, and no sympathy anywhere, why should that woman have lived? Why should that man have tried to save her? Morality sets before a man no object for which to live. "Seek for those things which are highest and best," we are told; but why? If we get them, they will evaporate into air. "Keep on struggling; by and by the race will be better." But the race itself is moving to the same abyss, and death and oblivion is the end of all. "Work to uplift the poor and outcast." Why? If there is no God and no future, then "ignorance is bliss, and 't is folly to be wise." Why should a man who is happy as a beast have created in him aspirations and desires, visions of great things which might be, simply to realize that he is being mocked by his own dreams? Which is better, to leave the peasant happy in his ignorance at the foot of the Matterhorn, or to take him to the crest of that scarred and weather-beaten spire, in order that he may look upon the glory of the creation, and then be hurled a lifeless lump upon the rocks below? Morality furnishes no motive for morality.

3. Morality is not the best because it consists in doing rather than in being, in conduct rather than character; it leaves out of count the inner life. It is conformity to something external. With the Greeks, manners and morals were synonymous, and manners are garments we put on. We call those men moral who do no wrong; within, they may be full of all manner of uncleanness. They are honorable, they tell the truth, they conform to the customs around them. If customs change, they change with them. If the standard of morality were dishonesty, impurity, injustice, they would quickly become adjusted to their environment. Morality presumes no eternal and necessary law of right, but rather conformity to common standards; it is one thing in one time and place, and another in another. The Spartans were moral, who believed it right to steal, but wrong to be found out. Even if morality recognized a law of right, it would work no change in character, for laws can be kept by those whose hearts rebel against them.¹ The highest and finest character is not simply outward conformity to even a perfect standard, but inward harmony with eternal and essential right. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." The world has many who will do right because others do,

¹ Henry James, in *Moralism and Christianity*, 1852, says: "Morals are obedience to human and social law; religion is the product of divine love and light poured into the soul. The former is outward, formal, temporary; the latter inward, spontaneous, permanent."

but not enough who will stand for truth and justice, purity and love, even if they stand alone; men with whom loyalty to their ideal is of more importance than popularity and power; men who will go to the stake and rejoice that the fires which burn them will illuminate others; men who will go to the cross that, being lifted up, they may draw all toward their altitude; men, in short, who are more anxious about truth in the inward parts than conformity to the changing customs of a fickle society.

4. Morality has no medicine for remorse. Remorse is not found in Christian lands alone. How can one who has been wrong get right? has been asked everywhere with pathetic intensity. On the mountains of Thibet, as on Salisbury Plain, are ruins of temples with altars on which sacrifices have been offered to appease an offended Deity; in Christian lands and in heathenism "the cry of the human" has been, "Who shall deliver from this body of death?" A man might as well try to escape from his shadow as from the consciousness of being wrong when he has done wrong. That unknown artist who painted that wonderful picture called "The Father's Curse" — that woman's face, pale and haggard, those far-away-looking eyes, that wild, fierce, desperate expression, that countenance in which despair and defiance are vividly blended — was but copying what can be found any day in the streets of any city. Morality says, Do right: but it has no voice for those who have done wrong, and who pitifully ask for some way in which they can be made right. A man once said to me: "I have lived a life so wicked that it would be wicked for God to forgive me." He was not ignorant, but a college-bred man, a lawyer with wide knowledge of the world, who was not led away by superstition. Who shall answer this world-old question? It has been the problem of all ages. The Greek dramatists were occupied with it. You find it in Æschylus and Sophocles. Lady Macbeth, trying to wash out the blood spot from her little hand, is true to nature. Go through the world, and to the multitude who feel that they have done wrong, that they are wrong, preach simply, Do right! What will be the effect? Intensely and even fiercely they will reply, We have tried that, and pitifully failed. We long to know whether there is any way by which we can escape from our past, and begin again. Morality apart from religion has no answer to that question. It simply says, Do right, and go on. It points to no one great enough to help, to no power able to forgive, to no love willing to sacrifice. "Go on with all the forces and tendencies toward evil which have been coming

down from a thousand generations blazing in your veins, and with a cruel world about you! Go on. Try to do right, and ask for no help, care for no voice which does not come from the depths of your own heart." All that may sound very fine to a philosopher in his study, or a scholar in his library; but to weary, footsore, heart-broken men and women who have sinned against love and virtue, who have no more outlook in life, those words will fall like ice on flowers already wilted and soiled, and the ice will be no less chilling for being shining. There must be something better than this, or the universe is full of the blackness of darkness for multitudes crying for light.

5. There is in morality itself, as the term is used in this discussion, nothing which tends to inspire high and heroic endeavor for the alleviation of the ills of humanity, because there is nothing in it which gives great ideas of man and his destiny. We call that man moral who does what comes to his hand, who is honest, generous, pure, a good husband, a good father, a good citizen; but voluntarily to undertake to lift those who have no claim on us to better conditions, at great and unappreciated cost, at the sacrifice of time, pleasure, the finest feelings, and even health itself, requires some more heroic stuff. Those who have had no outlook toward God and a future life have done comparatively little in the line of missions and reforms. We may smile at Christian missionaries, call them narrow and fanatical, men who could get nothing to do at home; but when I think of David Livingstone sending to England the wife and children whom he loved as his own life, that alone he might penetrate to the depths of Africa; when I think of him going clear across to the Eastern Ocean and back again to the Western Ocean, surrounded only by savages, with no one to comfort and no one to cheer; when I remember that he made all his journeys with but one object,—to carry light into darkness, and help to those who scorned it; to make sure that his piercing appeal, that civilization would do something to heal the open sore of the world, the slave-trade, would awaken a response in many lands; and then when I remember that that man, on the longest of all his journeys, with no white companion with him in the depths of the Dark Continent, was found dead one morning by his servant, kneeling by his bed in the act of prayer, with his head on the Bible he loved so well, I realize that there is a motive great enough to take men out of themselves. It is not in the satisfaction of doing right alone; it is in that vision of humanity which comes with the con-

sciousness that all men are brethren, because all are the children of one Father; that all men are worth saving, because all are heirs of an endless life. It would be a commonplace for me to call attention to the fact that the mission work of the world has been done by those who have been impelled by religious motives. The inspiration which sent Judson and his beautiful dark-eyed wife to that life of unparalleled heroism in Burmah; that sent Hannington to Central Africa; that sent Father Damien to the lepers of the Sandwich Islands; that caused those Moravian missionaries, who seem to me sometimes to have been the rarest heroes that the world ever saw, to the West Indies, and induced them, when they found that they could reach slaves in no other way, to sell themselves into slavery, in order that they might preach the gospel to slaves, came not from a simple thought of right within their own hearts, but from such a vision as Isaiah had when he saw the Lord, and a realization of the greatness of those words which the Master spoke, "All ye are brethren."

Our question is, *Morality: What is better?* Our reply is, Anything which makes clear and vivid the reality of God, human brotherhood, and the spiritual nature of man. Zoroaster, in his doctrine of the unity and spirituality of God, offers something better; the Jewish religion, which shows us Job in the midst of unutterable agony, crying, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord," is infinitely better; the religion of Jesus Christ is best of all. No matter how it came, or whether it is natural or supernatural: do not even ask for the moment whether the Christian's Master was a man alone or in a unique sense the Son of God; but simply consider his message. It presents [the highest ideal of righteousness, — "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;" "Love one another as I have loved you." It furnishes, also, adequate motives toward a life of righteousness. Why should a man do right, sacrifice and suffer, if need be, looking to little on earth but misunderstanding and abuse? Because he is not an atom in an infinite whirl, but a child of God the Father Almighty, who never forgets his children, and who will some time, somehow, make "good the final goal of ill."

Why sacrifice to uplift the outcast and vicious? Because all races and all colors are children of one Father, and that weak woman on the street, that black and ignorant slave, and that drunken wretch are in the image of the God of eternity. Why should we do right? Because death is not the end of existence,

but only the freeing of the spirit. It has been beautifully said :
" If there is no life beyond, man is like a star without an orbit."

Finally: there is such a thing as "the rest of faith." Human life is environed with mystery. Terribly persistent problems press upon all earnest souls. Professor Wallace, of Oxford, addressing his class on the "Metaphysics of Ethics" one day, said that there was no happiness for the thinking man. Sorrow, remorse, disappointment, physical pain, the infidelity of friends, and death sooner or later, do their work on the best of us. None are impervious to these storms. Riches cannot bring immunity, and strength cannot ward them off. The Buddhist's theory of life is condensed in Edwin Arnold's terrible line:—

" And life is woe ;"

and the conclusion of the Stoics was almost equally dreary: " Who, then, is unconquerable? He whom the inevitable cannot overcome." Professor Wallace was right. There is no peace for the thinker, unless in some way he learns the wisdom of Professor F. E. Abbott's dictum, " Either we must cease to think, or we must think more profoundly ;" and thinking more profoundly leads at last through the clouds into the clear light of the Eternal Love. I would not be imagined to make light of morality. I have no sympathy with those who say that goodness in itself is of no value. That seems to me absurd. Rather as one who faces the solemn facts of life, and the more solemn reality of death, I am ready to say that I can see no light whatever in the midst of the midnight which does not come from faith in God, and in the eternal life. Simply doing right gives neither peace nor rest; satisfaction results no doubt, but that peace and rest which follow the consciousness that all things are moving upward, because all are in the Father's hands, must evermore be absent. If, now, some one says, We know *right*, and we know nothing of God, I reply, That is a mistake; we know right only by faith, and we know God only by faith; and right and God are joined together, and whoever tries to divorce them takes the soul out of right, and it becomes a mere dream which will break with the waking,—if there is any waking. Faith in the fundamental facts of religion adds new glory to life and the universe. The Christian can hardly help being an optimist. To him nothing is left to chance or fate, but all the processes of history are in the hands of infinite and eternal love. He sees that love manifesting itself in the glory and splendor of the creation. It flashes in the lightning and blooms in the tiniest

flower ; it flames in the blue and gold of a winter sunset, and in the coloring which like a banner is unrolled over autumnal forests. Since men live and move and have their being in God, the weakest child and strongest man alike have their places to fill and their duties to perform in the infinite plan. Even what at first seem to be evils are found to be ministers of love : sorrows, to work together for good ; disease and pain, disappointment and loss, to fashion the finest characters ; while even death becomes a door into unending progress and "far-off infinite bliss." The man of no faith can hardly help being a pessimist ; but he whose universe is pervaded by love can never be altogether sad. Moreover, to him who lives in the presence of God and the anticipation of immortality, service becomes a privilege, and sacrifice a joy. Not only this ; righteousness, — which is the highest ideal of morality, complete accord with all moral and physical laws, perfect harmony with the universe, — from becoming a duty difficult of realization, becomes a sacred passion, which can be satisfied only in voluntary union of the human with the divine. Thus, while the highest ideal of righteousness is not possible without religion, in so far as pure religion becomes reality, the highest and finest righteousness inevitably follows. But that religion must be no sentimental admiration of impersonal beauty or illimitable power, but conscious loyalty to a person great, holy, and attractive enough to transform character. Morality, while it may now and then manifest itself in noble conduct, logically ends in pessimism ; but religion inevitably blooms and bears fruit in righteousness, and cannot be imagined to exist without it ; while at the same time, and as naturally as the sun clothes the gardens in garments of beauty and glory, it fills all obedient and loving spirits with peace which passeth understanding, and joy which flows like the rivers of God.

It is interesting to observe how these different theories work themselves out in life. Renan, in "Recollections and Letters," says, "Our immense moral, and perhaps intellectual, decline will follow the day when religion disappears from the world. *We* can get along without religion because others have it for us. Even those who do not believe are swept along by the more or less believing masses ; but woe to us on that day when the masses no longer have any enthusiasm ! One can do much less with a humanity which does not believe in the immortality of the soul than with a humanity which does believe in it. A man's value depends upon the proportion of the religious sentiment which he

has carried away with him from his early education, and which perfumes his whole life. The religious zones of humanity live on a shadow. *We live upon the shadow of a shadow. What will the people who come after us live upon?*" Let Renan's greater countryman, Victor Hugo, answer that question with his noble verse, which reveals the secret of his inspiring optimism: —

"Ye mourners, come to God, He, too, has tears;
Ye sufferers, come, He only cures your pains;
Ye tremblers, come, He smiles away your fears;
And ye who pass, come also, He remains."

When Mr. Darwin died, he made the author of "*Physicus*" his literary executor. "*Physicus*" was Mr. George J. Romanes, almost as well known in scientific circles as his great master. In his book, after saying that he was obliged to give up his faith in religion, he makes this remarkable confession: "Forasmuch as I am far from being able to agree with those who affirm that the twilight doctrine of the new faith is a desirable substitute for the waning splendor of the old, I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe has lost to me its soul of loveliness, and although from henceforth the precept to 'work while it is day' will doubtless but gain an intensified force from the intensified meaning of the words that 'the night cometh when no man can work,' yet when at times I think — as think at times I must — of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it, at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible." These are the words of an honest man who faces the darkness, and, as best he can, tries to walk on without a torch in the gloom. And I cannot help contrasting them with the words of our own sweet Quaker poet, who, beyond his fourscore years, is still singing in the same strain in which he sang years ago: —

"And so beside the silent sea
I wait the muffled oar,
No harm from Him can come to me,
On ocean or on shore."

Dr. Maudsley closes his "*Body and Will*" — one of the dreariest books ever written — with these words: "The philosopher of to-day who can tell us what happened when the foundations of the earth were laid, and the morning stars sang together, will no doubt be ready to tell us exactly what will happen when the foundations of the earth are unlaidd and the morning stars shall cease to sing

together ; those who have not his confident insight into creations and uncreations will be content to hold their peace lest they should speak without knowledge words that are without wisdom. But be the words spoken the words of folly or of wisdom, they are in the end alike vanity. 'All that which is past is as a dream ; and he that hopes or depends upon Time coming, dreams waking.'"

Beside such cold and dreary atheism, how like a breath of the west wind on a summer's day come the noble words of Carlyle, who, with all his wanderings, never wandered from God : "What is nature ? . . . Art not thou the 'Living Garment of God' ? O Heavens, is it in very deed He, then, that ever speaks through thee ; that lives and loves in thee that lives and loves in me ? The universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres ; but God-like and my Father's ! . . . Love not Pleasure ; love God. This is the *Everlasting Yea*, wherein all contradiction is solved ; wherein whoso walks and works, it is well with him."

Amiel in his journal says : "There is but one thing needful — to know God." If Amiel was right, then those are wrong who say that there is nothing better than morality, and Micah (vi. 8) has stated the whole truth in his question : "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ?"

Amory H. Bradford.

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

LEADERS OF WIDENING CHRISTIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT.

II. JOHN MCLEOD CAMPBELL.

THE sketch of Thomas Erskine, already presented in this "Review," is scarcely complete without the companion sketch of his almost lifelong friend, John McLeod Campbell, to whom he was bound by ties of closest affection and sympathy in those thoughts and emotions which go down to the very roots of our deepest and truest being. Each undoubtedly reacted on the other, and so strong was the influence of their close communion that it needed no very keen observation to trace, in their later years, a remarkable similarity of expression in countenances originally cast in a

very different mould. In some respects they were complementary to each other, and the history of their spiritual development and life-work is so interwoven that the portrait of the one can scarcely be drawn without at least a shadowy reflection of the other somewhere in the background.

Nevertheless they were strikingly different personalities. While Mr. Erskine possessed not only a profoundly reflective, but also a widely absorbent mind, taking in many different sides of life, John McLeod Campbell was a noble specimen of the Celt, — remarkable for fervid concentration and intensity, rather than breadth, although his profound spiritual insight and loving catholicity of spirit made it impossible for him to be narrow or one-sided. His interests, however, ran in a more restricted circle, as may be seen by comparing the letters of the two ; but that circle included all that is of deepest and most enduring interest to our common humanity. As Mr. Erskine was a true *seer*, so John McLeod Campbell was an anointed priest, by the truest spiritual anointing, and continued to be, through all his long life, a faithful minister to the sin-burdened heart of man. Even the unhappy events which arbitrarily removed him from his beloved parish only widened his field of labor, which afterwards extended to all who had need of him, wherever he might be. To this holy mission his life seemed, as it were, separated and set apart.

John McLeod Campbell's life began almost simultaneously with our century, — in May, 1800. The first few years of his life were spent amid the picturesque and inspiring scenery of a "Highland Parish," not unlike that in which his cousin, Norman McLeod, was then also growing up, and which he has since so graphically described for us. "The Manse" stood on a hill-top, overlooking one of the "lochs," or fiords, so numerous on that deeply indented coast, where he so often watched the "outflow to, and inflow from, the Atlantic, in sun and shade," leaving impressions vividly recalled in later years, — "the golden light of the bright west making the ten miles between us and Mull one sea of 'gold like unto glass,' or, in stormy weather, the waves rolling in from the Atlantic, with all the space between us and America to swell through, breaking on the points of Kerrera."

His mother was the daughter of one of the old chiefs of Skye, McLeod of Raasay, from whom he took his second name ; but she died in his early childhood, leaving her three children to a father who well discharged the double part of father and mother in one, and was loved and revered accordingly. The Rev. Donald Camp-

bell was an admirable specimen of a divine of the school of Clarke and Tillotson, and his sons found in him a wise and faithful teacher, as well as a sympathetic companion, to whom they were bound by an exceptionally strong and enthusiastic affection. The simple-hearted peasants around them, of a type fast dying out, were principally Gaelic, which might be said to be almost the boy's mother-tongue, — the tongue in which his father frequently preached, and in which, from an allusion in one of Mr. Campbell's letters, the morning and evening worship at the Manse was usually conducted.

Scottish boys went early to college in those days, and in his twelfth year young Campbell entered the old University of Glasgow. At fifteen we find him taking his first prize in the Logic class, — his attendance on which, under Jardine, he regarded as an epoch in his mental growth. In the following year he attended the Moral Philosophy class, and received the commendation of the professor for an essay in which he ventured to maintain that conception is a primary faculty, in opposition to the views of the professor himself. But though the winters were given to hard study, which might be thought premature for a lad of his years, the summers were full of boyish activity and healthful recreation, taken chiefly in excursions in rough sailing-boats along that wild, west coast, with whose sombre grandeur Mr. William Black has made us so familiar. The Manse of Morven, the "Highland Parish" of Norman McLeod, was one of the favorite halting-places, where the afternoons were spent in roaming the hills, and the evenings in simple family dancing, probably to the strains of the bagpipes, and — after the early family worship and supper — in singing the stirring old songs of Scotland, which have held such a magic power over Scottish hearts at home and abroad. All who have read Norman McLeod's delightful sketches of his own happy home life will readily recall its simple joyousness, and, though John McLeod Campbell was one of the most deeply spiritual of men, he possessed no trace of that narrowness or asceticism which is so readily associated with Puritan Scotland. Sometimes these expeditions extended to the Isle of Skye, and included a visit to his mother's birthplace, Raasay, which he regarded as "one of the most beautiful places on the face of the earth," — "a beautiful house, with the most sublime assemblage of Skye hills opposite." In these happy summer wanderings, he was doubtless laying up a reserve store of mental and physical health for future days of work and strain, while also

led towards those deeper spiritual meditations which had come to him so early, and which the grand mountain scenery about him was so well fitted to foster. In his nineteenth year, the little home circle at Kilninver was broken by the removal of his only sister, who accompanied her cousin, Lady Hastings, to India, where she was married in the following year to James Macnabb, Esq., then in the Bengal Civil Service, afterwards of Arthurstallie, Perthshire. In his letters to this beloved sister, we can see not only how great was the trial of the separation to his warmly affectionate nature, but also the earnest piety which was, even then, the mainspring of his life. Indeed, his intense early realization of Christian truth, from personal experience, seems to have preserved him from even the temporary phase of doubt which for a time clouded the faith of his friend, Mr. Erskine. From the first, the Christian ministry seems to have been his destined career.

His twenty-first year was spent at the manse of another Highland clerical relative, in order to assist him in the compilation of a Gaelic dictionary, — partly with the view of perfecting himself in a language in which he expected to preach more or less frequently. His early familiarity with Gaelic had, however, a somewhat unfavorable effect on his English style, for with all his clearness of thought and conception he never ceased to feel a certain difficulty in English composition, which gave to his written works, as distinct from his spoken sermons, a somewhat labored character, very different from the easy and lucid grace of Mr. Erskine's flowing diction.

At twenty-one he had completed his full course of study as a theological student, in addition to other studies of more general interest voluntarily undertaken, and received license as a minister of the gospel. He had, even previously to this, received a recommendation from the principal of Glasgow University as a candidate for that London church over which, a year later, Edward Irving was ordained. No step, however, was taken towards securing an appointment which, if accomplished, would so greatly have altered the course of his own life and that of Edward Irving. He had long cherished "a dream of Oxford," but, finding that this could not be realized without taking an oath inconsistent with his position as a Scottish minister, he reluctantly gave up the project. His two following winters were spent principally in attending lectures and occasionally preaching in Edinburgh, where Sir William Hamilton, fresh from Oxford, was lecturing on His-

tory. At twenty-five he received a "presentation" to the parish of Row,¹ — for those were the days of patronage, and a presentation was the necessary preliminary to a parish ministry in the Church of Scotland. That church was then divided into two sharply marked parties, called respectively "Moderate" and "Evangelical," — the latter answering, in some respects, to the "Evangelical" branch of the Church of England. As is always the case, party feeling had caused much practical evil, which Mr. Campbell so fully realized that he determined to maintain a strictly neutral position, — a neutrality which had important results at a critical period of his own history. He entered his new charge with a deep feeling of his responsibility, and an earnest desire to discharge it aright, but as yet without any definite perception of the cause of the great general lack of living religion, which he speedily recognized with surprise and profound sorrow.

His subsequent divergence alike from the narrow traditional theology then and there so prevalent, and from the crude popular idea of "religion," was, as all advances on the path of truth must be, the result, not of mere speculation, but of setting to work in earnest to solve the practical problems before him. His own conviction that religion was to be the spiritual root of the whole moral being, not a thing of times and seasons, he found contradicted by the popular idea that, if people should "give a little of their time to God, they might, with an easier conscience, enjoy themselves in the use of it," — an idea always accompanying a mere ceremonial religiousness, under whatever name. In short, when he came face to face with the realities of human life, he found such a discrepancy between the prevailing religion and that of the New Testament, that he was forced to inquire into the cause and the remedy. To this task he addressed himself with all the ardor of a young apostle.

The parish of Row was set in the midst of one of the most beautiful and romantic regions of western Scotland, — a land of noble hills and picturesque mountain fiords. It lay on the shore of one of these fiords, the Gareloch, proverbial in Scotland for its striking beauty. In his ministrations amid the rural homes of his parishioners, he had the constant influence of natural sublimity, — intensely strong on a mind like his, — blended with his deep practical interest in the eternal problem of the relation of the human to the divine, which was ever present with him. We have one interesting glimpse of the earnest young minister stand-

¹ Pronounced *Rue*.

ing with an aged couple on a hill overlooking the beautiful loch, and receiving the husband's characteristic exhortation : "Give us plain doctrine, Mr. Campbell, for we are a sleeping people ;" while the "gude wife" solemnly quoted the sacred words : "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." This incident, so illustrative of the high tone of thought and spirituality formerly often found among the Scottish peasantry, made a deep impression on Mr. Campbell, and both injunctions were faithfully fulfilled. In his nearest ministerial neighbor, the Rev. Robert Story, minister of the parish of Roseneath, — a man of a loving heart, evangelical warmth and simplicity, and much beauty of character, — Mr. Campbell soon found a warm and congenial friend, with whom he could take "sweet counsel," and who could and did give him much brotherly sympathy and fellowship, — especially in the great crisis of his life, his collision with external ecclesiastical authority. The old parish manse not being in a habitable condition, Mr. Campbell took up his residence — while a new one was being built — in his picturesque temporary home of Shandon Cottage, *Gaelicé*, Badminver, meaning a tuft of trees at the estuary of a stream.

In this quiet retreat six years of earnest work passed rapidly away. His pastoral work was more and more showing him the needs of his people, and, through them, of all people, and his studies were more and more tending towards the great central points round which all his subsequent teaching naturally grew. A few months after his settlement we find him reading, with great delight, the first publication of his as yet unknown friend, Mr. Erskine, on the "Internal Evidence of Christianity," of which he says : "It is the only work with that title which deserves the name, as it really is an extracting of evidence from the peculiarities of the scheme itself, and in it is put upon its proper ground the connection between the doctrines and the morality of the gospel. He feels that it is most dangerous to receive them as two distinct things, and his language, which you will remember was mine, is : 'I don't say, believe the one, and, because you believe the one, do the other. Yea, examine your belief, and you will find it the deepest basis on which morality rested.'" This thought ran through all his teaching, together with the further one, thus expressed in a letter to his father : "'He that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father.' This is, to me, a very favorite passage, the truth it contains being the anchor of my soul, namely, that, knowing the mind and feelings of Christ, I know the mind

and feelings of God. Any soul knowing the amount of the statement, and believing its truth, must be found trusting in God, with a trust inspired simply by the knowledge of what He is, and trusting in his character." The outline of the sermon mentioned in this same letter, as preached on the same day on which it was written, foreshadows the teaching of his future great work on "The Nature of the Atonement." But he soon found out, in his efforts to lead his people into a more consistent and spiritual religious life, that the *root* was lacking, — that "heart religion was at a low ebb," though men often found a false "peace in combination of an orthodox creed with much religious bustle."

In the mean time, he was hard at work in his mountain parish. At one time we find him "preaching in a glen which has about a hundred inhabitants, among whom I know of only one who has received the gospel." To his father he always gave, in his weekly letter, an outline of the sermon he had preached on the preceding Sunday. In a letter to the absent sister in India, his father gives the following frank tribute to the devotion of his son: "Your brother is certainly the most uncommon young man I ever was acquainted with. His talents are very good, but little to his zeal and industry in his great work, — the salvation of souls. He is thought rather strict by some people, and he and I do not entirely agree in some points; but would to God that all of us in the same sacred office had our hearts so deeply and thoroughly impressed as he is with the truth and power of sacred things."

In his ministerial teaching, he met his people, as he tells us in his own very full "Reminiscences and Reflections," on the common ground laid down in the first question and answer in the Shorter Catechism, — that the will of God for man, and the very end of his being, is "to glorify God, and enjoy Him forever." It was in the earnest endeavor to fix their attention on the love of God revealed in Christ, instead of on some goodness of their own that would warrant them in drawing nigh to Him, that his teaching on the subject of the "Assurance of Faith" began to be misconceived by crude and unspiritual minds, and was eventually denounced as heretical. For, in his anxious consideration of the spiritual condition of his people, and of the small effect of his earlier labors in bringing out those fruits of faith which he so earnestly desired to see, he became convinced that, in order to *make them free to serve God with a pure, disinterested love to Him*, "their first step in religion would require to be, *resting assured of his love to them in Christ as individuals, and*

of their individually having eternal life given to them in Christ." This conviction led to the further conclusion that, "*unless God had died for all, — unless He was, indeed, the gift of God to every human being, — there was no sufficient warrant for calling on men to be assured of God's love to them.*" And as, in the course of his direct dealing with his people, he came to feel practically the need of man awakening to consciousness of alienation from God and seeking the peace of true reconciliation or *Atonement*, he was led more and more to regard the doctrine of the Atonement as "*that master truth of which the soul that has once seen it shall never have enough through eternal ages.*" But the very fullness with which Mr. Campbell preached the gospel of God's forgiving love to all soon came into collision with the cherished preconceptions of some as to the distinction between the elect and non-elect, while those who had already begun to object to his teaching of assurance as dangerous held that it became much more so, as connected with a doctrine of universal pardon which they equally misconceived.

The interests of this period of his life connect him, in an interesting way, with the two great Scottish preachers of his time, Chalmers and Irving. Dr. Chalmers was then a popular preacher in Glasgow, and Edward Irving, at the height of his London popularity, had come to Edinburgh to deliver a course of lectures on the Apocalypse, to a house crowded at the unusual hour of six A. M. Mr. Campbell went to Edinburgh to lay before these two brethren the conclusions to which he had come, and the practical experiences in which he had wrought them out, hoping that the grounds on which his convictions were based might commend themselves to them also. It is an instance of the inaccuracies which will sometimes creep into the best biographies that, in Mrs. Oliphant's very sympathetic "*Life of Irving,*" this incident — mentioned to her by Mr. Campbell himself — is represented as a visit from Campbell to Irving, "*to consult him in regard to his difficulties,*" — difficulties which had no existence. A few weeks later, Irving visited Mr. Campbell at Row, and preached in his church, and was, as he said in a letter to a friend, "*much delighted*" both with Campbell and his close friend, Alexander Scott. At parting, after a time of happy brotherly communion, Irving said, after a parting prayer: "*Dear Campbell, may your bosom be a pillow for me to rest upon, and my arm a staff for you to lean upon!*" "*From that time,*" says Mr. Campbell, "*he preached the Atonement as for all, and the faith of the love mani-*

fested in it as the great power to awaken the deep sense of sin, as well as to quicken love to Him who first loved us." This was, of course, long before any of the occurrences which led Irving to his afterwards erratic course, and with which Mr. Campbell had nothing to do.

It was about the same time, early in 1828, that Mr. Erskine and he — predestined brothers in soul — first came into personal contact. Mr. Erskine's little book on "The Freeness of the Gospel" had been published in 1827, quite independently of Mr. Campbell, — of whom he *then* knew nothing, — though teaching the same truth of the belief of God's free and forgiving love in Christ as the root of a real salvation. During the following winter or spring, Mr. Erskine first heard Mr. Campbell preach in Edinburgh with great delight; and shortly after, the common friend of both, Alexander Scott, was the means of bringing them together, — taking Mr. Campbell to Mr. Erskine as to one who "knew the love of God in which we were seeing eye to eye." Their friendship, begun on such a common ground, ripened fast, and Mr. Erskine spent part of the following summer at Row, for the sake of being near the devoted young clergyman, whose preachings were so entirely after his own heart; the communion of thought and spirit between two so like-minded refreshing and strengthening them both, in the face of the increasing murmurs of disapprobation which began to arise from the jealous defenders of a hard, traditional theology.

Allusion has already been made to the two parties into which the Church of Scotland was at this time divided, and to the fact of Mr. Campbell's strictly neutral position; though he naturally had more affinity with the "Evangelical" than with the "Moderate" division. The following sketch of the condition of the religious teaching of Scotland at this period will throw light both on the special peculiarities of Mr. Campbell's preaching, and on the opposition it speedily awoke. It is quoted from the "Life of Mr. Story," by his son: —

"The theology of Scotland, as might have been expected of theology reared on so purely dogmatic a foundation, had gradually ceased to have much living influence on the popular conscience, though it had graven its outlines deeply on the popular understanding. The doctrines of the Confession, as commonly set forth in all the accuracy of their irrefragable logic, were not thought to have any very close connection with existing thought and action. As a natural result, the preaching of national pulpits,

diverging into two branches, became either a mere ethical or practical discoursing, without any doctrinal or spiritual basis, or a formal exposition of Calvinistic doctrines tending rather to foster a morbid self-consciousness than a free and loving development of Christian life. The 'Moderate' was a preacher of morals, who too seldom made any reference to their root and sanction in Christ; the 'Evangelical' preacher was a preacher of Genevan doctrines, who was too generally rather engrossed with the harmonies of his system than conscious of the wants and questionings of humanity, which it was insufficient to meet and unable to answer. A religion of this type begot too marked an isolation of the individual, and obscured the great central fact of God's fatherly relation to *all*, by teaching each man to regard his relation to God as affected or determined by his own personal condition or belief. But neither of these modes of setting forth the truth was exhaustive or satisfactory. Neither fully occupied the minds or met the spiritual wants of earnest men within the church. Much of the most zealous Christian life gradually withdrew itself from the pale of the Establishment; not a few of those who were most thoughtful and pious seceded from its communion, in the hope of finding elsewhere a more living spirit of Christianity."

To meet the need thus described, Mr. Campbell's fresh and spiritual preaching was precisely adapted, and soon began to attract the notice of earnest seekers, as well as of dogmatic cavilers. The publication, about the same time, of Mr. Story's "*Life of Isabella Campbell*," which had at the time a widespread popularity in Scotland and even in America, helped to deepen this growing interest. It was the unadorned narrative of the life and death of a simple Highland girl, a parishioner of Mr. Story's, — a life that, through a lingering illness ending in a saintly death, drew its joy and peace from a simple and living dependence on God the Father and Christ the Reconciler. Mr. Campbell had frequently visited her during the prolonged absence of his friend, Mr. Story, and his letters contain repeated references to the satisfaction he received from them. The memoir was blessed to many; among others, William Wilberforce records the pleasure and edification with which he read it; and the associations connected with it tended to increase the interest felt in the vicinity of "the Row" by many who thirsted for a fuller measure of spiritual life, and who found the new development and expansion of gospel teaching for which they were craving in

the preaching of McLeod Campbell. Not a few earnest thinkers and seekers for truth — including thoughtful divinity students — gladly availed themselves of the opportunities presented by the Gareloch as a summer resort, to share the privilege of Mr. Campbell's deeply spiritual preaching. Among those who thus came under his influence was the mother of the present writer, whose lifelong friendship with both Mr. Erskine and Mr. Campbell, begun about this time, was a source of much spiritual benefit to her through the whole of her after-life as a clergyman's wife in Canada, and, through her, of benefit to many others. And from the letters from both in the writer's possession, it would seem that, as almost always happens, the benefit was reciprocal. Her deep interest in the succeeding events which transpired before she left Scotland to enter on a new life in the New World descended to the writer by a natural inheritance.

But, while many who were seeking light were receiving abundant blessing from such fresh and vital teaching, the "old story" was beginning to repeat itself, and those who were *not* seekers, but self-complacent "professors," of religion, according to their own narrow views of "orthodoxy," began to take the alarm, while murmurs of dissatisfaction began to be heard among Mr. Campbell's ministerial brethren. On Thursday, December 20, 1827, he had preached a charity sermon in Glasgow, on the text, "Sanctify them by the truth," from which afterwards dated the opposition of his brethren, many of whom were his hearers. He wrote soon after to Mr. Story: "The Glasgow ministers have all taken alarm." This "alarm" was more especially connected with his teaching on the subject of "Assurance," by which *he* meant only assured belief in the forgiving love of God to men *as* men, and the freeness of the gift of eternal life, — that assurance of God's forgiving love on which man may fearlessly rest all his hopes of salvation; while to most Scottish minds "Assurance" meant chiefly the assurance of personal salvation, by which then too often was meant simply the remission of future penalties, and the secure prospect of eternal bliss. This naturally led to a misconception of Mr. Campbell's teaching, which also suffered from the inability of men accustomed to a certain traditional system to enter into his point of view, — especially as it also ultimately came into collision with the cherished belief, at that time almost universal among Scottish Presbyterians, of a Limited Atonement; for, as Mr. Campbell had soon found, the universality of the love of God and of Christ's atoning work was implied

in it. But, singularly enough as it seems at first sight, this, which seems to most of us to-day one of the most elementary truths of religion, was unpalatable even to many who had been pleased with his teaching on Assurance, showing how little they had understood that teaching by making the objection that, if the Atonement were universal, *individual Christians were deprived of all assurance*, thus plainly preferring to rest their hope of salvation rather on the supposed partiality of a ruler towards *some* of his subjects, than on the depth and width of the love of the Divine Father! From this time his teaching became identified with what was called the "doctrine of Universal Pardon," by which Mr. Campbell simply meant that in Christ the gift of eternal life had "come upon all men unto justification of life." By his opponents, however, this gospel of a universal forgiveness was taken to mean the same thing as *universal salvation*, and all that Mr. Campbell and his friends could do to remove this erroneous impression seemed to fall on unheeding ears. The disappointment he felt at the revelation of spiritual blindness in many of whom he had hoped well, he thus describes in his "Reminiscences:" "I was made to mourn over the opposition to the doctrine of eternal pardon, taking such forms as, 'If all are forgiven, then we need not repent nor be sorry for our sins, or think of a future judgment, and we may do as we please;' for it was thus apparent, beyond all my previous fears, that what men *called* 'repentance' was not a real sorrow for sin, but merely something offered in exchange for safety." At a later period, he came to regret that he had not been more carefully guarded in his language, so as to express the truth in words less likely to be misunderstood. Yet it was, in many cases, a *willful* misunderstanding,—the fruit of a hardness of heart which he could scarcely have imagined beforehand. He found himself, he says, "charged with Antinomianism, and with setting forth doctrines leading to licentiousness, and, as if to stamp the character of the opposition awakened, it first took active form in the persons of some individuals of much practical ungodliness."

Much of the good seed, however, fell on good ground. Not a few of his hearers could say, "It is quite a new gospel to me;" or, "I never understood the Scriptures before;" or, "The same Scripture in this light has a melting and novel influence, which, without it, never was felt or thought of." "Yet," wrote one of his friends, "as the opposition comes chiefly from the Evangelical clergy, whose influence is so extensive, it is formidable." As to

this, Mr. Campbell himself wrote: "Oh, you do not know how the idea of peace toward God, from the simple belief of his words, without waiting for evidence, is resisted by those who have long been leading their flocks through the dark and desolate places of their own hearts, instead of leading them to Jesus, and causing them to look unto Him and be saved."

The following quotations — taken almost at random from the volumes, now out of print, which contain many of Mr. Campbell's sermons at Row, from short-hand notes — will show how remote was his deep and searching teaching from bearing out the misrepresentations he has mentioned, and their tone is distinctive of his lifelong teaching: "The gift of God is eternal life, — that life which was with the Father before the world was; this is what God has given to us. Now it is quite obvious that this must exclude many of the things we have been looking for. We have been looking for safety, for security, for exemption from penalties, for a happiness of some kind or other. But any one who will consider that the thing which God says He gives us is eternal life must at once see that all his ideas of this kind must be erroneous. It is not *safety* that could be dignified with the name of the 'eternal life' which was with the Father; it is not a *mere happiness* which God is said to have had from all eternity! The eternal life which was with the Father is that thing in God which made God infinitely blessed." "I know quite well that, when a person says to men that their sins are forgiven, he is supposed to be saying that they are not to be punished, — that there is no wrath awaiting them. But what *is* said is this, that God has done that in Christ which He saw to be right for the purpose of placing you on the footing of innocent persons; so that you are as perfectly free to come to God at this moment as if you had never sinned at all. Now this is all that I conceive to be involved in your sin being put away; this is *all*, and surely it is everything." "Christ's own righteousness was a righteousness of faith. He lived by faith, — a perfect faith in his Father; and his own righteousness was a righteousness that was by faith. Now our righteousness is to be by faith in Christ, and it is a *real thing, and a holy state, the state of believing in the holy love of God; it is just one with the love that is believed*, and it is no fiction. But it is the constant craving of the natural heart to get away from the necessity of dwelling in holiness in order to dwell in happiness, — to get away from the necessity of walking close with God, and of dwelling in God's love, in order to have peace and confidence toward God."

Even in our own day, when such thoughts as these have been popularized in the writings of F. W. Robertson, George Macdonald, and many others, — in such poems as those of Whittier and Browning, and in the most spiritual hymns, — such truths are too little comprehended ; but, compared with the hard, cold, traditional theology then too generally prevalent, it was as light to darkness, and it is little wonder if the darkness comprehended it not. The conflict soon became an open one. From the discussion of theological essays in ministerial gatherings, the opposition now became so pronounced that pulpits were closed to him ; and brethren refused to coöperate with him in evangelical work, while, in some cases, the disapprobation included his friend, Mr. Story, whose preaching was animated by the same spirit, although, being expressed in more exclusively Scriptural language, it was less vulnerable. At last, the first steps were taken in the direction of ecclesiastical procedure. Encouraged, no doubt, by the clerical opposition, a few of the least worthy of his parishioners signed a memorial entreating the Presbytery to investigate what had by this time come to be called the “Row Heresy,” and to “deliver the parish from the oppression of such pernicious errors as were taught by the minister.” When this petition was presented to the Presbytery of Dunbarton, no inquiry seems to have been made into the Christian character of the memorialists, or their fitness to judge in such a matter, — one of them being a drunken tailor and another a notorious smuggler. A counter petition was, at the same time, sent in, without any communication with Mr. Campbell, signed by eighty heads of families of unexceptionable standing, including Lord John Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyle, begging the Presbytery “to do nothing to weaken the hands of a minister who so faithfully preached the necessity of believing the gospel, of resting on the Lord Jesus Christ alone for salvation, of departing from all iniquity, and living in the hope of a glorious immortality.” But while the first memorial was received, the second was rejected at the Presbytery meeting in March, the spirit of which, towards this saintly young apostle, may be gathered from the facts that one member, in a furious speech, moved that they should “at once *proceed to root out this pestilential heresy,*” and that Mr. Campbell was refused, on a technical pretext, the courtesy of a hearing, one voice declaring that “he deserved no courtesy from the Presbytery!” Such unreasonable animosity against so blameless and devoted a brother would seem almost incredible, had it not been painfully verified, again and

again, that every return to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ has always had its bitterest opponents in the champions of a narrow scholastic theology, and that, since the Pharisees condemned the Master himself, the "doctors of the law" have been the most impenetrable to any ray of light not contained in their own particular spectrum. That this statement is not too strong, the subsequent events will show.

A committee had been appointed to confer with Mr. Campbell, but he declined to meet it, partly on the ground that its appointment, under the circumstances, was contrary to the usual procedure in such matters, and partly on the ground of the rejection of the petition in his favor, which was, however, received at a subsequent meeting. At the next meeting of Presbytery, in May, the complainants were advised to turn their complaint into a "libel," and a Presbyterian visitation was appointed to hear Mr. Campbell preach at Row, on the 8th of July following. On this occasion he preached a truly evangelical sermon on the Beatitudes, which is before the writer. In it there occur the following two sentences, here given with as much of their context as space will allow: "He who knows Christ knows what sin is, having seen that God loves every child of Adam with a love the measure of which is the agony of his own Son." "The person who knows that Christ died for every human being is the person who is in a condition to go forth to every human being, and to say to every child of Adam, Let there be peace with you, — peace between you and your God, — for I can tell you that the Lord Jesus shed his blood for you." It will probably puzzle most modern readers to be told that of these two statements, the Presbytery recorded "their detestation and abhorrence." But it is ever "the truth" which "prevails;" and happily it is this then "abhorred" truth, of the forgiving love of God to every creature, which forms the very heart of the evangelical preaching of our own age; while the dogma of a Limited Atonement is, by the growing intelligence of the church, more and more relegated to the limbo of theological antiquities, as a slander on the love, and even the justice, of the Divine Father.

The libel was accordingly prepared, and served on Mr. Campbell in the following September. Printed with the answers of Mr. Campbell, the whole forms a thick pamphlet, which is before the writer, and affords, of course, the fullest statement of the question at issue. The libel bears that, "albeit the doctrine of universal atonement and pardon through the death of Christ, as

also the doctrine that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation, are contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Church of Scotland," Mr. Campbell has "repeatedly promulgated and expressed the aforesaid doctrines from the pulpit or other places," etc. Very shortly before the next meeting of Presbytery, in the same month, Mr. Campbell found that he would have to give in his answers in writing. These, filling nearly sixty closely printed pages, he dictated to amanuenses in a little more than two days. They contain a most full and frank exposition of his views, which will best be understood if a few of the most representative passages are quoted.

On the question of the first two points, which in Mr. Campbell's teaching were merely two ways of presenting the *same* truth, he says, after reviewing the statements of Scripture: "On these grounds do I hold the doctrine of Universal Atonement to be the doctrine of Scripture, namely, that there is not one word pointedly or distinctly limiting the Atonement; that there are many expressions distinctly averring that the work of Christ had been for all men; that the footing on which the call to repentance is addressed to sinners is the manifested love of God in Christ to *them*," etc., etc. As to Universal Pardon, as to which his teaching had been seriously misrepresented, he says expressly that he does not use the word "pardon" in the sense of an act of indemnity to the sinner, giving him security from all the consequences of having sinned against God, irrespective of any condition as to moral character (a sense in which pardon has no existence with regard to *any*), nor as the reception of the returning sinner, which can, of course, be only for those who *do* return; but that he used it as meaning "*an act of God, referring to a sinner, by which he declares his having sinned to be no longer any barrier to his returning to the enjoyment of God's love and favor*, making the consciousness of guilt to be no longer a just cause of fear in seeking the face of God; yea, giving the assurance that it is not only a righteous thing in God to receive him back into favor, not taking into account the sin justly chargeable against him, but even, so to speak, to help him back, and by his own Spirit to lift him up into the light of his own love and the enjoyment of his own holiness. In this sense I hold, and in this sense I teach, the doctrine of universal pardon through the death of Christ. For such a pardon I believe the Scriptures to reveal, as extended to all; as the results of the atoning sacrifice

of Christ for all; as the fruit of his propitiation for the sins of the whole world; as the condition in which God's accepting the sacrifice of Christ for mankind has placed the children of men."

On the subject of Assurance, Mr. Campbell again carefully defines the sense in which he taught the assurance of faith, as *not* used by him in the sense of assurance of personal salvation, which a true Christian might lose for a time, though to a believer it seems to be implied in the larger truth of assurance of God's pardoning love. "On this subject," he says, "I hold and teach that, *in believing the gospel*, there is necessarily present in the mind the certainty *that the person believing in it is the object of God's love, manifested to him in the gift of Christ*, — the certainty that he has remission of his sins, the gift of the Spirit, and all things necessary pertaining to life and godliness, bestowed on him by the free grace of God, so that he feels himself debtor to God for the gift of eternal life; and this I hold to be of the essence of faith, that is to say, so necessarily implied in the existence of true faith that no person can be regarded as in the belief of God's testimony who is not conscious of it."

These full and clear explanations are quoted at some length because even *now* Mr. Campbell's teaching is often misconceived by those who take their information from mere *hearsay report*. To most intelligent Christians of to-day, all that is contained in the above paragraphs would seem to be implied in the simple clause of the Apostles' Creed, but, to the minds of Mr. Campbell's judges, — trained in all the metaphysical intricacy of Scottish Calvinistic theology, — it seemed far too simple to be true. It was, to a certain extent, the difference of meaning which they and Mr. Campbell attached to certain theological expressions which, notwithstanding all his explicit explanations, seemed to prevent them from receiving his real meaning. But it was also impossible that such teaching could either be comprehended or received by those who tenaciously held the dogma of a Limited Atonement. And those who know the effect and the history of the traditional theology of Scotland must admit that it had fostered a certain element of exclusiveness, not to say Pharisaism, which has been the bane of its religious life, and has often produced an opposition as bitter as that of the Jewish Pharisees to the truth that Christ was "the Saviour of *all* men."

Mr. Campbell in his answers, as well as his friend Mr. Story in defending him, had, in the first instance, appealed to Scripture

in support of his views, notwithstanding the protest of a reverend member of the Presbytery, who said: "*We are far from appealing to the Word of God on this ground: it is by the Confession of Faith that we must stand; by it we hold our livings!*" But he also proceeded to defend his position with reference to the Standards, on which ground he seemed more vulnerable, since several statements in the Confession of Faith, as well as in the Larger and the Shorter Catechism, seem to ordinary readers to *imply* the dogma of a Limited Atonement. In Mr. Campbell's opinion, however, they did not *necessarily* do so; and in what he says on this subject he is very much at one with recent opinions expressed in discussing the question of the revision of the Confession. "In reference to the doctrines in this Libel, declared to be inconsistent with the Standards of the church, I would reply as to the first, the doctrine of Universal Atonement and Pardon through the death of Christ, that the utmost that can be said in support of the charge is, that the present Confession of Faith is silent on the subject; but this, though it were fully admitted, would in truth be nothing on which to found. As to the second doctrine, that Assurance is of the essence of faith, it is substantially stated by the definition of Faith given; and the impression that it is otherwise has only arisen from confounding together the distinct subjects of *Assurance of Faith* and *Assurance of being in a state of salvation*. In respect of the first," he goes on to say, "I am aware that the peculiar use of the word '*redemption*,' though not altogether unsanctioned by Scripture usage, has occasioned the impression to exist very generally that the Universality of the Atonement is denied, and I shall now state my reasons for holding that to be a serious error." This he proceeded to do, both from a consideration of the passages so understood, and also from the history of the framing of the Confession of Faith, and its relation to former Confessions. In doing this, he makes an interesting reference to the fact that the Westminster Assembly was convoked, among other things, for the express purpose of "clearing the doctrine of the Church of England from false aspersions and interpretations, and that it would have been strangely inconsistent with such an object to have stated a doctrine so directly contrary to the received doctrine of the English Church as that of a Limited Atonement." Among other early authorities cited by Mr. Campbell in support of his teaching on the controverted points, he quotes the following very strong statement from Calvin's Catechism, used by the Church of Scotland, and approved

by her first Book of Discipline. The question is as follows: "What is required of us beside placing confidence in God, and having an assured confidence that He is Almighty and perfectly good?" To which the answer is: "That every one of us be fully assured in his conscience that he is beloved of God, and that He will be both his Father and Saviour." "*A right faith*" it further defines as "*a sure persuasion of God's tender love towards us, according as He hath plainly uttered in his gospel, and that He will be both a Father and a Saviour unto us through the means of Christ.*" The Palatine Catechism, also recognized by the early Church of Scotland, is even more distinct on this point of individual assurance of God's forgiving love. He quotes, also, Patrick Hamilton, the first martyr in Scotland for the doctrines of the Reformation, as saying: "*And they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel.*" It is quite clear, from his full quotations from these earliest Standards, that the dogma of the Limited Atonement, the real backbone of the opposition, had gradually corrupted the originally purer truth, — one of many instances of temporary retrogression in Christian belief, caused, no doubt, by the perpetual tendency of human nature to gravitate *downwards*.

Notwithstanding, however, all the considerations adduced by Mr. Campbell and his friend, Mr. Story, in vindication of the disputed doctrines, — considerations that might well have overcome everything save the invincible power of prejudice, — the "relevancy of the major proposition," that is, the heterodoxy of the doctrines specified, was affirmed by the majority, Mr. Story and one other forming a minority which dissented and appealed. The "counts" of proofs that Mr. Campbell had actually taught such doctrine were taken up at a subsequent meeting, and although Mr. Campbell explained that several of the statements reported as his were utter perversions of his teaching, and never made by him, the minor proposition was held "relevant." Among the witnesses examined on Mr. Campbell's side were several whose Christian intelligence and careful consideration of his teaching should have given them great weight with his judges. One of these was the American consul, Hervey Strong, and another was a cultivated Scottish advocate, who gave by far the clearest and most connected account of the doctrine he had preached. From the evidence of this witness alone, his friend, Mr. Story, "deemed it to be clearly enough made out that Mr. Campbell was con-

demned by the Presbytery, and afterwards by the Assembly, for doctrines that he did *not* hold." If any one will take the trouble of reading the outline of Mr. Hawkins's testimony, given chiefly in his own words, in the Life of Mr. Story, he will not only be convinced that the charge of Antinomianism preferred against Mr. Campbell was groundless, but he will see that the substance of Mr. Campbell's preaching was precisely that which we are accustomed to hear in the best evangelistic preaching of to-day. Of the results of this testimony Mr. Campbell seemed to be somewhat hopeful; for he wrote to his father, during the sitting of the Presbytery: "What may be the result of so many intelligent statements of what has been called the 'Row Heresy, given by many who were looked upon almost as mad, because of their interest in what was taught at Row, upon the court that now hears them, or on the higher courts, or on the church in general, when they are published, it is impossible to calculate. Even Dr. Hamilton (who had written a pamphlet against it) was obliged to confess that it was *not so bad a doctrine as he had supposed*." He could add that "every witness has been enabled to prove the honesty of my answers, — those for the prosecution as well as those for the defense." The evidence somewhat modified the tone of the Presbytery, and they agreed to postpone giving judgment until the case had been printed, so that they could peruse it at leisure. It was, however, a "foregone conclusion." On the 29th of March, 1831, the Presbytery found the libel "*proven*," by the former majority of eleven to two, — the dissenting minority, of course, appealing to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which met on the 14th of April, and came to no formal decision, and referred the matter to the approaching General Assembly, to be held, as usual, in Edinburgh, in the end of May. Mr. Campbell's able and comprehensive speech before this Synod, which occupied five hours in delivery, is somewhat unique in ecclesiastical controversy, from its deep spirituality, elevation, and Christian calmness of tone, and the self-forgetting enthusiasm which enabled him to lay stress on the truth he desired to commend to his brethren, rather than on his own personal relation to it, and to their verdict. It also was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form, and is in the writer's possession. It is a very clear and spiritual exposition of his views, — *too* spiritual, doubtless, for the majority of those to whom it was addressed, even as the speaker was a minister of an uncommon type in Scotland at that time. It also gave an admirable presentation of the relation of a church to its Standards, — such

as is not so novel *now* as it was then. Throughout the whole controversy, Mr. Campbell, in common with his deeply interested friend, Mr. Erskine, had to bear the penalty — common to men greatly in advance of their age — of being misconceived and misconstrued; but they also shared the honor of being among the first to inaugurate a clearer vision and a higher tone of thought. To show the spirit of this speech a few sentences may be quoted, the first referring to the objection taken to the doctrine of a Universal Atonement, on the ground of the doctrine of Election: —

“Unless I can believe that things continually happen *against* the will of God, I can have no reason to believe that God is good or holy. I would, therefore, seek to bring men, when they oppose the doctrine that Christ died for all, to follow up their objections, and see that their whole difficulty resolves itself into a principle, which, if it were held consistently, would cause men to deny all moral character to God. I have never heard a word quoted from the book of God which it was even pretended was a positive limitation of the death of Christ, — and the difficulty expressed has been, not the authority of statements in the Word of God, saying that Christ has not died for all, but this, — that it was not easy to understand how God should love *all* and *some* should perish. Now, I say, let it be distinctly known what this amounts to, — let men know where they are going. It leads to this, that God has no moral character; that all events are alike pleasing to God; and the charitable man and the barbarous murderer are alike, according to God’s will. *It ends there, and nowhere else.*” And in reference to the attitude which a Christian church should take towards her own definition of truth, he says: “When the church says to both ministers and people, ‘This is my Confession of Faith; if anything in it appear to you inconsistent with the Word of God, I am prepared to go with you to the Word of God to settle the matter,’ then does the church speak according to her place. But if, instead of this, she says, ‘This I have fixed to be the meaning of the Word of God, and you cannot take any other meaning without being excluded from her communion; and to entitle me so to exclude you, I do not need to prove to you that what you hold and teach is contrary to the Scriptures; it is quite enough to say that it is contrary to my Confession of Faith,’ — I say, if the church use this language, she no longer remembers her place as the church. Is the Church of Scotland not bound by the principle now set forth? Does she regard herself as the church? and, if so, what constitutes her the church? What is

the inspired definition of the church? Not that she is a body formed by Act of Parliament, but that she is 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'"

We are growing towards this conception to-day; but that we have not yet generally attained to it is evident from too many needlessly vexatious prosecutions for "heresy." How far the spirit of Mr. Campbell's words is from being the spirit of the church even now is evinced by the fact that the General Assembly of a large Presbyterian Church on this continent, not long ago, went even *farther* than the Assembly which condemned Mr. Campbell, inasmuch as they excluded from their *communion* several earnest *lay*-Christians, because they held and freely expressed a view of Christian perfection almost identical with that of the saintly Wesley, but which the Assembly held to be incompatible with the language of the Confession. And this wrong, as not a few of the members of that church hold it to be, has never been righted, nor even publicly protested against even by those who have most been generally regarded as the champions of toleration. It is scarcely surprising, then, that Mr. Campbell's liberal view found no response, and that, notwithstanding his own and Mr. Story's addresses, and also that of his excellent counsel, who bore the now illustrious name of *Thomas Carlyle*, the speeches of the members of the Synod indicated anything rather than openness of mind and brotherly feeling. They were, in fact, actuated by that bitter animosity towards their blameless brother which is one of the most painful features of the whole case. One minister was "shocked at being 'bearded by the appellants' in defending their views," and added, with a curious naïveté, "I understand that there were some attempts to pray that we should be enlightened on the subject. The thing is perfectly shocking; there is nonsense on the face of it." Another clergyman spoke of the defender as "having polluted the whole country with his heresy," which had already been branded as "serpent doctrines." After the result in the Synod there was little to hope for in the Assembly. The prejudice and misconception had been growing and widening. Few took the trouble to examine the matter at first hand. There had been a "war of pamphlets," bitterly attacking Mr. Campbell, one having so far prejudiced the case as to stigmatize Mr. Campbell's teaching, in advance, as the "Row Heresy;" and though both Mr. Erskine and Mr. Story had worked valiantly with tongue and pen in his behalf, both were too much under the same condemnation to allow their efforts much weight in the mind eccle-

siastical. Moreover, other causes coöperated only to strengthen the prejudice. Rumors of Mr. Irving's extravagant views regarding the millennium, and of the strange manifestations afterwards known as the "gifts of tongues," — which first appeared in Mr. Story's parish in the vicinity of Row, and was most erroneously supposed to have been connected with the minister, Mr. Campbell, who *never indorsed them*, — seem to have caused a sort of panic as an "outbreak of heresy," which must be sternly suppressed. Dr. Chalmers, already the friend of Mr. Erskine, might have done much to avert the result, had he chosen to exert his great influence, but though he told Mr. Campbell that he "hoped he might be got through," he seems to have declined even to be a member of Assembly, and to have not even been in Edinburgh at the time of its meeting, maintaining a disappointing, Gallio-like attitude towards the matter. He was much absorbed at the time in his opposition to the Reform Bill, and in getting out his treatise on "Political Economy," and apparently he could not spare the time to master the merits of a case so intimately connected with the most vital doctrine of Christianity. His biographer tells us that, though "he was not an unmoved spectator," he "preserved an unbroken silence," and that on the very day when the Assembly was discussing the case, he wrote to a friend: "*It would have required a whole month* to have mastered the recent authorship on these topics, and to have *prepared myself for taking part in the deliberations of the Assembly* in regard to them." It may seem strange that, having already read with "delight" Mr. Erskine's book on the "Freeness of the Gospel," containing views so identical with those of Mr. Campbell, he might not have been able to ascertain the latter with a less expenditure of time; but, at least, the members of Assembly generally did not share the modesty of his hesitation. Seldom has any case of such deep and solemn importance — involving the church's interpretation of the reference of the death of Christ — been disposed of with such rash and indecent haste. The *day* of the discussion was occupied with the *relevancy* of the Libel, that is, the question as to the heterodoxy of the doctrines specified. The evidence taken before the Presbytery — Mr. Campbell's answers, etc. — formed a volume of more than four hundred pages, which was supplied to the members for their perusal and, by most of them, Mr. Story tells us, "transferred to their pockets." When the evening sitting opened, only a minority of the members was present. Most of them, wearied with the day's discussion, had retired at its close,

believing that the case would not be proceeded with on that day. When, on returning next morning, they found out how hastily the matter had been concluded, one distinguished member indignantly said to the Moderator: "Why, sir, I should as soon have expected, on my return to this house, to find yourself deposed, as Mr. Campbell of Row!"

It was long after midnight when the merits of the case, as it concerned Mr. Campbell, were entered upon, and before the returning daylight it was hurriedly concluded, on the plea that the Assembly had such a press of business before them that it could not afford to waste more time on the case. The defenses and appeals were heard, and, as soon as the pleading was over, without further discussion, it was moved and seconded that Mr. Campbell be forthwith deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. A milder resolution — that of suspension — was moved and seconded. Before the motions were put to the house, Mr. Campbell's aged father, himself a member of Assembly, addressed it in a touching speech, from which the following closing words are quoted: —

"You have heard Mr. Campbell this day, in his own defense, and he has told you that he just teaches that God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish; and with regard to Universal Pardon, he has told you that he just means by it 'that sinners may come to God, through Christ, as to a reconciled Father.' Now, I am sure, there is none among us all who has anything to say against this. And with regard to Assurance, sir, what he says is this, that a skeptic is not a Christian, — that doubting God is not believing Him. And I am sure, sir, that I never heard any preacher more earnestly and powerfully recommending holiness of heart and life. I do not stand here to deprecate your wrath. I bow to any decision to which you may think it right to come. Moderator, I am not afraid for my son. Though his brethren cast him out, the Master whom he serves will not forsake him, and while I live I will never be ashamed to be the father of so holy and blameless a son."

Words so solemn and affecting might well have made even theologians pause before proceeding to an extreme step. But as soon as they had been uttered the vote was taken, — only 125 voting out of an Assembly of more than 300, — the sentence of deposition being carried by a majority of 119 to 6.

Many wrongs have been done in the name of religion, but it is

doubtful whether any more flagrant than this has been done in modern times by any Protestant church. We, in the clearer light of to-day, can see that the church was really guilty of the sin of *schism* in cutting off from her ministry so holy an apostle of the everlasting gospel. "Corporations," we are told, "have no souls," and the same seems often to be the case with church courts, in which, as Mr. Story remarked in this case, "men go in bodies like a flock of sheep." But the Nemesis which so surely follows wrong may visit a corporation as well as an individual. And with the solemn warnings addressed to the churches of the Apocalypse before us, it is not out of place to note that the very men most active and determined in prosecuting Mr. Campbell were also leaders in that great schism which only a few years later rent in twain the Church of Scotland, — a schism which, while overruled for good in external reforms and increased activity, yet, by the bitter and un-Christian animosity which it caused, retarded for many a day the leavening influence in Scotland of that gospel of love and peace of which John McLeod Campbell was so earnest and faithful a witness.

Agnes Maule Machar.

AN ORGANIZED REVIVAL AMONG THE YOUNG.

A HAPPY trend of the times is the tendency to manage Christian work by business methods, to introduce the plans of the counting-house and the factory, spiritualized and adapted to the work of Christ, into the church and her agencies. This tendency is especially seen in the training of the young and in all methods of Christian nurture. Earnest pastors have long felt the necessity of revivifying and quickening the young people's prayer-meeting, of setting the young people at work as soon as they come into the Christian life, of utilizing their force and energy in all its freshness and vigor.

The early months of the Christian life have been truly considered to be the most critical. It takes but few weeks to set the mortar. When the twig has been bent for a little while the tree is inclined for a lifetime of Christian activity or religious indifference. These facts have been felt with increasing power by the ministers of the present generation, and there has been a strong and growing desire to solve the problems which these facts impose.

For years questions of Christian nurture have been uppermost in all ecclesiastical assemblies. "How to win the Children for Christ," "How to train the Boys and Girls," "How to lead the Young Men and Women into the Kingdom," — these have been questions which, in one form or another, have engaged the attention of almost every conference and council for the last score of years. They simply indicate the direction of thought and the conditions of religious life which were pressing themselves upon the attention of pastors and Christian workers.

The Christian Endeavor Society in its beginning was a humble attempt to solve these pressing problems. They weighed upon the heart of a pastor in Portland, in common with a multitude of others, some eleven years ago. Many young people had been brought into the kingdom and had given good evidence of being Christ's disciples. He greatly desired that they should not be drones in the church hive, but active workers. His experience in bringing young people into the church in previous years had not been altogether hopeful. Few of them had lived up to their church covenant, and there seemed to be very little help in the economy of the church for the development of their Christian life. To be sure there was the preaching service, which they could attend, the Sunday-school, and the mid-week prayer-meeting. They had also the young people's prayer-meeting, which sometimes in the glow of revival interest reached summer heat, but which during a good portion of the year was registered by the prayer-meeting thermometer as not very far from freezing point. It was an average young people's meeting, but was attended by comparatively few, for the most part those called "young people" by courtesy. It was not a vital part of the church life. Other plans were tried, such as a pastor's catechetical class, a Pilgrim's Progress Band, a "Mizpah Circle" for missionary effort, and many such devices to interest and hold the young people to the heart of the church.

These plans, however, were only measurably successful. There seemed to be some binding force lacking in all these methods. There was little *staying power* about them. While they were fresh and new they seemed to be helpful, but as soon as they lost their novelty they lost their power over the hearts of the young Christians. How to supply this element of continued and consecrated interest and attractiveness caused many anxious hours on the part of that pastor, and the solution which he found for these difficulties he called the "Young People's Society of Christian

Endeavor of the Williston Church." The underlying features of this new organization were the prayer-meeting pledge, the consecration service, and the lookout committee. The prayer-meeting pledge, it was hoped, would give stability to the young people's prayer-meeting, by making it not a spasmodic thing dependent upon the weather, the moods of the young people, and their religious temperature for the time being, but a meeting of continuous power, where the word "duty" would be substituted for the word "feeling;" a meeting which the young people would attend because it was right to attend it, and because such a meeting was necessary to their religious growth; because they had promised to attend it, rather than because they felt just like it at the moment.

But if there was to be a pledge, it must be kept. A disregarded pledge would be worse than none. A promise taken only to be broken would deaden the sense of honor in the young Christian's heart. It could hardly be expected that all these young Christians could be safely left to themselves in time of temptation or religious indifference to remember and fulfill their obligations, so the Lookout Committee was the natural sequence of the pledge. It was the duty of this committee to see that those who joined the society as active members understood the pledge and signed it knowing what they were doing, and also to see that they kept it when they had signed it. But how, among so large a number of young people, could the Lookout Committee know who were faithful and who were not? A general observance of, and acquaintance with, the habits of members could tell them much about this, but at the consecration meeting, which was to be held once a month, something more could be known than in any other way in regard to the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the young disciples. At this meeting the roll was to be called, and each one must respond to it in some way. If he were absent, the Lookout Committee was to find out the reason for his absence, and if willfully persistent in disregarding his covenant obligations with the society, his name was to be dropped from the roll after three consecutive absences from these consecration meetings. This dropping out of the society was not to be considered, and has never been considered, in the light of excommunication from a church, nor was moral opprobrium attached to it.

Any one can leave the society at any time when he feels that his duty is elsewhere, or that he does not need the influences of the organization. His own request, if he has a good reason, is sufficient to take his name from the roll, nor can he long be unfaith-

ful to his vows and remain an active member of the society. Thus the society is constantly kept free from drones, and the active membership is not only active in name, but in deed, and the pledge becomes something more than a formula, it becomes a necessity to membership.

Although very much is made of the prayer-meeting, the Society of Christian Endeavor is not merely a prayer-meeting society. It has been sneeringly called this by some persons who have not understood its scope and mission. We have seen no reason to resent this insinuation, for if it had only rejuvenated the young people's prayer-meeting and accomplished nothing else, it could not be said to have been born in vain.

But its outreach is much greater than the prayer-meeting. There is no department of church work among young people which it is not meant to strengthen and revivify. This particular work it accomplishes through the committees, which are an essential feature in a Christian Endeavor Society. It gives every man his work. It divides the religious tasks of the young people and places them upon many shoulders. It increases the responsibility which each one feels for some particular branch of the church work. Frequently, a debilitating influence of organization is that it takes the sense of responsibility from individual shoulders, and centres it upon the organization as such. The Christian Endeavor Society attempts to remedy this evil by insisting in every way upon *individual*, personal responsibility. The calling of the roll at the consecration meeting emphasizes this. The dividing of the societies into committees of five, for different branches of work, adds to the emphasis. The monthly written reports, which are required of each committee, plainly indicate that they are appointed for some particular purpose, and that they are negligent of a duty to which they are called and chosen of God, as well as man, unless they have a worthy account to give of their stewardship. The importance of the Lookout Committee, of the Prayer-Meeting Committee, and of the Social Committee cannot be overestimated. The former has a most delicate task committed to it, of keeping the members of the society true to their covenant obligations, so far as any outside influence can thus keep them true. Its duties have already been explained to some extent. The Prayer-Meeting Committee has for its duty to make in every way the very most of the young people's prayer-meeting, to promote faithfulness to the pledge, and in conjunction with the Lookout Committee to provide topics and leaders for the meeting, and should

- never rest satisfied until the young people's meeting has reached the highest point of efficiency and practical value. The Social Committee has for its duty the large task of making the young people acquainted one with another, and especially the responsibility of bringing the "wall flowers" out of their chosen obscurity. In addition to these committees, which are essential to every society, almost any amount of work can be undertaken by the Sunday-school, Temperance, Missionary, Relief, Calling, Flower, and Good Literature committees, whose very names indicate the purpose of their existence.

When we look upon the history of these past eleven years, it is not a difficult matter to understand why the movement has been blessed of God. Very little human wisdom is found in the beginnings of the society or in its development. It has been led of God, and has gone into all parts of the earth because sent by God. If we inquire reverently why it has been blessed, I think we shall find that it is largely because it is a spiritual organization, because it has dared to say to the young people, "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness;" because it has been uncompromising in its call to duty; because it has attempted always to raise the spiritual standard of the lives of the young people higher and higher; because it has made of their religion not one thing among a great many others, but *THE* one important and preëminent thing.

Again, the movement has been blessed by Divine Providence because it seeks to promote intelligent religious service. Any one who has much to do with young people realizes how much ill-directed effort is largely put forth. How many are disappointed in their efforts to do the Master's work simply because they do not adapt their means to the ends to be gained, because they do not summon their resources and bring their intellects to the front, but believe that Divine Providence will take care of the church and her affairs, however foolishly they may be conducted. I received a letter not long ago, proposing that the Christian Endeavor societies have for their mission: 1st. To provide for the poor and destitute people of our great cities. 2d. To relieve the famine-stricken people of Russia. 3d. To provide a national fund to be used, in case of another European war, for the needs of widows and orphans who might be made so by the war; and 4th, to provide a home on Gethsemane for all the outcast and downcast and wretched on the face of the earth. That was the little plan which my correspondent had in mind, and he closed his letter, as such people almost always close their letters, by saying, "Who knows but what the Christian

Endeavor Society has come to the Kingdom for just such a time as this." Such an absolutely impractical and absurd scheme shows a good heart and a weak brain. This young man had spent all his fortune in printing circulars, and in trying to push this scheme upon the public. How much his energy, and that of thousands like him, might accomplish, if discretion, wisdom, and energy were well united!

It is the hope of the Christian Endeavor movement to increase the intellectual application of business principles to the service of Christ. Every society is a manual or industrial training-school. Every junior society is a kindergarten for religious training. Every committee is a class-room for some practical branch of religious work. Every prayer-meeting is a school for expression or confession of Christ.

Again, we can fairly say that the society has been prospered as it has because the young people belonging to it are so winsome in the exhibition of their religious lives. There is nothing long-faced or melancholy about their whole-hearted service for Christ. There is no audience more inspiring from the very winsomeness of those gathered together than a great Christian Endeavor convention. Moreover, I believe that this earnest service in which the young people are engaged is doing very much to solve perplexing questions of doubtful amusements and matters of Christian casuistry, which are continually giving the young disciples so much trouble. "I will delight myself within thy statutes," says the Psalmist. These young disciples have found that there is plenty of room within the statutes of God for all that makes life worth living, without resorting to the public saloon, the card-table, or the low theatre for their enjoyment.

Once more, the spirit of loyalty involved in the fundamental features of the movement constitutes a reason why it has been so eminently prospered. The following is the pledge to which allusion has already been made more than once in this article. "Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him I will strive to do whatever He would like to have me do; that I will make it the rule of my life to pray and read the Bible every day, and to support my own church in every way, especially by attending all her Sunday and mid-week services, unless prevented by some reason which I can conscientiously give to my Saviour, and that, just so far as I know how, throughout my whole life, I will endeavor to lead a Christian life. As an active member I promise to be true to all my duties, to be present at and to take

some part aside from singing in every Christian Endeavor prayer-meeting, unless hindered by some reason which I can conscientiously give to my Lord and Master. If obliged to be absent from the monthly consecration meeting of the society I will, if possible, send at least a verse of Scripture to be read in response to my name at the roll call." Those who examine this pledge will see that in every part it is simply a promise of loyalty to some duties which are naturally incumbent upon every young Christian. First, that of private devotion involved in daily reading the Bible and prayer; second, the duty of supporting one's own church; and third, the duty of publicly confessing Christ before men. When the pledge is analyzed it will be seen that these three obligations are fundamental and essential, that these are the only ones, and that each one is a thought of loyalty to a genuine religious duty.

Lastly, the history of these eleven years makes it evident that the movement has been blessed as it has because it affords room for so much of genuine brotherhood and fellowship between the denominations. The young people of the different sects which have entered so heartily into the Christian Endeavor movement can never look askance at each other in the future. The thought of a quarrel between denominations that are here largely represented seems quite out of the question among those who are now the young people of our churches, for they have come to know each other better, to learn each other's ways, and to see that the children of God are found in every fold that acknowledges the one Shepherd. The Christian Endeavor movement, without weakening their fidelity to their own church and denomination, has broadened their outlook and vastly quickened their love one for another. The old hymn that the churches have been singing for so many years, —

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love,"

has come to mean something to hundreds of thousands of disciples that it has never meant before. In thirty different denominations is the movement making rapid headway. In most of them it is practically the only young people's society. It has bound the hearts of the young disciples in this country to the hearts of those in other lands, not only where the common English tongue is spoken, but to those in all foreign lands where our missionaries have gone. It has quickened the interest of the young people in every missionary enterprise, as the very numerous contributions, which every missionary board acknowledges from Christian En-

deavor societies, indicate. It has emphasized the idea that in the republic of God are found all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

It is no exaggeration to say that nearly a million young people are looking forward to the great convention which will be held next July in New York with eager interest. At least 25,000 of them anticipate being present at this convention, and all will feel the impetus of the great gathering. Their older friends, pastors, and teachers, who are able to be present on that occasion, as they see the solid ranks of young men and women from all parts of the country, who have come together for this purely religious gathering, and for the stimulus and uplift which it will give, will go away from Madison Square Garden, I believe, convinced that the gospel of Christ is not losing its hold upon the young people of the present generation; that to be a Christian never meant so much as it means now; that in the best sense of the word the religion of Christ, with its confessions and its sacrifices, its self-denial and its heroism, was never so popular as it is to-day; and that the prophecy of Isaiah was never so near fulfillment: "Fear not; for I am with thee: I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west: I will say to the north, give up; and to the south, keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth."

Francis E. Clark.

AUBURNDALE, MASS.

REALITY IN THE PULPIT.

REALITY is nowhere greater than in the pulpit. It is nowhere more essential. The power of the pulpit is the presence of reality. The weakness of the pulpit is the absence of reality. Instinctively, men recognize its presence and respond to its power whether or not they can tell whence it is; on the other hand, men are no less quick to feel its absence and to detect its weakness, even though they cannot explain what is the matter. A preacher may or may not possess resources of culture and gifts of speech, but if his preaching has the charm of reality men will listen to him. "Let a man be a true preacher, really uttering the truth through his own personality, and it is strange how men will gather to listen to him."¹

¹ Phillips Brooks's *Lectures on Preaching*.

And at no time has the demand for reality in the pulpit been more insistent than it is to-day. The authority of the scribes and Pharisees is not revered; the robe of the priest is not regarded; the odor of sanctity will not do; the personality of the *man* alone wins the respect of men; reality therefore is the preacher's sceptre, — the only insignia of royalty that command unquestioning homage. Men want *real* preaching, and they know when they have it.

Confident as I am that reality is the essential quality, "the inexorable condition of preaching," I attempt to define it with diffidence. It is not a simple matter to analyze primary elements; it is always easier to say what they are not than to define what they are. In speaking of reality, one appreciates with a keener sympathy the embarrassment of the schoolboy who defined salt as "that which makes a potato taste bad when there ain't any on it," — not an exact definition, perhaps, and yet profoundly true! Reality, like salt, is most obvious when it is not present, and nowhere is its absence more painfully apparent than in the pulpit, for reality is the *salt* of preaching.

1. A dreary sense of unreality sometimes steals over the preacher in his work; he is dealing with "things unseen:" with God and the laws of his spiritual kingdom, with man and the needs of his spiritual being, — are they eternal, *are* they real? He often declares that the things unseen are eternal and more real than the things seen and temporal, indeed, that the former constitute the only reality; but he would not be mortal man if he did not sometimes let slip his own sense of their reality, and wonder if after all sermons are not "of such stuff as dreams are made on." He cannot always keep feeling attuned to expression, and expression exactly commensurate with conviction. If he is a sensitive man of somewhat mobile temperament, he will be startled and shocked sometimes to find himself saying what he is sure he does not feel, and is not sure that he believes. He is preaching because Sunday morning has come and he is in the pulpit. As a messenger, he cannot have an invariable imperative, or, as a herald, a constant joy; he cannot know much of the results of his work. Is it strange that he is sometimes overwhelmed by a dreary sense of its unreality? And then he seeks relief from this stultifying consciousness by reaching after something tangible, until he can say, Here is something which at least I am sure of, — something I can make real to others. It may be some commonplace of ethics, a social obligation, or an individual sin; it has

grown out of his experience and observation, and, so far as it goes, is real. In preaching this, he finds a certain sort of reality, but he knows that it is not the reality of preaching. It is not enough that a sermon be true; it is its element of *revealed* truth which makes it a sermon. A sermon has to do with spiritual facts and forces, and there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that spiritual preaching is opposed to real preaching. The fact is — and in his heart of hearts the preacher knows it — preaching is most real when it is most spiritual. A sermon has reality as a sermon when it awakens the spirit of man with the sensation of Jacob's dream: "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not!" The great preachers have been the spiritual preachers, — men who have ushered the soul into the very presence of God, making the things unseen and eternal, luminous and real. "With all the sordidness of our time," says a great living preacher, "the preachers that have been the most powerful have been the most spiritual." Obviously, then, the sense of reality in preaching can be recovered only by a clearer vision and a firmer grasp of spiritual verities; the preacher who seeks reality by preaching something else, however true, will not find the reality of preaching. He is seeking the right thing, but he is not seeking it in the right way. He is true to the preacher's instinct, but he can never satisfy it with anything unworthy of itself.

"Our preachers having got rid of the Christian doctrines by means of the higher criticism, wrote Dr. Tholuck ¹ to Dr. Pusey, are now insisting with much earnestness upon the importance of taking regular exercise." This bit of fine irony, I hardly need add, does not describe real preaching. I do not mean that a preacher may not seek reality with healthful and wholesome relief, after breathing the rarer atmosphere of spiritual heights, by treading some path of common experience, still less that the true preacher has nothing to do with the common things of a man's daily interests, and of man's relation to man, — not at all. I am only saying, what I believe the experience of every preacher confirms, that abiding reality and deep satisfaction in preaching is found only when he stands and speaks with something of the prophet's "Thus saith the Lord." The real preacher is the prophet, that is, one who speaks *forth*, *for* God, who interprets God. He may find occasional relief for himself and much edification for his hearers in discussing current events and what not, but as a minister of the Word he cannot find profound satisfaction

¹ Quoted by Liddon in his *Elements of Religion*.

in preaching everything except the Word ; he will therefore seek reality more and more by seeking to preach the Word more and more largely. His only refuge from the dreadful sense of unreality is not in abandoning the spiritual world, but by clinging, with whatever hold he has upon it, the more tenaciously. When he has gotten hold of some truth of Revelation with so firm a grasp that it has become his own, when he gives it to men with the firm conviction that it is God's, so that he can say, "What I am saying is God's word and God's will, I speak from God" — then does not the preacher find reality in his work? Only as a man speaks out of the direct, intimate personal apprehension of spiritual truth, and not as the scribes, will he know what it is to preach ; for real preaching is speaking *from God*.

2. But real preaching is also speaking *to men*. It is not enough that what he says is true of God, he must make it real to men. It is the preacher's business to make connection between truth and life. It is not enough, therefore, that the sermon corresponds to some revealed truth ; it must come into touch with actual life. If the sermon fails to make this connection, it fails utterly as a sermon, whatever else it may be. Real preaching will find some point of contact with real life. It will, to borrow Coleridge's vigorous word, *find* men. The startled question : "Whence knowest thou me?" is the best compliment a preacher can receive. A sermon upon any text or theme, however remote it seems from a practical purpose, will save itself from littleness and unreality by reaching out for the broader relations of common experience ; by touching some fundamental chord of human nature, some primary feeling of the heart. And whenever the preacher succeeds in finding one of these chords which responds to the simplest touch, and thrills with the universal melody, then he has the charm and the power of reality, and however simple, he is really great. It is essential, then, to reality —

(1.) That the preacher know men ; not only man, but men, real men. And he needs to know them well. He may or may not study the characters of Shakespeare, but he must know the folks in his own parish. He ought to know what they are thinking about, and what they are doing, from one week's end to another. Is he speaking to real men and women, to real boys and girls? So far as his sermons portray human action and experience, do they reflect the life and inner motive of the hearer so faithfully and vividly that he sees as in a mirror his own image? It is such accurate and searching knowledge of men that gives the

impression of reality. He who spoke as never man spake knew what was in man. But many a sermon of ours lacks reality because it is not the complement of any real need ; it does not correspond to any actual experience ; it does not answer any living question ; it does not satisfy any flickering aspiration ; it does not fit into anybody's *life*. I think it is Thomas Hughes who said of the second Bishop of Manchester, who selected his residence in the heart of the busy, smoky city in preference to the quiet, picturesque country-seat occupied by his predecessor, that although his lordship was a keen lover of nature, yet "Humanity was his blue sky."

Akin to this love of human nature is interest in the actual and present life of men in the world. A recent writer declares that the church has thrown around the Christian religion an "other-worldliness" which has depreciated it in the judgment of matter-of-fact men of the counting-room, the shop, and the factory ; whatever advantage may accrue to the believer in distant ages beyond the grave, they are in the habit of looking for immediate returns. Practical in every other concern of life, they want a religion that has some relation to things seen and temporal. This is no contradiction of our statement that men respond to spiritual preaching. Christ spoke of eternal life as present rather than future. The real preacher will be characterized by an intense this-worldliness. "A man's study should be everywhere, in the house, in the streets, in the fields, and in the busy haunts of men."¹ And this leads us to emphasize a kindred element of reality.

(2.) An earnest, practical purpose gives reality to a sermon. Men are quick to detect the tone of preaching. They like what they call "practical sermons." (What preacher has not been humiliated by the popular reversal of his own estimate of his work ? The great sermon fell flat, and great was the fall of it ; while the unassuming sermon, — plain, simple, and direct, — though its author took small account of it, was so gratefully and so unduly honored !) Men like practical sermons, they do not like what they term "doctrinal preaching." When they see that the preacher evidently cares more for his truth than for their life ; when the proposition is evidently dearer to him than the conclusion, the sermon fails, and it ought to fail. There is, of course, no real opposition between the practical and the doctrinal, but rather a vital relation ; to every truth belongs its duty, and every duty

¹ Beecher's *Yale Lectures on Preaching*.

has its sanction of truth. And yet the common instinct which condemns so-called doctrinal preaching is right in the main, though it does not accurately define what it condemns. "When I begin to tell men about Christ as if that they should know the truth about Him, and not that they should become what knowing the truth about Him would help them to be, do I begin to preach doctrine in the wrong way, which men are trying to describe when they talk about doctrinal teaching?"¹ There is an old gentleman who rarely fails to felicitate his pastor on the fact that he no longer hears the doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, etc., proclaimed from the pulpit! If; as I would believe, what he really means is, that he is no longer beaten from the pulpit with the butt end of a dogma, — if the anatomy of theology is taught only for the sake of the hygiene of Christianity, and if he does not see the articulation of the sermon — skeleton because it is clothed in flesh and blood, — well and good. But if it is really true that the sermon of to-day has no bone and sinew of Christian doctrine, it may well be questioned how much occasion there is for congratulation.

(8.) The preacher may know men, may have a quick sympathy with them, may speak to them with a practical purpose, and yet fail of making the vital connection between the truth and the life, because these elements of reality are lost in more or less degree in the medium of communication. An air of unreality often envelops the sermon because of something utterly unnatural and unreal in the form of expression.² There is, for example, much in the way of illustration that only succeeds in producing an impression of unreality, because it is so remote from the common experience. The preacher goes to ancient history for his heroes, and betrays greater familiarity with mythology than with common life. He deals with the exceptional and the unusual more often than with the average and the familiar. His good and bad men are taken from public life or from the stage; his Dives is richer by far, and his Lazarus more abjectly poor, than anybody in the community. "It is so much easier," as George Eliot says,

¹ Phillips Brooks's *Lectures on Preaching*.

² I must quote a delicious bit of homiletics from Miss Slosson's *Fishin' Jimmy*: —

"I thought I'd jest see what this man'd preach about, an' I settled down to liss'n to the sarm'n. *But there wa'n't no sarm'n*; not what I'd been raised to think was the on'y true kind. There wa'n't no heads, no fustlys nor sec'ndlys, nor fin'ly bruthrins, but the first thing I knowed I was hearin' a story, an' 't was a fishin' story."

"to say that a thing is *black*, than to discriminate the particular shade of brown, blue, or green to which it really belongs." But if one would paint from nature, it is necessary to distinguish natural shades and mix your paints with fidelity, even at the sacrifice of striking effects. When the dramatic incident, suggesting a book of sermon-illustrations, abounds, and the homely figure, implying a keen eye and a warm heart, is rare, the sermon has the artistic effect of a chromo. When the preacher revels in the grandeur of the distant Alps, which no one of his hearers perhaps ever saw, and overlooks the quieter beauty of the neighboring hills, dear as they are to those born under their shadow, he gains nothing in reality; when the thunder of the inevitable Niagara reverberates from the pulpit which is deaf to the melody of the mill-stream, singing by the door, nothing is gained in power. In the single matter of illustration the preacher has much to learn from his Master. Who has not felt the Master's skill in illustration; how beautifully and deftly the common and familiar is woven into his public speech? His marvelous parables are the vivid pictures of homely occupations, in which we see the sower, the shepherd, or the housewife. The wedding-feast, the market-place, and the vineyard are common scenes in the play of his thought; the growing grain, the lily of the field, the birds of the air, are familiar figures. What a charm of reality these life-like forms must have given to his speech! — a charm that does not fail for us to whom the Oriental setting is less familiar.

In listening to public speech, has the reader never felt the great force that lies in a homely word, a familiar illustration, aptly and handily introduced? The philosophy of it is not far to seek: —

"We 're so made that we love

First, when we see them painted, things we 've passed

Perhaps a thousand times, nor cared to see."¹

3. When old Lisbeth retorted: "Ay, ay, that 's the way wi' thee: thee allays makes a peck o' thy own words out o' a pint o' the Bible's," she may have thought that Seth Bede would make an excellent commentator, but she certainly did not describe a good preacher. A sermon is more than a multiplication of the words of the text; the preacher is more than an automatic mouth-piece of the truth. "The truth must come really through the person, not merely over his lips, not merely into his understand-

¹ See Stalker's *Imago Christi*, chapter, Christ the Preacher.

ing and out through his pen. It must come genuinely through him ! ”¹ The preacher’s message may be true ; it may be a practical truth ; but it will never have the charm of reality and the power to move others until it is real to himself, and the fact that the truth he declares is real to him is the secret of his power to make it real to others. “ Truth through personality is our description of real preaching.”² “ Preaching is the truth plus the man.”

The question is frequently raised, whether the place of the pulpit is a permanent one among the changing conditions of modern life ? A current religious periodical has sought replies to the query, “ Is it worth while to go on preaching ? ” and an editorial in a Boston daily paper, which lies before me as I write, discusses jauntily the decline in the “ Response to Preaching.” But all such questions and discussions overlook the vital fact of *personality* in its connection between truth and life ; truth is transmuted into life only through personality ; once let a truth find utterance through a genuine personality, how men will listen ! It is the divine law of Inspiration and Revelation, the way God has chosen to make truth real to men, and it is a way that will not become obsolete so long as man is man. We need have no fear that the eternal principle of the Incarnation is being superseded by the activity of the modern printing-press. The only occasion for anxiety is when the truth ceases to be real to the preacher, for then, and only then, will it fail of becoming real to other men.

Just here many a conscientious preacher is met by a problem : “ I am a preacher of the gospel,” he says, “ and as such I have a certain message to deliver, with a definite content ; but there are some parts of this message, constituent and important, I doubt not, which, nevertheless, have little or no reality for me ; shall I attempt to preach these ? ” This is indeed a serious question, and under certain circumstances may become a trying and painful one ; but I think there is no doubt of the true answer. It is really a question of choice between symmetry and sincerity, and there can be no hesitation in choosing sincerity at the cost of symmetry. It may very rightly become a question whether I can preach the gospel at all, but it can never be a question with me *what* of the gospel I shall preach, for *I* can really preach only that which is real to *me*. So long as I know in part, I must prophesy in part, and it is a great comfort when one is keenly conscious how inadequately he is preaching, that even St. Paul said : “ So,

¹ Phillips Brooks’s *Lectures on Preaching*.

² *Ibid*.

as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel." So, I am required to preach only "as much as in me is"? Yes! thank God for Paul's measure of duty! And, sooner or later, the preacher will learn for himself not only that he is not expected to preach more than is in him, but that it is useless to attempt it; nay, strictly speaking, he *cannot*, — he cannot give what he does not possess.

But this thought has a more inspiring side; not only is it true that the preacher cannot make real to others more than is real to himself, but it is certain that in preaching a truth which is most real to himself, he is giving the fullest expression to *the* truth. "A preacher can, if he will, declare the truth, but not the whole truth, or rather the whole truth will best get a hearing through him as he preaches that truth most real to him, with all his might. Mere completeness is only another name for the commonplace."

I have heard of a preacher of no unusual gifts, who nevertheless wields a very unusual power. His sermons are exercising a wider influence than their rhetorical merits justify; his words carry great weight; and the reason assigned for this rare power is, that throughout the years of his long pastorate he has been scrupulous to say nothing he does not thoroughly believe; but is not that reason enough? Such a course might narrow the scope of a man's preaching, but it must deepen its power. Let a man speak out of the living experience and apprehension of truth, and his words will be endowed with power, confined by no limitations of talent or culture; the fire of reality breaks through disguises, shines out of idiosyncrasy, transfigures awkwardness, and kindles conviction. In the long run, reality is an exact criterion of a preacher's influence, the law of his duty, and the reach of his power. Peter's words to the lame man at the gate of the temple are the measure of both the obligation and the influence of every preacher: "What I have, that give I thee."

Our imperfect description of reality in the pulpit is done; to gather up our thought in fewest words: *real preaching is speaking from God, to men, through the man.*

Charles H. Cutler.

BANGOR, ME.

THE GREEK QUESTION AT CAMBRIDGE.

SELDOM has the scholastic world of England been more deeply stirred by the reappearance of an old, old question than in the past few months. The war was neither new nor unexpected; fought out with old weapons and time-honored tactics, it has excited a greater interest than ever before. Scarcely a new argument has been advanced on either side, and yet the conflict could hardly have waged more hotly, nor to a more decisive issue. Here, we have barely known of the fray; even Oxford was a mere spectator, unmoved by the struggle at Cambridge, —

"Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri
Per campos instructa, tua sine parte pericli."

In this, its most recent form, the Greek question owes its main impulse to a meeting of the headmasters of the "public schools" at Oxford in December, 1890. It is not that the headmasters pretend to dictate to the universities, although they have been accused of something akin to dictation. At all events, the whole controversy shows how great the reflex influence of the schools upon the universities has become. Against the motion of the headmaster of Harrow (Dr. Welldon), the headmasters expressed themselves by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-nine in favor of retaining Greek in the requirements for the Previous Examination. That the heads of the leading schools should be nearly equally divided upon a question affecting the foundations of classical education is a fact both interesting and suggestive, — interesting, in view of the standing of most of these masters as classical scholars of more or less repute; suggestive, because never has a company of masters shown a greater desire to adapt requirements to the tastes and needs of the day. Such a display of radicalism in a conservative stronghold could not fail to attract the public attention.

The University of Cambridge has, in recent years, more than once inquired into the expediency of a change in the requirements, by which Greek should be removed from the list of subjects prescribed for the Previous Examination, — a test corresponding to our entrance examination, though taken, not before the beginning of the first term, but as a rule in the third. With reference to this examination, a commission, or "syndicate," was appointed for the same purpose in 1870 and in 1878. The deliberations of the latter "syndicate," of which the late Dr. Kennedy was a member,

lasted a year and a half. Dr. Kennedy himself admitted that the retention of Greek as a compulsory subject excludes from the University many able and industrious men eminently qualified to derive the utmost advantage from a university training. In 1890 the Greek question was again considered by a similar board, this time in its bearing upon the General Examination. In the present instance also the proposal was simply to appoint a board of inquiry, to weigh and examine certain alleged new facts and statistics, as presented by the opponents of Greek. This preliminary question was brought before the Senate of the University by the General Board of Studies, in the form of a motion or "grace," 1st, authorizing the appointment of a "syndicate," to "consider whether it be expedient to allow alternatives for one of the two classical languages in the Previous Examination, either to all students or to any classes of students other than those already exempted;"¹ 2d, constituting the "syndicate" of certain names. Upon this proposal the Senate was convened to decide. It was claimed by many who were with the radical party on the proposition to inquire, but not of it on the main point, that this preliminary action could but cause a new and more thorough investigation, leaving the ultimate question unprejudiced. To lead the opposition to this "grace" a strong executive committee was appointed. Among its membership we find the following (all of those named being also members of the General Board of Studies, except Professor Mayor and Mr. Glaisher): —

Dr. Charles Taylor, Master of St. John's, Professors H. B. Swete, (Divinity), R. C. Jebb (Greek), G. F. Browne (Archæology), J. E. B. Mayor (Latin), W. Robertson Smith (Arabic), Messrs. J. W. L. Glaisher (Mathematics), W. L. Mollison (Mathematics), R. A. Neil (Sanskrit).

An appeal from this executive committee sets forth the following arguments:² (1) that, should the Greek requirement be abolished, Greek would cease to be taught in all but the largest schools, and would accordingly become a luxury of the rich; (2) that no study is known which can be considered a worthy substitute; (3) the unique importance of Greek in connection with literary and scientific work is such that its loss would make itself felt in every profession, especially the church; (4, a) the introduction of so many new subjects is no reason for the change, since

¹ Natives of Asia not of European parentage may present certain work done in English as an equivalent for the prescribed Greek.

² *London Mail*, October 23, 1891.

the aim of education is to educate the mind rather than to fill it with facts; (b) the argument that the Greek requirement is so small as to be of no value would apply equally well to all other requirements; even an elementary knowledge of Greek has a value, for it may be taken up again by any one who has made a beginning; (c) the hardship to the class of students for whom the change is especially desired would not compare with the loss to the University; (d) the growth of the science school at Cambridge in ten or twelve years shows that the interests of science do not require the change; (5) the discussion of 1870, 1878, and 1889 is sufficient for the present.

The Master of Trinity (Dr. H. M. Butler) declared¹ that the change seemed to him desirable on the ground that there is strong evidence — which, however, needs sifting — that an increasing number of boys do not study Greek, while at the same time receiving in the “modern side” an education which is essentially liberal, so that they are often really better educated than many of the passmen at the universities. At least, “inquiry is not necessarily surrender,” and is in accordance with the general policy of the University.

A few days later² a radical proclamation appeared over the signatures of such men as Cayley, G. Darwin, Gwatkin, Maitland, Seeley, H. Sidgwick, Jackson, Reid, Verrall, A. Sedgwick, Sir G. Paget, urging that the demand for inquiry should not be stifled; the development of “modern sides” had gone on rapidly since the report of a syndicate eleven years ago proposed to relieve candidates for honors of the obligation to study both Latin and Greek, on the ground of the exclusion of “a number of able and industrious students educated in schools in which Greek is not taught, or in modern departments of classical schools.”

The heads of the medical faculty (the late Sir George Paget and others) also issued a manifesto at the same time,³ appealing to their former pupils to come up to Cambridge and vote for the “grace;” while the headmasters’ view is represented by a letter from Dr. Welldon,⁴ who thinks the question to be decided is “not so much whether Greek shall be retained as a compulsory subject for all or the majority of students, but whether the course of modern education, which now affects half the boys in the public schools, shall be controlled by the great Universities, or by bodies of less culture and position.”

¹ *Mail*, October 23.

² *Ib.*, October 28.

³ *Ib.*, October 28.

⁴ *Ib.*, October 28.

Professor Jebb, on the other hand,¹ quotes Sir William Thomson, P. R. S. (Lord Kelvin), as "very heartily" agreeing with the arguments against the "syndicate," and adding as his reason: "I think, for the sake of mathematicians and science students, Cambridge and Oxford should keep Greek, of which even a very moderate extent is of very great value."

A later statement from the executive committee for the opposing of the "grace" is also of interest as the appointed day approaches: "The strength of our position at this stage is, that, on the occasion of the last inquiry, which was conducted on an unusually complete scale, there was no evidence that able persons were excluded from the University by the requirement of two classical languages; and that no evidence has now been offered to show that since that time such a class has come into existence." The fact is also mentioned that a list of persons opposing the "grace" contains the names of ten Senior Wranglers and eight Senior Classics.

Mr. J. K. Stephen calls attention to the fact,² that only two years ago "every question relevant to the present issue was discussed and decided in connection with the retention of Greek in the Poll degree." He thinks the character of the names proposed for the "syndicate" rightly suspicious to the conservatives; "they would be the first, if the grace were passed, to point to the vote as practically conclusive of the main question at issue."

Among all the pamphlets, of all the fugitive literature to which the controversy gave birth, nothing has been spoken of so highly as a brochure by the same Mr. J. K. Stephen, formerly a fellow of King's,³ on the "Living Languages." Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh,⁴ for instance, praises Mr. Stephen in the highest terms, as having put "in every variety of light the value of Greek as a literature, as a means of mental training, as holding the key to other literatures, ancient and modern, as being still in the highest sense a living influence." "The indifference of some," says Mr. Stephen, "and the hostility of others, have not availed, thanks principally

¹ *Mail*, October 28.

² *Ib.*, October 28.

³ Mr. Stephen has since died, *æt.* 32, at the beginning of a career of brightest promise; cp. the *Cambridge Review's* *Quis desiderio*, February 11, 1892. His general "disregard of intellectual authorities and conventionalities" added no little weight to his conservative opinion on this question. His brilliant pamphlet deserves to be widely read, both among the friends and foes of Greek.

⁴ *Cambridge Review*, October 22; cp. also *Saturday Review*, October 24.

to our Universities, to extirpate the study of the 'dead languages.' Why should they avail now? Let Cambridge remember that in educational matters her duty is to lead, and not to follow; and that the object of securing popularity and numbers is far less important than that of protecting the cause of learning, research, and education. We need not despair of weathering whatever storm may be in preparation for those who are supposed to be behind the age; and Greek and Latin may be left by the present generation, not the 'dead languages' which their opponents would make them, but, as they have so long been, 'living languages,' efficient educational instruments, and the subject-matter of the most honourable and fruitful studies of the English intellect."

Another pamphlet is that of Professor Mayor, irreverently compared by the "Oxford Magazine" (October 28) to a note on Juvenal, "minus the text to elucidate the commentator's meaning." The professor thinks — this in one of his lucid intervals, according to the same shameless chronicon — "that the Cambridge of the fifteenth century, with the Vulgate and Breviary, Aquinas and the Latin Fathers, for its staple diet, needed far less the corrective of Greek and Roman wisdom than do the sciences which deal with matter or with abstract reasoning. There is real danger that we may become a middle-class school of engineering and mechanics and physical science." And then — apparently to crush the argument that the practically useful studies are not yet proved to be the best discipline — the vegetarian of St. John's exclaims, "Were I still a sepulchre for fowl, I should choose one bird in the hand before two in the bush."

A fly-sheet of Mr. Bateson,¹ himself a distinguished teacher of science, pleads "for the retention of Greek in the interests of science:" "If compulsory Greek is abolished, it will be done by men of two classes. The one has culture by instinct; to them it is inconceivable that any should be really without it, or that to any it can be taught. The other class by instinct and training is barbarous, and would fain destroy what it cannot understand."

Two fundamental flaws in the proposers' arguments were pointed out by Dr. Stanford:² (1) "That we shall best perform our duty of leading the education of the country by obeying the caprices of intending students, who *ex hypothesi* are yet uneducated;" (2) "That opposition to the appointment of a syndicate means an attempt to resist enquiry, whereas no syndicate, however able,

¹ *Cambridge Review*, October 29.

² *Ib.*, October 29.

could produce new arguments on the principle of a change so much debated, and therefore those who are opposed to the scheme in general may with perfect fairness resist any proposal to elaborate details."

Quotations from radical pamphlets and broadsides the present reviewer has been unable to find, but has been obliged to content himself with newspaper correspondence. We may hear in conclusion one of the headmasters, Mr. E. Lyttelton (Haileybury),—this published on the very day of the vote:¹ "The real strength of the demand for change lies in the fact that very many boys now burdened with two languages fail to get the training which could be secured by a more thorough knowledge of one."

On Thursday, October 29, the question was decided by the Senate, at a special Congregation, which is said to have been the largest ever held. And as the gathering was unprecedented, so the majority was unexpectedly large. "Schemes actually proposed by such syndicates had been rejected, within the last few years, by majorities of thirty or forty."² On this occasion, out of a total of 710,³ 185 voted for the "grace," and 525 against. Of the 35 mathematical professors and lecturers more voted for Greek (strictly speaking, against a new investigation) than against it (13 to 12). Among the classical men who voted for the "grace," and hence to be counted with the opposition, were Drs. Jackson, Reid, and Verrall, Messrs. Thompson, Hicks, St. John Parry, Peskett, and Nixon.

Among the natural science men who voted against the "syndicate" were Professor Newton, Messrs. Acton, Bateson, Harmer, Melsome, Ruhemann, and Seward. Drs. Taylor and Hort declared themselves in favor of Greek, as also Professors Browne and Robertson Smith, Sir T. Wade, Dr. Cunningham, and Mr. Mullinger; while on the opposite side we find Professors Sidgwick, Seeley, Macalister, Cayley, Gwatkin, Maitland, Dr. Ward, and Mr. Frazer.

It will not have escaped observation that the minority vote of 185 contains all of those who, while not declaring themselves against Greek, were yet in favor of a new inquiry, reserving their

¹ *Cambridge Review*, October 29.

² *Saturday Review*, October 31.

³ The roll of the Senate includes all Doctors, of whatever Faculty, all Masters of Arts, Law, and Surgery, and Bachelors of Divinity; provided they keep their names upon the University Register. The total number in 1891 was 6,774.

opinion on the merits of the case until the results of that inquiry should be made known. Just how large a proportion were mere "inquirers," it is impossible to determine. At first sight one is tempted to attribute the overwhelming majority to the non-resident members, who, swarming up to Cambridge in such numbers, might have forced their opinions upon the helpless resident minority. But, as a matter of fact, the Electoral Roll, or list of the resident members of the Senate,¹ includes about 500 names, and in the unusual excitement it is incredible that less than 400 of them voted, while the whole number of the votes cast was but 710. Even supposing the minority to have been composed exclusively of residents, which was far from being the case, there would still be a majority of the resident members against the measure.² The university alone is responsible, — not the out-of-town members. There can be no doubt but that a large number of those whose votes made investigation impossible declared themselves as they did, simply to prevent the real question, which could not have been raised for many months, from being prejudiced by the preliminary and unimportant question. They had every reason to feel that if the present "grace" were passed, it would be regarded as tantamount to a victory for the opposition, and would in the long interval so strengthen their hands as to leave the final issue more than doubtful.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to epitomize the various review articles which have appeared on this subject before and after the decision. However, a few extracts from some of them may not be a wholly unwelcome addition to a historical sketch of the controversy.

An article by Dr. Welldon, in the "Contemporary Review," so long ago as May, 1890, is of interest as showing what ideas are abroad among the headmasters; for the vote taken at their Oxford conference justifies the inference that the article in question — which discusses the whole subject of studies, principal and subordinate, assigning Latin and French to the former class, and Greek and German to the latter — is fairly representative of a large minority of their number. The late Professor E. A. Freeman, in "Macmillan" (March, 1891), defends Greek as a "more pure

¹ The Electoral Roll embraces, besides all officers of the University, all members of the Senate who have resided fourteen weeks, in the preceding year, within one and one half miles of Great St. Mary's.

² *Saturday Review*, October 31, "The Latest Marathon," estimates the majority of the residents as at least two to one.

and perfect instrument of mental training than the kindred tongue whose relation to the daily affairs of ordinary life is so much closer ;” but together they “have a position which nothing else can share, in the training of the mind, . . . in anything to be called a liberal education, an education whose object is the training of the mind and not the filling of the pocket.” It is only the scientific study of language that the universities can recognize.

Another article of Dr. Welldon’s, in the “Contemporary Review” for October, 1891, claims for the headmasters the credit of initiating the movement. He does not regret that the peculiar constitution of the universities makes a change impossible until the reform has won its way “beyond the circle of specialists to the approval of the popular judgment.” The headmasters’ predilections are all in favor of compulsory Greek, since modern sides “have been created not by the grace of headmasters, but in spite of them.” With the great increase in the number of subjects, “the classical languages, if they reign at the present time, must reign like all monarchs, not by any supposed divine right, but by the right of reasonable utility.” The arguments for the removal of a Greek requirement are : —

1. “The number of boys in the public schools who do not learn Greek has become so large¹ that it is undesirable to exclude them all from academical life, or to admit them to it only upon condition of their taking up a study which has not formed, and would not naturally form, a part of their education.” In which of the Aristotelian senses the translator of Aristotle here uses “naturally,” we may not venture to state.

2. “The study of Greek, if it be seriously prosecuted, occupies so great a part of a boy’s school time as to deny him the opportunity of studying other subjects which it may be important and even essential for him to know.”

3. “The possibility of giving an education which deserves to be regarded as liberal without the knowledge of Greek has now for some time been proved by experience.”

4. “The Universities will render the best service to the nation by opening their doors as widely as possible to all students who satisfy the requirement of a liberal education.”

Speaking of “modern side” boys, Dr. Welldon makes the following frank admission: “If it is necessary to mention one particular in which they sometimes fall below their classical rivals, it

¹ At the headmasters’ conference it was stated that out of a total of 20,400 boys in the “public schools,” 10,400 were not learning Greek.

may be said to be the habit of accuracy, of perseverance, and of sustained or concentrated attention to a subject which is not at once interesting and attractive, but demands a large amount of painstaking effort, if it is to be effectively pursued."

This confession is taken up in the "Contemporary Review" (November, 1891), by Professor Freeman, who thinks one could hardly ask for further admissions. To remove "compulsory" Greek is only to put "compulsory" something else in its place. French and German are not easier than Latin and Greek unless taught in a different way; but the universities must require the scholarly way, and in the scientific study of languages the older should have for good reasons the precedence.

Last of all we notice an article by Mr. J. B. Bury, in the "Fortnightly," December, 1891, which is especially directed against those who have tried to point out that Greek is useful in this way and that. Latin may have some claims to usefulness, but "Greek is not, in any serious measure, subject to vexations of this kind; and may laugh securely at those who try, with blundering good-nature, to invent a sphere of usefulness for it." The University's general course of study can make no account of specialists. "It is not the scope of the 'arts' to help any one to put money into his purse, or heal the sick, or fathom the secrets of the 'law's delay,' or believe in any form of religion. . . . The true function of a University is the teaching of useless learning." Greek is the type of a University study because not subsidiary to anything, and above mere utility; hence "the very last subject that should be thrown overboard, for it represents, in the purest form, the ideal of University education. . . . The useless knowledge itself may be lost, but the acquisition of it is a permanent mental fact which can never be undone. . . . A University is useful because what it teaches is useless."

Frank G. Moore.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

EDITORIAL.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

II. THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

DID the primitive church believe Jesus Christ to be a divine being? Inquiry as to his divinity naturally begins with this question. The first Christians were personally associated with Jesus; some of them lived in intimacy with Him. Their impressions of Him, therefore, are a historical source of knowledge of Him second only to his assertions about himself. Then their belief about Christ, obviously a very important article of their religious faith, is a means of finding out whether the church doctrine that Christ is divine is a part of Christianity and is entitled to the respectful consideration which Christianity has earned by its influence on men. If at the very beginning of its life the church held Jesus Christ to be divine, and considered the doctrine of his divineness to be a part of the gift of truth it had received from God, and accredited by its religious experience, the doctrine is presumptively true because it belongs to a life consciously rooted in God.

If it were proved that the primitive church did not hold that Christ was divine, that this belief came into the mind of Christendom, say, in the third century, then it might be urged that the doctrine did not belong to the essence of Christianity, inasmuch as Christianity had existed in its full strength without having it. At any rate, whatever other claims it might bring, it could not present this one, of having always belonged to the faith which overcame the world, of having belonged to that faith in its beginning, when it was distinctly conscious of the elements constituting its life. But if the contrary be proved, those who would set aside the doctrine must face the question, How could a gross delusion bear fruit in such livery as that of the apostolic church?

Did the primitive church believe Jesus Christ to be a divine being? We seek an answer to the question in the writings of the Apostles. They were the voice of the church. Its faith and life found clearest and fullest expression through them. Their letters, written to instruct and guide it, put the truths in which and by which it lived into simple form, adapted to immediate spiritual need. The artlessness and the practical nature of these writings make them more adequate evidence of the contents of the religious consciousness of their writers and readers than elaborate treatises would be.

We begin with the letters of the Apostle Paul, because they were earliest in time and of fullest content. Does any one object to counting this Apostle among the witnesses to the belief of primitive Christianity on the ground that he was not one of the disciples of Jesus, and was not converted until several years after the church was established? Is it sug-

gested that as he received his first ideas of Christianity in a special way, they may have been peculiar ideas? Is it said in confirmation of this suggestion that we find some evidence in the oldest of church histories that Paul did not agree with the estimate of the original Apostles as to what constitutes Christianity? The answer is, Paul worked in fellowship with the original Apostles; he acknowledged their tradition of Jesus to be true, and authoritative, and lent his own authority to it; he incorporated much of that tradition into his teaching; he spoke of the original Apostles with honor, not only as witnesses of Christ's resurrection, but as Christian laborers; he did not in any of his letters criticise their teaching in any point, and the Acts does not show that he even differed from them about the requirements proper to be imposed on Gentile converts. It is altogether unlikely, therefore, that he held a different view of the common Master; that he gave Jesus an honor which those who had lived with Him, and treasured up his words, and seen Him, as they believed, after He rose from the dead, could not concede. Moreover, the writings of the earlier Apostles show, as we shall presently see, that their thought of Jesus agreed with that of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Paul believed that a true religious faith, one that brought man into right relations to God, and produced good character, had Jesus Christ as its central object. The gospel which he carried to men, and commended to them with agony of earnestness, was the gospel of Christ, that is, about Christ. "Him we preach," he said, describing his life-work. That work was a personal one. Paul carried his gospel to every man he could reach, because he believed that every man's welfare depended absolutely on his having and using it. Only by believing on Jesus Christ could any man come into right relation to God and possess true manhood.

All this is commonplace to those who are familiar with the Pauline letters. It is equally obvious to them that the supreme significance which Paul believed Jesus Christ to possess belonged to Him in his present invisible and heavenly life. It was not because Christ in his earthly life revealed certain sublime truths, but because in his risen life, unseen by men, yet in living intercourse with them, He was all-important, that believing on Him was the one way to true well-being.

Faith in Him united to Him. To Paul, the believer is *ipso facto* Christ's servant. He lives unto Christ. He also lives *with* his Master. He is, as it were, encompassed by this invisible Person, to whom he is wedded by a union closer than that which joins husband and wife; he is "in Christ."

The appreciation of Jesus Christ which to Paul is all-essential means more than appreciating the quality of his earthly life; it means knowing the significance of his being, the nature He bears, the position He holds in the universe. This is evident from the reason alleged for the importance of appreciating the event in his career in which his character

most plainly appears, — the crucifixion. "Christ crucified is the power of God and wisdom of God." The death of Jesus reveals God as does no other event in history, because it is a power to reconcile man to Him. He whose death has this value is separate from all others. "Herein God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." The significance of the death rests upon the value of the life offered in sacrifice. This, too, lies on the surface of the letters of Paul.

Whom did the Apostle believe this Person whom he preached to be? — this Person who after death had immediate relations with men; this Person, into living union with whom all men might enter, to have union with whom was to be united to God and to have holy character. Paul believed that Christ's existence did not begin with his earthly life. He told the Philippians (Phil. ii. 5-8) that Christ's earthly life expressed his condescending love, inasmuch as He, when existing in the divine form, emptied himself, taking upon Him the form of a slave, and being found in fashion as a man. The Philippian letter was written two or three years later than Paul's more elaborate, doctrinal epistles; but this fact gives no reason for suspecting that his belief in the preëxistence of Jesus grew up in his mind after the latter were written. For he said to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xv. 47): "The second man is out of heaven." It seems only just to give these words the interpretation suggested by the Philippian passage, and to make them teach that Christ lived in heaven before He lived on earth. This is, indeed, their obvious meaning, and the meaning which the Apostle's thought requires. "The new mankind has as its prototype, not the man of earthly but the man of heavenly origin." If Jesus had a heavenly origin, He came here from heaven; that is, left a heavenly for an earthly life. Paul says what is equivalent to this in telling the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 9): "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, although he was rich, yet on your account he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich." Jesus never had earthly riches. The words are naturally interpreted only when understood as referring to an act of self-renouncing love preceding and coextensive with his earthly life. Paul wrote to the Galatians (Gal iv. 4): "When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem those under the law," etc. We believe that preëxistence is here ascribed to Christ. The sending forth spoken of seems to be sending into the world from heaven. This is suggested by the words "born of a woman." This affirmation made about any other man would be meaningless. The language of Romans viii. 3, "God in sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh," also seems to affirm by implication the preëxistence of Christ.

What kind of a being did Paul believe the preëxistent Christ to be?

Did he think Him to be an angel? We find no evidence of such a belief in the Apostle's letters. True, he believed in the existence of angels; but they seem to have had an inconspicuous place in his theology. He does not often allude to them. They never are mentioned when he is showing how men's great religious needs may be met. There is nothing in Paul's letters suggesting that he thought that any angel could render men such service as he attributes to Jesus Christ. Indeed, his theology gives reason for believing that he could not have attributed an angelic nature to Christ. For he says that Jesus was the second man; the founder of a new mankind; and believes his significance for man to be due to the fact that He is the one man in whom our race finds its natural head and representative. But would an angelic nature, one of another created order, have fitted Him to be the representative man, the most human of all men, the one who perfectly expresses God's idea of man?

The presumption drawn from Paul's theology is confirmed by the language which he uses of the preëxistent Christ. He seems to imply that He was a being other than angelic, one not included among created beings, a divine being. Paul taught this in telling the Philippians, in the passage which we have already quoted, that Jesus Christ was in the form of God before he wore the form of a slave, being found in fashion as a man; that he did not deem equality with God a prize to be clutched at, but emptied himself to enter upon the earthly condition. The slave form was the humanity in its outward seeming. He had the seeming because he had the thing. Men saw in him not the "counterfeit presentment" of manhood, but manhood itself. The form of God was God appearing. He was not an angel who had put on the semblance of God. He was divine in his being, and so had the form belonging to God. The equality to God to which he might have aspired was not a prize to be clutched at, but was renounced in condescending self-sacrificing love. Because of this act of love "God highly exalted him; and gave him the name above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."

The exalted Christ receives the homage of the created universe. Then He does not belong to the creation; creatures do not worship creatures. Is it said that Jesus receives exaltation to supremacy as a gift from God the Father? He does; and the gift is not arbitrarily bestowed, but expresses the fitness of Jesus to be so honored; a fitness in virtue of his being, his character, and his work. One who has given up the divine form of existence for the human form, and in that human form has surrendered himself to a violent death, and has through this act of love founded a spiritual kingdom among the men whose nature and lot he has assumed, should be adored by men and angels. Both see the divine love in Him, and should worship it. If it is objected that Paul's declaration, that the

confession of Christ's supreme Lordship is "to the glory of God the Father," shows that he did not believe Jesus to be divine, it is enough to answer that this assumes that he could not have believed personal distinctions to have existed in the divine nature, an assumption proved by this very passage to be unwarranted. If he ascribes to Christ the possession of a divine being and the reception of divine honors, and also speaks of a divine Father to whom these honors ultimately flow, we must let these words present to us his thought of the divine nature. We may not explain away a part of his language because it does not accord with the notion of deity which we assume him to have.

Paul told the Corinthian Church that Christian monotheism included, along with the recognition of God as the source and goal of the universe and of the Christian life, the recognition of Jesus Christ as the mediator through whom the universe came into being, and through whom the Christian life began (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6). "An idol is nothing, and there is no God but one. For although there are many alleged gods whether in heaven, or in earth, just as there are [according to heathen systems of worship] gods many and lords many, yet to us there is but one God the Father, out of whom are all things, and for whom we are, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things, and through whom are we." As against the imaginary many gods of polytheism, the Christian has one God the Father, one Lord Jesus Christ. Is it said that a lower place is assigned to Jesus Christ than to the Father? His relation to the Father is explained in the following words: "Through whom are all things; and we through him." By his agency the universe comes into being. The universe has its ultimate source in the will and mind of God the Father; its mediate source in the activity of Jesus. Creative activity is divine activity. He who exercises it is not a part of the creation. In saying, therefore, as he virtually does, that Christian monotheism includes recognition of Jesus Christ through whom God creates the universe, Paul ascribes divineness to Him. We find here, as in the Philippian passage, evidence that he thought of the one divine nature as having in itself personal distinctions, by virtue of which Jesus Christ, as well as the Father, could be called divine.

In the Colossian letter (Col. i. 15, 16), Paul separates Christ from the creation, calling Him "first-born as regards every creature," and saying that all things were created through Him and for Him, and that all things stand together in Him, as though He not only put forth the activity bringing the universe into being, but was the principle, as it were, uniting it and preserving it. This we believe he could not have said of a creature.

In these assertions about the preëxistent Christ, Paul seems to have ascribed to Him a divine nature. A confirmation of our interpretation may be found in his view of the relation which the incarnate Christ sustains towards the human race. He is, to Paul, as we have already said, its head, the member of it whose life is of supreme significance to every

person in it. This He is not only ideally, by virtue of having carried humanity to perfection in his own life, but actually, by virtue of power to draw its members into union with himself and participation of his perfection. "The second man is a life-giving Spirit." He gives life to his brother men. So He draws them to Him one by one, transforming them as they become united to Him, until at last all the race (substantially all, all but the refuse) share his life, his character, and his divine sonship. And how does this man draw other men to himself? What makes Him "life-giving Spirit"? Why are all the possibilities for mankind in Him? Because He has the Spirit of God, because the Spirit of God is *his* Spirit, so that that Spirit may be thought of as Christ in activity. What does this mean but that the humanity of Christ is divine; that the Son of God has become this man, and is in Him the fountain of a new life for mankind? From Jesus Christ, God's spirit goes out into mankind, because Jesus Christ has God's spirit as the outgoing of his divine life. So the Apostle Paul can speak of the Spirit of God as also the Spirit of Christ; and can say that the indwelling of this Spirit in a man is equivalent to the indwelling of Christ in him.

Assuming that Paul saw in Christ a human life to which the divine Son had so given himself as to make it divine, we can understand the powers he ascribes to the exalted Redeemer, and see why he recognizes in Him the first fruits of a redeemed humanity. Without this assumption, his doctrine of a divine life-giving man is an enigma to us. And we do not believe that he would have called the Spirit of God the "Spirit of Christ" unless he had believed Christ to be divine.

It may be objected that if Paul had held the view of Christ's person which we ascribe to him, he could not have said that after all things shall have been subdued to the Son, He will be subjected to God, in order that God may be all in all (1 Cor. 15-28). If this passage taught that Christ would at some time take the place of a creature, we should find in it an affirmation contradictory to the passages we have cited as teaching that He is not a created being. We do not find such teaching in it. "The reign" ascribed to the Son in the passage is the activity growing out of the presence of sin in the world. The divine-human Redeemer is at the head of a redemptive economy. All divine forces available for the recovery of men from sin go from Him. In Him, men coming out of sin touch God. For them to know God is to know Him revealed in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. Their conceptions of God are chiefly thoughts of a redeeming Saviour. Their service of God is essentially service of the redeeming Christ. When all the enemies shall have been put down, it will be otherwise. That which God is in himself will come more clearly into view. Men will not simply possess his redeeming love in Christ, they will possess the exhaustless wealth of his Being. The divine humanity will abide, but will be seen as the manifestation of the glory of God. This is what we believe Paul to have

meant by the ultimate subjection of the Son, in order that God may be all in all. He cannot have meant that God would remove from his throne a creature whom He had temporarily placed there.

But it may still be objected Paul does not apply the term "God" (*θεός*) to Christ. He does not, because he does not think that God and Christ are exact equivalents. He did not hold, as the Christian church has never held, that the Deity is nothing more nor less than Jesus Christ. But this does not imply his not holding that Jesus Christ was divine, was in the being of God. If the revelation he received from Christ did, indeed, lead Paul to ascribe divine attributes to his Master, and so modify his conception of the divine Being, would not this influence on his theology be naturally expressed by language such as we find him using: "To us there is one God the Father, out of whom are all things, and we to him, and one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things and we by him"?

We pass on to the writings of the other Apostles. Here, we need hardly say, Christ has the same prominence as in the Pauline letters. The gospel which they convey is the good tidings about Him. They say that the spiritual relation with Him which faith establishes is the one condition of living in fellowship with God and securing a holy character. At one with Paul here, his fellow Apostles were presumably at one with him in his conception of Christ. Is there evidence that they, too, believed Jesus to be divine? We think that there is. The Apocalypse pictures the Lamb slain as receiving the worship of the created universe (Rev. v. 8-13): "And every creature in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, and all things in them, heard I saying, To the one sitting upon the throne, and to the Lamb, be blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, for ever and ever." It represents Jesus as saying of himself, in words almost exactly reproducing those which the Hebrew prophet ascribes to Jehovah: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end" (Rev. xxi. 6). To the seer his being seemed to lie outside of and to include the universe. This is not creaturely being. The same affirmation is made in another place of the Almighty God (Rev. i. 8). If this seems contradicted by the title given to Jesus, — "beginning of the creation of God" (Rev. iii. 14), — it is only just to say that ἀρχὴ may as properly be rendered principle or source (Weizsäcker renders it here *Urgrund*), and that we may only ascribe self-contradictory affirmations to a writer when forced to do so by linguistic necessity. The Gospel of Matthew represents Jesus as saying, after his resurrection, "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth." It also represents Him as associating himself with the Father in the formula of baptism. The First Epistle of Peter speaks of Christ in language which Isaiah uses of Jehovah (1 Pet. iii. 14, 15): "Fear ye not their fear, neither be terrified. But sanctify Christ as Lord in your hearts." Cf. Isa. viii. 12, 13: "Neither fear ye their fear, nor be

afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself." The similarity of thought suggests that the writer felt that Christ was to his people what Jehovah was to the children of Israel.

We come to the Fourth Gospel. This we believe to have been written by the Apostle John. Many hold it to be a production of the second century. They will probably demur to our using it as a source of knowledge as to the religious belief of primitive Christianity. Yet it is proper to remind them that the boldest criticism finds itself unable to dispense with the supposition that the author used a tradition coming through the Apostle John, and to ask them if one holding this supposition can assume that the views of the author and those of John about Christ were at variance?

The Gospel presents Jesus as the incarnate Word. And what does the writer mean by the "Word"? Evidently a personal principle in the divine Being. The Word was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him (the personal pronoun is used). Life was in Him, and the life was the light of men. John Baptist came to testify to the light which the life in the Word was. This light, the true light, was coming into the world. The Word was made flesh and tabernacled among us, full of grace and truth, and we saw his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father. A personal and a divine life are attributed to this Word which became incarnate. If Paul ascribed personality to the Lord Jesus Christ in his preëxistent state, when He said that all things were through Him, John ascribed personality to the pre-existent Word, in saying that all things came into being through Him. Dr. Wendt, of Heidelberg, has lately advanced a different interpretation, namely, that the "Word" is revelation personified. John would declare, he says, that the revelation embodied in nature, and more fully expressed in pre-Christian religious life, took on full expression in Jesus Christ. We do not find an adequate explanation of the writer's language in this interpretation. He speaks in plain, didactic phrase, just such as is employed in the rest of the Gospel. One naturally believes that he is writing prose, not poetry. His repetitions suggest that he is making statements of transcendent truth, which challenge belief. The progress of his thought belongs to theology, not poetry; and the several statements imply that the "Word" is a personal principle in God, not a personified divine activity. "This one was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and apart from him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men." "And the Word became flesh and tabernacled among us, full of grace and truth, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father."

Could all this be said by such a writer as the author of the Fourth Gospel of a personified work or attribute of God? How, for example, could it be said that in this work or attribute was life, and the life

was the light of men? The prologue then teaches that Jesus Christ was the personal Word incarnate. In the narrative we find Him expressing the belief that He had a divine life before his earthly life began. "Before Abraham was, I am," He said to the Jews, when they asked Him whether He, a man not yet forty, had seen Abraham. "Glorify thou me, O Father," He said in his high-priestly prayer, "with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." The Christ of the Fourth Gospel was evidently as truly divine as human, true God as well as true man.

The apostolic writings, then, show that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was imbedded in the religious consciousness of the primitive church. The question presents itself, Was the apostolic belief in this doctrine rooted in the recollection of the historical Christ? Do his words preserved in the Gospels show He was consciously divine? We will try to answer this question in the next article.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POLICY CONCERNING POPULAR EDUCATION.

THE newspapers have published and discussed the Pope's indorsement of Archbishop Ireland in respect to the public schools of Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota. Some of the parochial schools of those towns were transferred last fall, at a nominal rent, to the Board of Education, and were brought under the public school system. The text-books of the common schools were adopted, and the teachers were required to pass the same examinations as for the public schools. A brief portion of Scripture is read, and the Lord's Prayer is repeated at the opening of the daily sessions. All religious emblems were removed from the rooms, but Catholic teachers of the Dominican order are allowed to wear the robes of the order. After school hours, the Catholics have the use of the buildings for the religious instruction of those children who may remain for that purpose.

This arrangement, which was brought about by Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minnesota, was severely criticised by some Protestants, who believed it was a scheme to support parochial schools from public funds, and was also opposed by many Catholics, who believed that it would do very little for the religious training of children, and would subject them to all the dangers of godless schools, and also that it was in direct contravention of the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, directing the establishment of parochial schools, since this was a surrender of such schools already existing. The opposition of Catholics became so strenuous that Archbishop Ireland submitted the arrangement to the Pope, and visited Rome in order to set forth the reasons of his action. The result is, that the Pope "tolerates" the arrangement, which means that in practice he approves it. In the communication of the Pope's decision, the following language is used:—

"I hope your Grace will be gratified by this decision of the Holy See ; because, though unusual provisions made by the different bishops in their respective dioceses, according to the requirement of circumstances, cannot be approved directly by the Holy See when they imply a departure, to a certain extent, from a general law, nevertheless, when the Holy See declares that such provisions may be tolerated, it thereby puts an end to all indiscreet attacks upon them."

The only concession which has been made by the local Board of Education is the use of the buildings for religious purposes after school hours. It may be that no other towns will make such concessions, but it would not be strange if elsewhere parochial schoolhouses are converted to similar uses. And even if the use of public school buildings for religious instruction at certain hours is permitted, Catholics who may avail themselves of the permission know that the Pope will not interfere, and Protestants who are sagacious will see in such arrangement the solution of a vexed problem. It is to be remembered that Archbishop Ireland is a liberal Catholic, strongly in favor of Americanizing our foreign population, and, as a means to it, of employing English as the medium of instruction in all schools of Irish, German, French, Polish, and other foreign children.

This arrangement, which has received the sanction of the Pope, is very important in what it signifies. It is one sign of the policy adopted by the Catholic Church in America. Even if the plan should not be followed elsewhere, nor prove permanent in Faribault and Stillwater, the experiment and its sanction furnish as significant an indication of the Roman Catholic policy in America as could be desired.

It is becoming evident, although this is not the most important consideration, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to provide for the separate education of Roman Catholic children in parochial schools. The expense alone would be enormous. The cost of buildings and the salaries of teachers would impose a burden quite beyond the means of Catholics, even if they were willing to give as much as they can. It must already be a question whether the parochial schools now in operation do not harm more than they help the church. Only part of the children in any city can be received, and so a contrast is constantly made between the public and the parochial schools, to the disadvantage of the latter, which are distinctly inferior. But few parents can be made to see the necessity of supporting the church schools, when the public schools, which are superior, are free to all. And it is never forgotten that taxes are paid year after year for the schools from which the priests expect children to be withdrawn. It is none too easy, under the voluntary system, to support churches, to build cathedrals, and to maintain priests, bishops, sisterhoods, and the other agencies of religion ; and the expense of a complete system of schools, which would be as much more, cannot possibly be provided from the narrow means of the Catholic population. We have no doubt that in many places, instead of building more school-

houses, the Catholics would be glad to get rid of the expense of maintaining those they already have, as has been done in Minnesota. We have pointed out more than once that anti-Catholic agitators might afford themselves some comfort from the pecuniary limitations of those they seem to dread. Our opinion is reinforced by the surrender of these parochial schools in the West to the Board of Education.

But of greater consequence is the indication of a policy. This action shows that it is the policy of the Romish Church to Americanize the Catholic people of the United States, so far as this may be done without sacrificing the influence of the church. The Pope favors Archbishop Ireland, Cardinal Gibbons, and other prelates who advocate instruction in English in all schools. The party which favors education of the different nationalities in their own languages would like to keep the Poles, the Germans, the French, by themselves, would like to keep them foreigners, so that the church may control them. The wiser Catholics are beginning to see that the church will have very little influence in the country under such a policy; that it will continue a church of foreigners, and will be looked on with contempt. They see that in this country more is to be gained by influence than by control. They see, moreover, that it is useless to resist education, useless to hold the people away from the democratic spirit which prevails, and wiser to coöperate, to encourage the best education, to let their people be Americans. They see great advantages in the mingling of children in the public schools, and some dangers in separating, as in parochial schools, the children of Catholics from the children of Protestants. There is a long struggle ahead within the Catholic Church. The conservative party, which would keep the people separate by schools apart and by the use of foreign languages, is a very strong party. But the most influential Catholics are liberals, and in favor of making their people American citizens. They see that the task of the church in America is to *hold* its people, and that to do this it is necessary to avoid the impression that the church is hostile to American institutions and methods. The present Pope and his advisers at Rome are sagacious enough to favor the liberal policy. They will thereby do more to promote the spiritual ascendancy of the Catholic Church than they could accomplish by adopting the opposite method. Those who believe that the Romish Church is the worst menace this country has might well be perplexed to know on what side to array themselves, for or against parochial schools, for or against the Americanizing of the foreign Catholics in this country. They think that the Catholic Church is dangerous, because it is made up largely of foreigners, and is controlled by foreigners. But if, by Americanizing its adherents, it will gain in influence, the alarmists are in a dilemma indeed. For our own part, we welcome any measures which make better citizens of the foreigners who are among us, and if at the same time they become better Catholics, we shall not be greatly disturbed.

The Faribault plan is in exact accordance with a suggestion made in one of our editorial articles a year and a half ago, which was, that a portion of time should be surrendered out of the school hours for religious instruction. We then said: —

“We hope the good time is coming when the public schools will have single sessions of three or four hours in the morning, and the rest of the time will be at the disposal of families and churches to train children in the things which are practical, useful, and religious. If so much time were set free, the Catholics could gather the children in their schools, as they do now, to inculcate loyalty to their church, and would have no reason to complain of taxation for the support of secular schools.”

In respect to public schools, it is becoming clearer with every year that only one course can be pursued. That course is to tax the whole community for their support, making no exception whatever. Then private schools of any grade may be permitted with the largest freedom. If, at the same time, there is improvement in the methods of instruction, as along the lines recently recommended in New England and which we have advocated in former articles, the public schools will be attended by children of all churches and all classes, and will continue in greater measure than at present to foster, indirectly, the democratic spirit.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION; THE NEW DANISH POOR-LAW. — BELGIAN COUNCILS OF ARBITRATION.

THE London “Guardian” has published somewhat recently two communicated editorials which contain interesting information respecting legislation in Denmark for the relief of the deserving and aged poor, and in Belgium for the adjustment of labor disputes. The first article gives an account of a law which went into operation at Copenhagen on the beginning of this year, and is designed to distinguish, in the administration of governmental aid, between those who in advanced years are in need through their own fault, and those who are so through misfortune. Hitherto all such beneficiaries have been put into one class, that of paupers. The present experiment follows a different method, and creates a clear distinction, marked by a new designation. There will be paupers as before, but there will also be among those receiving public charity a separated type, who will “occupy the position of state pensioners, precisely the same as if they were worn-out soldiers.” Such persons are treated as worthy constituents of the community, as having a claim upon it for what they receive; not as objects of charity, but as members of the civic family, possessing rights in its organization and well-being. They vote as do others. They are restrained of no social or political privilege otherwise open to them, provided no increased dependence upon state relief is thereby incurred. If the benefits conferred are misappropriated or perverted, the law protects itself from such abuse of its intent,

but otherwise the entire relation is one which fosters a sense of personal dignity and self-respect, and avoids the degrading associations connected with the term "pauper," and involved more or less extensively in the structure and administration of ordinary Poor-Laws.

The Danish law guards itself carefully from abuse. The applicant must be at least sixty years of age, and a reputable citizen. "His poverty shall not be the consequence of any actions by which he, for the benefit of his children or others, has deprived himself of the means of subsistence, or be caused by a disorderly and extravagant mode of life, or in any other way be brought about by his own fault." "For the ten years preceding the date of his application for 'old-age relief,' he must have had a fixed residence in the country, and during that period not have been in receipt of relief from the Poor-Law Administration, or been found guilty of vagrancy and begging." Standing as a pensioner is forfeited by crime or any act which degrades from the class for whom the new method of relief is instituted. Marriage, if it entails increased pecuniary necessities, transfers from the rank of a pensioner to that of a pauper. If a man is found to squander what he receives, his support is withdrawn. The aid given is intended to be sufficient to supply all necessary wants. The kind and method of the relief are left very much to the discretion of the authorities who administer it. They may admit to asylums, but cannot send a pensioner to the workhouse.

The funds necessary to the operation of this scheme are not raised by the ordinary taxation for care of the poor. If we understand aright, it is left to each town, or municipal corporation, to determine what it will do. Each local community is guaranteed by the state a sum equal to that which it raises itself for the relief of its aged and meritorious residents whose circumstances require aid. The Parliamentary appropriation is restricted to 2,000,000 kronor, about \$535,000. The writer to whom we are indebted for our information thinks that unless this appropriation is increased, the towns will be obliged to be very economical in their distributions, or else raise, themselves, more than a moiety of what is expended. He adds :—

"The new Danish Poor-Law is no ideal measure, but it is certainly a step in the right direction. By removing the stigma of pauper from the respectable poor whose destitution is the result of no fault of their own, it does something at least to lessen the sufferings of those for whom life is at best but one long, terrible struggle. Ugly little stories get afloat in England, from time to time, of old men and women choosing to die of hunger in the streets — one of them not long ago on the steps of the Mansion House, whilst a civic banquet was in progress — rather than submit to the treatment we mete out to our paupers. Denmark shows us how we can at least put a stop to scandals such as these."

The relief afforded under our laws does not carry with it, we suppose, all the evils of the English workhouse system ; yet there is room for improvement, the beginning of which must be found in a higher and more practical appreciation of human worth and of social obligation.

The application, in Belgium, to labor strifes of the principle of arbitration has been greatly promoted by the establishment of Boards of Conciliation. Of the more important of these councils, the following account is given : —

“ The Councils of Prud’hommes are at once the most popular and the most influential of the Belgian Boards of Conciliation. They were established as far back as 1806, — a time when Belgium took its laws from Paris. Since then, however, they have undergone many changes, notably in 1859 and 1889. At the latter date, in consequence of the recommendation of a Royal Commission held to consider their working, they were entirely reorganized for the purpose of bringing them into closer touch with the wage-earning classes. The law of 1889 affirms that the Councils of Prud’hommes are instituted for the express purpose ‘de vider, par voie de conciliation, ou, à défaut de conciliation, par voie de jugement, les différends qui s’élèvent soit entre les chefs d’industrie et les ouvriers, soit entre les ouvriers eux-mêmes.’ Thus the very *raison d’être* of their existence is to reconcile the opposing interests of capital and labor, and provide an inexpensive, expeditious way of settling any differences which may arise between them. All disputes relating to wages, hours of work, or work itself, between an employer and his own employees, or between two or more employees, in the same factory, must be referred to the Prud’hommes for consideration before they can be brought into a court of law. Rival masters and men working in different factories may also, if they choose, refer their disputes to the Prud’hommes ; but they are not legally bound to do so.

“ A Council of Prud’hommes consists of six members at least, one half of whom are elected by the employers of labor in the district in which the council is held, and the other half by their employees. A Prud’homme must have completed his thirtieth year, be a man of good character, have lived in the district for not less than twelve months, and have been engaged, either as a master or a workman, in one of the trades or crafts represented by the council, for four or more years. Innkeepers, spirit-merchants, and bankrupts who have not paid their debts in full are not eligible for election. No one can be compelled to accept the office ; but the person who undertakes it, and then neglects to fulfill the duties it entails, is liable to be imprisoned or fined. A Prud’homme holds office for six years, one half of the council retiring every third year. He receives no salary, but his expenses are paid, and a small daily allowance is made to him during the time he is actually engaged on the work of the council. The qualifications of an elector are the same as those of a Prud’homme. He, however, is allowed to vote from his twenty-fifth year. The president and the vice-president of the council are appointed by the Crown. They are not necessarily Prud’hommes, but one of them must be chosen from the list of names drawn up by the workmen in the council, and the other from a list drawn up by the masters. If the president belong to the capitalist class, the vice-president must be a workman, and vice versa. If the whole of the council, masters and men, are unanimous in their choice of a president, the Crown is obliged to appoint the person chosen. The *greffier*, who is to the Prud’hommes what a town clerk is to English magistrates, is also appointed by the Crown. He represents the legal, as apart from the technical, knowledge of the council, and upon him devolves the duty of putting its decisions into legal form. He is a permanent official, and receives a regular

salary. Each industrial centre must have at least one Council of Prud'hommes. This may be divided into sectional boards, in which case each board represents some special industry. In some districts it has been found more convenient to establish an independent council for each separate industry.

"The *modus agendi* of a council is eminently practical. Two of its members, a master and a workman, are chosen to form what is called a Bureau de Conciliation. They hold office for three months, during which time they must sit one day — in some districts two — a week to hear complaints and examine into any business it is proposed to bring before the council. No case can be heard by the council until it has been reported on by the Bureau. The Bureau has no power of making awards or pronouncing sentences; its function is limited to trying by argument and persuasion to bring about a friendly agreement between disputants. These must either appear in person, or be represented by relatives or friends. Under no circumstances may a lawyer or professional expert conduct a case before a Conciliation Board. The proceedings of the Bureau are secret, as it is regarded essentially as a tribunal *de famille*. The great majority of disputes are settled by this Bureau, and are never brought before the council at all. Out of the 1,145 cases which were referred to the Prud'hommes at Charleroi, only thirty-six ever came before the full council; the rest were arranged either by the *greffier* or the Bureau de Conciliation. It is only when they have failed to arrange terms of agreement that the council intervenes. Even then it does not at once proceed to judgment; but, in the first instance, sits as a court of arbitration, and does not assume its judicial functions until it has exhausted all other means of bringing about an agreement. When sitting judicially, it has the power of examining witnesses on oath, punishing for contempt of court, inflicting fines, and deciding summarily all cases in which the damages claimed are under 200 francs. When they exceed that amount, the person condemned has the right of appeal to a Tribunal de Commerce, or, if he be a miner, to a civil court. It is a most unusual thing, however, for an appeal to be made against the decision of a council. In the year 1885, 3,051 disputes were referred to the Prud'hommes for settlement; 2,753 of them were arranged by arbitration, formal judgment being pronounced in 298 cases. Out of these there were only twelve appeals. The person against whom judgment is pronounced pays the expenses of the case, unless the court decides that he had ample justification for bringing the action. Then the costs, which rarely amount to more than a few francs, are divided amongst the contending parties. The salary of the *greffier* is paid by the government; all other expenses in connection with the council fall upon the communal authorities of the district in which it is held. They are never heavy. During the year 1890 the expenses of the council in Brussels were somewhat under £200.

"The Councils of Industry and Labor have hardly yet had time to make their influence felt as Conciliation Boards. M. Frère-Orban is responsible for the law establishing them. When introducing it into the Chamber of Representatives, he expressly declared that he had framed the measure for the purpose of 'preventing strikes from degenerating into civil war, and for protecting the workman from the dreamers who dazzle him with unrealizable ideas, from the fools who would lead him astray, and most of all from the knaves whose object it is to get their living out of him.' This he proposed doing 'by bringing masters and men together, in the absence of any industrial struggle

and before any contest should break out, to deliberate and pronounce an opinion on all matters affecting their common interests.' The members of these councils are chosen in precisely the same way as the *Prud'hommes*, one half of them being masters, the other half workmen. They are, however, consultative rather than judicial bodies; and, although they may arbitrate, they cannot pronounce judgment. They are more technical than the greater councils, each separate craft having a distinct, autonomous council of its own, in forty-eight districts. This renders them eminently suitable for undertaking the office of arbitrators in disputes which turn on technical points, and of advising the government on labor questions. The fact, however, of the Councils of Industry being unable to meet unless summoned by a royal decree must always interfere materially with their usefulness.

"In addition to the Councils of *Prud'hommes*, and Industry, and Labor, which may be regarded as the official boards of conciliation, there are many others, especially in the mining districts, which are established upon a less formal basis. The same idea pervades them all, namely, that men who work together ought to be able to settle their differences without taking them into a law court. They all in their way do good service by bringing masters and men together, and giving them opportunities of exchanging ideas. . . . Both political parties in Belgium are pledged to further labor legislation. The government has undertaken to develop the principle of the labor councils, and to establish something of the nature of a Labor Parliament. On the part of the Opposition, M. Janson has already framed a bill to increase the number of conciliation boards, and establish labor courts for the special purpose of deciding matters relating to insurance, and to the scale of indemnity to be granted to the victims of accidents."

DR. STORRS'S ULTIMATUM.¹

DR. STORRS's intervention in behalf of the Prudential Committee of the American Board will, we trust, serve to dispel several illusions.

First. The illusion that the existing dissatisfaction with the management of the Board is of no consequence. Dr. Storrs might well be reluctant, as he seems to have been, to enter into a debate which may be continued at the annual meeting over which he is appointed to preside. If he and those to whom he refers, — one of them a conservative member of the committee, — as having created "a certain obligation" for him to speak, had not become aware of the gravity of the situation, we may assume that he would have followed his first intention to remain silent.

Second. The illusion that the doctrinal position of the Board on the question again made prominent is to-day exactly what it always has been. If any of our readers are curious in this matter, and will resort to the documentary proofs which were printed in this "Review," vol. viii. pp. 405 *sqq.*, they will find the materials for an interesting comparison with statements in Dr. Storrs's letter.

Third. The illusion that the management of the Board stands to-day on this question where it stood just before the meeting at Des Moines.

¹ *The Independent*, May 26, 1892, pp. 11, 12.

Then, the standard was the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life, accepted and held as an indispensable article of the Christian faith. Now, Dr. Storrs, who is a member of the Prudential Committee, as well as President of the Board, runs up an entirely different flag, and claims that it is the flag of the administration.

Fourth. The illusion that the management of the Board is now maintaining its original interpretation of the action at Des Moines. Dr. Storrs defines with rhetorical skill what is now held. How changed the position is any one may see by consulting the account, in the Annual Report for 1887, of the case of "Mr. B." He said exactly what Dr. Storrs affirms now secures a hearty and eager welcome, and for this declaration he was rejected by the Committee acting under "what they understand [understood] to be the instructions given to the Committee by the Board at that meeting," viz. the Annual Meeting at Des Moines.

The illusions to which we have just referred have been more prevalent, we suspect, among the conservatives in the Board than among the liberals. There are others in which the liberals have probably taken the larger share, but these will sufficiently appear as we consider Dr. Storrs's statement of what is, ought to be, and must be, the doctrinal method and rule of the Committee. Perhaps in the interest of reform and progress and an enduring harmony, the dissipation of these illusions will be found to be the special service of this ultimatum.

What, then, is this ultimatum? It may be divided into two parts.

Part I. The Board is not going to change its plan of administration, including, as we understand, the use of "supplementary questions" whenever it [that is, the Prudential Committee] shall think it needful."

Dr. Storrs enters at some length into an account of the occasion and purpose of the amendment to the report of the Committee of Nine which he suggested, and by which the permission to issue such questions was granted. The illustrations which he gives of the necessity for such a liberty of examination are instances where a "crude and partial" doctrinal statement is offered by parties at a distance from the Rooms, or where "vital points" are omitted. Dr. Storrs adds that his amendment commended itself to every one by its mere statement, and that it was unanimously adopted. Of course it was, in this intent. No one, so far as we are aware, has raised any objection to such questions in such cases. The only question is, whether the practice shall continue of inquiring into matters outside of the acknowledged creeds of the Congregational body, and as involved in this, whether this was the meaning of the Board in its action at Minneapolis. We understand Dr. Storrs to affirm that this was intended, that the practice ought to continue, that it is factious to object to it, that it ought not to be discussed, and that if it is discussed one "may as well go hunting for the lost Pleiad" as expect that anything can be done to "increase the efficiency of the Board." Why any-

thing should be done for such an end in a corporation whose "plan of administration" has already attained to immutability is not clear. Perhaps we are extending the scope of Dr. Storrs's rhetoric beyond his meaning. He is specifically referring to a scheme of which he approves for a "permanent" reconstruction of the Prudential Committee. But on the whole we think we have fairly caught the spirit of his contention — or ultimatum. No further change can be permitted in the way of limiting the powers of the Committee. All that was done at Minneapolis was to transfer the power of questioning from the Home Secretary to the Prudential Committee. They may question just as before, as respects range of topics and the kind of scrutiny employed.

If Dr. Storrs's dictum, "This is what was done at Minneapolis, and all that was done," is indeed the conclusion of the whole matter, then *we call for the publication of the statement of facts which was carefully prepared by the Committee of Nine, but was withheld in the interest of a peaceful change, and which shows by numerous details what this kind of scrutiny must mean*, even though conducted by a Committee and not by a single Secretary. We think that Dr. Alden will scarcely refrain from smiling at Dr. Storrs's eulogy of his "exemplary" "meekness and patience" under the change accomplished at Minneapolis by those who "felt gravely suspicious" of his "fairness," when he reads Dr. Storrs's exposition of what was really done, and which is beyond any further discussion or change. A man who not only sees his own policy enthroned, but immortalized, may well afford to be meek; but why should Dr. Storrs thus dash his picture? Perhaps he will recall a scene at Minneapolis in which he was himself a prominent actor. Dr. Walker, the chairman of the Committee of Nine, in enforcing the recommendations presented by him for action, began to draw from the carefully arranged and sifted facts collected in the investigation which had taken place of the methods pursued at the Rooms. He gave some details of a single case, we think of a second, and was proceeding to a third. His hand was raised, holding the record. The President interposed in a pathetic and imploring tone, exclaiming, "Don't! Don't!" or words to this effect. Dr. Taylor repeated the same intercession. The speaker stood holding the record in his uplifted hand, in a silence so intense as to be almost unbearable and for a moment which seemed to be lengthening out beyond measurement, then dropped his hand, and the record was left untold. We had hitherto supposed that no intelligent man, at all acquainted with the meaning of that moment, would ever venture to suggest that "all that was done" at Minneapolis was to transfer Dr. Alden's scrutinies into opinions which the churches agree in regarding as matters of private opinion and personal liberty, from him to other men. Nor when Dr. Storrs affirmed at Minneapolis so emphatically and impressively that the new policy — which the Home Secretary had characterized as a "radical change" in the methods of the Board — should be

“frankly, cordially, effectively, and completely carried out,” can we suppose that the speaker was not understood, by many at least, to pledge himself to resist any such practical nullification of the spirit and intent of the Investigating Committee’s report as has now been effected. Not that any supposed the doctrinal basis of the Board to have been changed, nor its cautionary rule adopted at Des Moines repealed, but that a new spirit, a “radical change” of method, in dealing with applicants was to be followed. But what do we see? Substantially the old questions are repeated. Not only is “the decisiveness of the present life” made prominent as before, but inquiries are pressed upon other topics, outside the creeds, under discussion, respecting which members of the same household of faith are not agreed, and there is a recognized liberty of opinion. Indeed, it is claimed by the Home Secretary that the Board at Minneapolis enjoined an increased strictness of doctrinal examination, and this not simply to ascertain whether the candidate holds the working theology of the churches as expressed in the leading creeds, but whether he can square his utterances to a particular type of theology, held by only a section — large and important, it may be, yet only a wing — of the Board’s constituency. Dr. Storrs’s rule, together with his indorsement of the existing practice of the Committee, gives apparently his full approval to a participation by the churches’ missionary Board in theological and critical questions such as those of natural or conditional immortality, or of the higher criticism. We might suppose that he had overlooked this extent of the Committee’s theological inquiries, if the matter had not been so prominent in the discussion into which he enters, and if it were not understood that he is kept informed of the weekly doings of the Committee. We are constrained, therefore, to accept his ultimatum as intended to cover these questions, and other similar ones that may arise, and to attribute this length and breadth to the permission of “supplementary questions” secured at Minneapolis by his amendment.

One other point in this connection deserves notice. The large minority of the Prudential Committee, who supported Dr. Storrs in his unavailing efforts to secure the appointment of Mr. Covell, have resisted in the decision and *in toto* the issuance, under the Minneapolis rule, of “supplementary questions” to candidates who accept the creeds. This shows that they do not interpret that rule as justifying the present practice, whatever may be said for the formal correctness of Dr. Storrs’s interpretation. Nor do we think that those of the Committee of Nine who were present at Minneapolis anticipated that under cover of an amendment providing for “supplementary questions” a method of inquiry would be formally instituted, as has been done the present year by the Prudential Committee, which renews a large part of the serious evils which it was hoped had been remedied. If we understand Dr. Storrs, he pronounces this abuse to be remediless.

Yet it is but a comparatively small matter whether Dr. Storrs’s inter-

pretation of the action at Minneapolis is complete or not. Minneapolis is already nearly two years behind us. There will be other Annual Meetings; and Dr. Storrs little understands the existing and growing dissatisfaction with the methods of the Committee in this matter of "supplementary questions," if he supposes that it can be suppressed by an appeal to any past action of the Board, or by any assumption of its finality.

Part II. Dr. Storrs offers the second part of his ultimatum in the form of a citation of four cases and of a summary of the rule they supply. Two of the cases represent successful applications for appointment; two the reverse. One candidate (the "Mr. A." of the Annual Report of 1887) said: "I hold the hypothesis of a future probation for those who have not the gospel;" another ("Mr. C."), "I do believe that it [*'probation after death as before explained,'* these words which we have italicized are omitted in Dr. Storrs's supply of a subject] is '*Scriptural.*' not as explicitly revealed and enforced, but as in harmony with Scripture; '*important,*' not as being a central and fundamental doctrine of Christianity, but because it honors Christ in giving completeness to his work." These applicants were rejected. Another ("Miss P.") said: "I do not know what will be God's dealings with those who have never known Christ, and who therefore can neither accept nor reject Him in this life. That question I must leave to God's justice and mercy."¹ This person was appointed to be an assistant missionary. Still another said, five years later, "As to how God will deal with those who have had no opportunity of hearing of Christ in this life, I do not know. I leave them in the hands of a just and loving God. The Scriptures do not seem to be wholly clear in the matter. It is a question which does not affect my working theology." This applicant (like "Mr. A." and "Mr. C.," the son of a missionary) has been appointed to be a missionary of the Board since the special discussion, now going on, arose.

Having made prominent these facts, together with a reference to his desire to see Mr. Covell appointed, for which he says, "I worked . . . with all my strength," but unsuccessfully, "*the majority of the Committee*" (*italics ours*) not regarding him as "within the lines which I had traced," Dr. Storrs thus comments:—

"On the ground thus outlined, in a rough-and-ready fashion, I for one still stand, absolutely. If one says, as was said by the candidate nearly six years ago: '*I hold the hypothesis of future probation for those who have not the gospel,*' my answer must be: '*Very well; we don't question your sincerity or your Christian integrity; we hope you will do well wherever you are; but on that basis we fail to see why you should be sent, or anybody else, at great cost and risk of life, to preach the gospel to those for whom waits a probation in the Beyond, when the body and its passions, the world and its temptations, shall have all passed away.*' But if one says, as later candidates

¹ We will quote later the words which immediately precede these, which Dr. Storrs cites, and give some further account.

have said in effect, 'I don't know. It is n't revealed; I leave the whole matter in the hands of a just and merciful God; and any thought or hope which I may have about it will have no effect on my missionary labor,' I should send him, otherwise approving him, with all my heart, and with great expectations. This was the plan of administration ratified at New York; and, as I have supposed, as clearly settled and as fairly carried out in the last year as has been the movement of the Connecticut River. We have been, as I conceive, agreed upon this: A man may be as orthodox as the Catechism, and as colorless in spirit as its gray wrapper; we don't want him. Another may be as lively as the last novelet, and as eccentric in religious opinion; we have no use for him. We want character, manhood, energetic purpose, Christian consecration, first of all, with probable aptness for reaching men's minds; and then we want the old Faith, thoroughly believed, energetically felt, with no counteracting strain upon it from any conviction that future chances are to come which may make the present preaching of it practically superfluous or positively dangerous. I believe that the Board, in its great majority, with the churches behind it, stand now as squarely and solidly on this ground as ever before; and I no more look for substantial change in this general position than I look to see June and November changing places."

The whole matter is then summed up as follows:—

"So far as the doctrine of Future Probation is concerned, these questions have always contemplated and met, as I understand it, one of two answers: 'Yes, I hold it;' or, 'I don't *know* anything about it.' If the first answer has been given, the Committee, I presume, has declined to make the appointment. It certainly ought to have done so. It would puzzle the astuteness of the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer to see how it could do otherwise while remaining faithful to the repeated and unrepealed instructions of the Board. If the other answer has been given, . . . other qualifications of character, health, mental vigor, zeal for work, being found sufficient, he has been cordially and even eagerly appointed."

It is well, for the sake of definiteness, that Dr. Storrs has cited cases and given his judgment upon them, and not merely attempted to formulate the rule. So far as we are aware, not one of those whom the Committee has rejected for their views respecting a future opportunity of grace has said, I hold the "doctrine of Future Probation." One, "Mr. C.," used an expression which may be thought to imply this; but this does not represent his exact position. Further, no one, we presume, would fail to affirm "I don't *know* anything about it," if Dr. Storrs's italics represent his meaning. In fact, we think it will be found that most of them have practically said this. It will suffice to adduce Dr. Storrs's strongest case. "Mr. C." informed the Committee that Rev. Robert A. Hume's "position as published is substantially that taken by Mr. A. and me." He further stated to a large and influential council which ordained him as a foreign missionary, and supported his renewed application for appointment, and this statement was before the Committee when it finally rejected him:—

"Those who do not hear the message in this life, *I trustfully leave to God.*

I do not claim to know God's method of dealing with them. But I do not refuse to think about them. I entertain in their behalf what I conceive to be a reasonable hope that *somehow*, before their destinies are fixed, there shall be revealed to them the love of God in Christ Jesus. In this, *as in every question to which God has given no distinct answer*, I merely claim the liberty of the gospel." (Italics ours.)

Indeed, in the very paragraph from which Dr. Storrs quotes, the candidate had said :—

"It is not a fair statement of my attitude toward the dogma in question to say that it enters into the 'warp and woof' of my convictions, for it might be eliminated without destroying the fabric of my belief. Therefore, I would with special earnestness disclaim the phrase that to my mind this dogma is 'a part of the substance of the gospel.' It is rather a corollary and inference to be deduced from the positive teaching of Scripture."

It is easy, of course, in a rough and unsympathetic way to affirm that there is no difference between a "hypothesis" and a "doctrine," or between an "inference" and an article of faith, or a "reasonable hope" and a revealed truth which forms an integral part of the substance of the gospel; but Dr. Storrs we have not been wont to associate with men who thus misuse the English tongue. Has any one of the rejected candidates spoken of any article of the creeds which they have accepted as a "hypothesis"? Has any one referred to either of the fundamental beliefs or "vital points" which Dr. Storrs enumerates, "inspiration, atonement, regeneration, the future life, or the person of Christ," as these enter into the acknowledged creeds of the Congregational body, as hypotheses, or inferences, or opinions, or dogmas, or as merely a "reasonable hope"? Dr. Storrs well knows that the word "doctrine" carries with it associations of a Scriptural and divine authority which no one of those who ought, it is claimed, to be rejected has ever connected with his views of a future opportunity.

When we come, however, to Dr. Storrs's ultimatum, as expressed in his judgment of particular cases, we find that he leaves no ambiguity as to those who are to be rejected. We have a peremptory decision and dictum. A man like the Reverend William H. Noyes, — the "Mr. C." of the "Annual Report," — although approved by the churches, approved as a foreign missionary, working to-day in perfect harmony with the missionaries of the Board, preaching no other gospel, is presented as wholly beyond the line within which appointments can be made. June will as soon become November, and November June, as that this fixed law should change. This is Dr. Storrs's doctrinal ultimatum. It is well at least to have reached the real question at issue, and to have done with methods and expedients, as in themselves sufficient, and most assuredly with the ambiguities and manipulations and subtle casuistries which become almost inevitable when no clear principle of action is determined upon.

It is well also to have the issue in a concrete form. Dr. Storrs has selected his man. We are most happy to agree with the choice. Dr. Storrs says, in effect: The Board should not, will not, appoint such a man as Mr. Noyes. We reply: The Board ought to appoint such a man, and will, when it understands the case, and is ready to be guided by the judgment and will of the churches. Let us delay a moment to make the issue perfectly plain. We take Mr. Noyes as a representative case. We set aside, therefore, incidental qualifications which may be purely personal to him,—his early training in a missionary family, his many claims through the past associations of his life. We would emphasize, however, as an essential part of the issue, his mental and physical qualifications for service, his superior education, his possession of precisely those qualities which Dr. Storrs emphasizes as wanted, "character, manhood, energetic purpose, Christian consecration, first of all, with probable aptness for reaching men's minds." No one will deny any of these qualities to Mr. Noyes. We will add, with Dr. Storrs, as rightfully required by the churches: "The old Faith, thoroughly believed, with no counteracting strain upon it from any conviction that future chances are to come which may make the present preaching of it practically superfluous or positively dangerous." We only ask at this point, What is the "old Faith"? Is it a Faith that is perpetually renewed? Is it the Faith of the churches that sustain the Board? Is it the Faith set forth in the Apostles' Creed, in the Nicene Creed, in the acknowledged symbols of the Congregational body? Or is it some one's interpretation of that belief, and determination to maintain this interpretation, after the churches have passed beyond it and left it behind? We know not what was in Dr. Storrs's thought in writing these words. It could not have been Dr. Alden's dogma, for Dr. S. has the "brightest hopes," in which we are happy to participate, of a recent appointee who sets aside that tenet as of Scriptural obligation. We will not suppose that he intends to include in it anything more than the doctrines commonly held in the Congregational churches, and as commonly held, that is under the principle of Biblical authority and the continuous expression of them in the life and usages of these churches. This, at any rate, is the sense in which we adopt his words, and we mean by them that the Board ought not to appoint as missionaries men who adopt any solution of the problem presented by the condition and history of heathenism which contradicts the Christian creed, or which conflicts with the supreme motive to missionary consecration. On this latter point, however, it is not permissible to go outside of the creeds and introduce consequences for which they lay no foundation. If, for instance, the creeds do not require a man to maintain Dr. Alden's dogma, it is not legitimate to say that a man cannot have the missionary motive because he is not moved by this dogma. We suspect that Dr. Storrs has not freed his reasoning from this fallacy. We would add our belief that

Mr. Noyes has made objectively and palpably clear the fallacy in question by his consecrated life, and by his happy harmony in missionary labors with his real, though not as yet official associates. The true test, whether Mr. Noyes fulfills it, as we believe, or not, is faith in the gospel. It is not the prerogative of any Board or man to prescribe any other. And if a man is otherwise qualified and accepts the recognized creeds, and sincerely desires and resolves, as God shall open the way, to preach the gospel as thus received by the churches that sustain the Board, the Board should send him with the contributions it solicits and receives. This is our issue with Dr. Storrs, and the one now before the Board and the Congregational churches. Dr. Storrs says that a man, in all other respects entirely qualified, shall not be sent, if he thinks it to be a reasonable, and in a large view a Scriptural hope that He who gave himself for all will find some way to bring to bear upon all the motive of his dying and constraining love. We might contend, and facts becoming more and more numerous and emphatic are beginning to confirm the plea, that such a sense of the greatness of Christ and his love indicates a man especially fitted to be sent. But this is not our argument here. We simply say: Dr. Storrs's ultimatum excluding such a man is open to fatal objections.

SOME of these objections are as follows: —

1. It is a new dogmatic dictum or rule, which rests on no doctrinal principle.

The new rule starts with the concession that a candidate may put in as a part of his application the statement that the Scriptures do not teach the universal decisiveness of this life. On the question of God's dealings in grace with what has been hitherto immensely the greater part of the human race, he may say that the Scriptures are not clear, that nothing is revealed which enables him to frame a doctrinal statement. Indeed, if he holds that Scripture is so utterly blank and dumb that he can answer the question, "May there be a future opportunity?" by saying, "I don't *know* anything about it," he is sure of a cordial and eager welcome. The dogma, therefore, that the Scriptures are indecisive is now at a certain premium. Now on this basis it would be supposed that the rule would be framed in this wise: Since the Scriptures do not exclude the thought that God's redemptive purpose for humanity — the American Board started with the realization, in the churches and theology which had previously accepted a limited atonement, of the universality of that sacrifice — may extend in its method of recovery beyond the narrow limits of this earthly life, we may not forbid your entertaining this hope. We only caution you against a dangerous and divisive use of it; against teaching it as of faith; against wresting it from its proper uses as men have done even with positive teachings of Holy Writ, the doctrines, for instance, of dependence on divine grace, regeneration, unconditional pre-

destination, and Christ's relation to his elect. It would seem to be evident without any argument that if the only rule of faith, the word of God contained in sacred Scripture, authorizes us to believe that Christianity is God's search for the lost, and that in purpose this search is universal, and if they do not exclude a hope that, if necessary to its full accomplishment, this search will follow those not otherwise reached beyond the grave, the rule of such a board of doctrinal examiners, it would seem to go without saying, must follow these lines of the rule of faith, not including what they exclude, nor shutting out what they permit.

What now do we see in the rule as laid down by Dr. Storrs? First a concession that a candidate may hold that the Scriptures do not decide against a future opportunity for those who have not the gospel, and then a prohibition from making use of this concession; first a permission to hold that the Scriptures leave room for a hope, then a refusal to allow such a hope to be held; first an eager welcome to the man who holds that Scriptures authorize no dogma, then a rejection in the name of the Lord of the man who says, if Christ died for all, then I may hope that all will somehow come to the knowledge of such love; first an approval of the principle that no dogma can be stated, then a setting up one in the region affirmed to be beyond dogma. In a word, the rule begins with applauding an applicant who says, "I don't know anything about it," and ends with setting up a doctrine competent only to omniscience. Such are the absurdities of this new rule.

But its entire destitution of any principle will, perhaps, be even more evident by a glance at its evolution. The process has been, from the beginning to its present stage of being, a series of makeshifts, controlled by no principle save one that was virtually abandoned at the first move, and which remains afterwards chiefly as a desire to retain so much of what had been deserted as is practicable.

First there was set up the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life. This was presented to applicants as something which must be held in order to an appointment. It was maintained as an essential doctrine of Christianity, a definitely revealed article of faith. The dogma was no novelty, but had been held for generations as an indisputable teaching of Scripture. There is nothing surprising in its survival in the minds of a majority of those who ten years ago were intrusted with the control of the affairs of the Board. What is noteworthy is that they were so little influenced by the change in interpretation of the Scriptures and the understanding of their scope and limitations which was in progress, and especially that they stubbornly refused at first to tolerate any dissent. Against all efforts to conform the practice of the committee to that of the churches sustaining the Board, against the private and public remonstrances of the wise President of the Board, the Committee perseveringly adhered to the dogma we have stated. The Board, largely though indirectly and naturally formed by the manage-

ment, and successively recruited for the contest, passed resolutions which were interpreted as leaving no alternative to the most rigid application of the contested dogma. Between the cases of "Mr. A." and "Mr. C.," cited by Dr. Storrs from the Annual Report, is that of "Mr. B." He said :—

"I am not prepared to affirm that those are lost who have not heard the gospel in this life. . . . I do believe that the general tenor of the Scriptural teaching is that 'now is the day of salvation,' and this teaching it is my purpose to teach. All that I mean is that as regards the hypothesis of a future probation I do not know. Practically it affects neither my belief nor my teaching."

The Home Secretary sent to this candidate these words from a leaflet :—

"On this point also [the universal decisiveness of the present life] it will not do for a religious teacher to say : 'I do not know.' He ought to know. . . . This is not a subject on which it is reasonable to believe that a revelation from heaven has taught nothing."

The case was deferred until after the Annual Meeting at Des Moines, and then the candidate, who simply said "I don't *know* anything about it," was rejected by the Committee acting under "the instructions given the Committee by the Board at that meeting."

The year which followed the Des Moines gathering was one of widespread and almost continuous discussion. As it was wearing away, a lady (Miss P. of the Report) applied for appointment as an assistant missionary.

She stated that she had "never studied on doctrinal subjects," and did "not feel competent to express an opinion on them;" and added : "I do not know what will be God's dealings with those who have never known Christ, and therefore can neither accept nor reject Him in this life. That question I must leave to God's justice and mercy,"—the phrase now so eulogized. The Home Secretary was much dissatisfied, and was understood positively to disapprove her appointment. He labored with her in his customary way. Meanwhile the rumor that he was opposed to her appointment brought on a tremendous private pressure from without. The Secretary yielded in his equally well known way. He recommended her appointment, with an "understanding;" and she was accepted, whether with or without the "understanding" we cannot say. The storm had already gathered, which soon broke at Springfield. Not yet was any missionary appointed who was an agnostic. This precedent, however, had been made, — an applicant may be appointed as an assistant missionary who has never studied theology, and gives assurance that she will "emphasize not one but *all* of Christ's teachings," even though she can only say with respect to the heathen, I leave them "to God's justice and mercy." Then came the letter of Dr. Storrs accepting the presidency of the Board, in which discriminations on subjective or personal grounds were suggested in the cases of

applicants who could not subscribe to Dr. Alden's dogma. The President was not then a member of the Committee, and two years followed in which the service of the Board was deteriorated to an almost incredible degree. The situation became so intolerable that a spontaneous demonstration at New York adverse to the management, and unexpected by it, became so irresistible that a Committee of Investigation was appointed. The President made his notable utterance respecting the "two wings," and, with the Vice-President, was put upon the Prudential Committee. Much was hoped from this change, but in the case of Mr. Covell, the President and Vice-President were defeated in their endeavors, and for this or more interior causes the former's elaborate scheme of personal discrimination never had much effect beyond, perhaps, helping to break down the traditional dogma, making it at least a matter not of unquestionable divine authority but of "private interpretation."

Mr. Covell withdrew from the manipulation to which he was subjected in disgust, and it seemed as though self-respectful and thoughtful men would pretty much cease to be longer available for the Board. Meanwhile, under the storm of criticism that arose, the supporters of the administration had not infrequently made prominent the precedent established in the case of the assistant missionary to which we have referred. It was, however, shorn of its adjuncts, and the theology of the Board, once so stalwart, contented itself with the pious prescription: Say that you leave the heathen to the justice and goodness of God, and all will be well with you. One condition, it would seem, was still at least implicit: In leaving the heathen to God, do not permit yourself to hope that He can grant to any of them a future opportunity. The objective requirement was thus reduced, and the subjective conditions were less inquired into. A suggestion from Mr. Noyes's case may also have been gaining in consideration. He had said: "Those who do not hear the message in this life, I trustfully leave to God. I do not claim to know God's method of dealing with them. But," he had added, "*I do not refuse to think about them.*"

The way was opened to a new rule: "Leave all to God, and do not think." This seems to be about the stage which is pronounced to be final in Dr. Storrs's ultimatum. His rule is not quite so pointed, but it excludes any thinking which discovers any light in Scripture or reason which can relieve the terrible darkness of the ordinary view of the "doom of the heathen." A man at any rate must not think in any way which will give him cheer and comfort in his personal adjustment to this dark problem, and form a part of his speculative theology, and be of service, perchance, to other minds in distress, although all this simply makes him more real, earnest, and devoted in preaching the "old faith."

We have thus in these few years this rapid succession of rules:—

1. The rule of the universal decisiveness of this life, accepted as an essential article of the Christian faith. The missionary "ought to

know." 2. The rule, for an assistant missionary, at least: She may be appointed (with an "understanding"?) *even though* she doesn't know, but leaves the whole question to God. 3. The original rule, modified by the consideration of various subjective conditions, to be ascertained by conference. A man may say "I don't know," or even "I hope," if he does not say it too loud, or make too much of it. 4. The original rule wholly abandoned, with its premise of Scriptural authority, and a new one established which welcomes the man who says boldly, "I don't *know* anything about it."

And this rule, having this genesis, is now announced as the ultimatum! In reality the new rule is simply the last one in a series of endeavors to find a lodgment for a night's rest. It maintains no doctrine, states no doctrine, proceeds upon no theological principle. It is, from beginning to end, an abandonment of doctrine. We can respect the men who accepted and insisted upon the universal decisiveness of this life, under the conviction that this is the teaching of God's holy Word. But when this ground is no longer held, and a retreat is made into the regions of ignorance, the attempt to draw lines is simply futile. Scripture does not authorize them. Reason cannot defend them. Experience proves them to be unavailing.

2. The new rule is an arbitrary use of power, and an infringement upon the rights of the Board's constituency.

Its arbitrariness is shown in its lack of a principle. So long as the discouragement or rejection of persons desirous of service under the Board proceeded from a conviction that the Bible leaves the church no alternative but to maintain the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life, the practice, however inconsiderate, was not intrinsically arbitrary. It rested on a principle and maintained what was held to be a doctrine. But when the original basis and premise is no longer asserted and insisted upon, the enforcement of successive rules whose rightfulness depends solely upon what is thus practically renounced is a mere exercise of arbitrary power. Whence is such authority to be derived? Not from the Prudential Committee. It is an executive committee, and in other societies is usually so denominated. It claims to be acting under instructions from the Board, — instructions, however, which it interprets now, if Dr. Storrs's statements and its own action may be accepted as proof, directly contrary to what it did six years ago, and which it has known how to construe in many ways as purely cautionary. If this is a right construction, which we do not dispute, and if the Board's approval from year to year of the Committee's modification of their practice, until now they approve of what precisely they condemned a little more than five years ago, justifies it, then the Board has itself waived the principle of the binding character of the old dogma of the practically universal exclusion of the pagan world from a Christian opportunity of

grace. The Board, therefore, has no more authority to prescribe such rules as the Committee is enforcing than have its agents. The ground and principle of authority are surrendered. It may now, it is proclaimed, be held lawfully that the Scriptures are not decisive in the matter. That is, the old dogma is no longer of faith. Then, we say, a rule which depends upon this dogma's being of faith has lost its justification. The Board is enacting, or approving in its agents' enactments, rules respecting the faith which it pronounces to have no necessary basis in the faith. All these rules are *ultra vires*. They are a sheer usurpation of authority.

Is it replied, the Board has not renounced the original basis of the rule by which the candidates were rejected? Then the Board has violated its own doctrinal principles and in a manner deserving the severest censure. It has said, this dogma is an essential and indispensable part of Christ's gospel, and then it has appointed men who disbelieve this dogma and will not teach it. That is, the Board has practically betrayed the trust it professes to have received and to be responsible for. When at last we are told that men are eagerly welcomed who say the Scriptures are silent or indecisive on the subject, the matter becomes even a more flagrant violation of its assumed responsibility. But we do not contend that the Board has thus erred. We are ready to concede, at least if the conservatives so understand their own action, that its instructions have been cautionary, not dogmatic and theological. It remains, then, that the instructions of the Board convey no authority to enforce as a necessary article of faith Dr. Alden's dogma, and that the President of the Board is justifiable in saying that this position is not maintained. It stands, then, also, that every rule which implies this retired dogma has lost its validity. Its principle being evacuated, it stands as a mere act of ghostly power. "Thou art a scholar, Horatio, speak to it." Speak to it, every one who thinks enough of his faith to be shocked when what is conceded to be no necessary part of it is still perpetuated as though it were, in irritating, oppressive, and arbitrary rules.

We have said that the new rule is an encroachment on the rights of the Board's constituency.

A close corporation is in danger of forgetting that others than its own membership have rights in it. The Board is mainly what it is by the steadfast support of the Congregational churches of the United States. Every member of these churches has an inherited right in it. If it adopts a policy which shuts out many of its leading ministers from the possibility of service under it, and all who accept their teachings, — these men and those who follow them having an unimpeachable standing in the body from which the Board draws its life, — it violates privileges and claims which it is under sacred obligations to recognize and secure. Fortunately it is no longer necessary to consider what would be the duty of the Board if a portion of its constituency became recreant to the

Faith. The President of the Board by the letter we are considering, the Prudential Committee by its action, the Board by approving these doings, have announced that the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life is no longer a part of the substance of the gospel, a necessary article of faith. It may be discarded. The obligation therefore rests upon the Board without the slightest possible diminution to treat those who take this conceded position as in full possession of all their privileges and rights under this organization. One of the most sacred of these rights, one of the greatest of these privileges, is that of carrying through its aid the gospel of Christ to the unevangelized. Since the policy of adhering in matters of belief to what the churches do not require, and proscribing those who do not conform to this extra-confessional standard, was determinedly entered upon, one of the most painful facts connected with it, as well as most fitted to excite a just and intense indignation, is the Board's utter forgetfulness of the right to the opportunity of service it should provide of many of our most capable and devoted young men and women.

3. The new rule is a dictum in matters of faith which proceeds from a majority of a Committee appointed by a close corporation, and is constructed in disregard of the acknowledged creeds, and in violation of the doctrinal usages, of the churches which sustain the Board.

It should be remembered that the persons against whom the Committee's proscriptive rules, in their successive phases, have been employed, are all members of evangelical churches in good and regular standing; persons commended for Christian character, and in the cases of applicants for appointment as missionaries, within the ministerial fellowship of the Congregational churches, and in agreement with their fullest and acknowledged creeds. It is such men whom the Committee proscribes. It were enough to call out remonstrance until the evil is remedied, if only one such candidate were rejected. It is often proclaimed that only a few comparatively have been. It is overlooked that under the existing *régime* the cases of actual application from those who judge that all the probabilities of success are adverse, are naturally few. As a matter of known fact, not a few abandon their choice of foreign service, believing that the way is not open to them. How many are diverted no one can say, but there is no reasonable doubt that many are. But this is a digression. It is the character, not the number, of rejected or discouraged applicants, with which we are now concerned. And we repeat what we have just said in order that the fact may be borne in mind: some of the best of those from whom applications should come are those who are spurned, — best in capacity, best in devotion to missionary labor, accredited wherever they go as true and faithful members of our Congregational fellowship, whether as members of churches or as Christian ministers. The new rule would receive some who a short time ago

would have been rejected. We are glad to recognize this advance. But it shuts out those who ought to be received, if the creeds and customs of the churches, and not the will of a close corporation, should decide the question. Not one of those whom the Board shuts out fails of ordination, when he applies for it. Not one would be otherwise than welcome to service under any other of the great societies through which Congregationalists conduct their benevolent operations. What are the facts, in this connection, respecting the honored representative of a leading Congregational church in Boston, now laboring under its commission in Japan? He is one of Dr. Storrs's exemplary cases in the statement of his rule, — a man who ought not to be and will not be appointed by a Board sustained by Congregationalists. He is a graduate of Amherst College and Andover Seminary, and was warmly commended by his instructors, including ex-President Seelye, for appointment. After his rejection by the Committee, a large and representative Council ordained him as a foreign missionary, and advised the church which convened it to endeavor to secure his acceptance by the Board. The overture was rejected, and the church sent him and Mrs. Noyes to Japan independently. He has been working ever since in entire harmony, so far as we are aware, with the missionaries of the Board. The churches which advised and united in his ordination are among the oldest, most liberal, most constant, of the supporters of the Board. Not only their wishes, but the universal practice of the denomination east and west, north and south, is violated in principle by such an exclusion. We have no reason to suppose that an ecclesiastical Council, fairly representative, could be called in any part of the entire domain of our Congregational churches which would advise or act differently from the large and able Council which accredited Mr. Noyes. Dr. Storrs, indeed, claims that the churches are in accord with the Board. As matters appear now to be going, they may have an opportunity sooner than could have been anticipated of deciding this matter for themselves.

Looking at the general situation, three considerations are at once suggested : —

1. The increase of dissatisfaction with the present management of the Board. These successive attempts to make a stand, these grudging concessions bit by bit, show that something has been wrong, and has elicited continued criticism which could only be met by repeated changes. They show, also, the widening and deepening of this dissatisfaction. Such concessions as now are made would not have been thought of five years ago. Dr. Storrs's ultimatum may stiffen the Committee and the Board for a little, but the impatient tone of his letter, as well as the untenableness of his position, gives assurance that matters cannot be thus quieted. The Board, through its Committee, has entered on a path which cannot end in a tangle of absurdities and diplomatic adjustments.

One concession for expediency's sake requires another. It will be compelled to go back to its first principle,—that is, to require what the word of God makes clear. The mission of the Board is to carry to men the gospel. We believe it should cease to act as an independent judge of what the Scriptures require as of faith, that Dr. Hopkins was right when he said that the Committee should be not a theological but a Prudential Committee. But for the present discussion, it deserves to be noticed that a correct principle was employed when an acceptance of Dr. Alden's dogma was insisted on because it was an essential and vital part of Christianity, and is proved to be so by sacred Scripture. Now that this position is given up, the Board will have to let go of all those rules and methods which imply its continued force. Until this is done, there will be constant criticism, attack, yielding, friction, and nothing settled. Men will submit to the Word of God; they will not submit to dicta which do not even pretend to embody its undeniable injunctions.

We met recently with a prominent leader in the work of Christian education in this country, who has recently visited a number of schools, colleges, and other similar institutions at the West. This person's testimony was given to us spontaneously and with much earnestness of manner substantially thus: "Everywhere the question is asked, when will this policy of restriction end?" Dr. Storrs's letter seems to us to indicate that he has no just conception of the amount and force of the existing dissatisfaction. Men are weary of merely prudential efforts to produce quietness.

2. A second reflection is, that this process of settling matters by successive concessions won by constant contentions is fatal to any enthusiasm for the Board among those who supply its need of missionaries. Men can grow enthusiastic over a battle for a principle, they lose respect for those who in serious matters seem to be playing a game of "Hold fast what you can."

Really, there is something pitiable in the sacrifice which the Board is making of its most precious treasures and its golden opportunities. Dr. Storrs says practically: "Stop discussion, raise the extra hundred thousand dollars." Does he realize what such words mean to young men who desire to give their lives to the service of Christ, but are kept back by rules which they readily discern to be arbitrary and destitute of religious authority and doctrinal principle? The Board has already greatly weakened its hold on the young men and women who will be the leaders in Christian work for the next generation. It does not command them to the extent it might and should, and we believe it cannot as at present administered. We say this, not theoretically, but from what we hear and see. Nor only this. It is wasting its influence just at the time when the other societies, at the point where it is quibbling and managng, are administered with liberality and in full accord with the creeds and practice of the churches. It is thus throwing away its chance for men just

when the work at home is becoming most attractive to high-souled, broad-minded, energetic, courageous, and devoted Christian men, — just when the questions of race, social organization, adaptation of Christian effort to conditions now beginning to be carefully studied and imperative in their needs, are enlisting such spirits and summoning them to new and arduous enterprises of benevolence. What is the American Board doing, at such a time as this, to reinforce its appeal to these men? Turning off some of the best of them, — disgusting others, — suggesting that they can be appointed if they will conjure by some dogmatically unprincipled formula, and submit to casuistic distinctions between obscure and obscurer shades of belief, hope, and doubt, if they will wrestle no more with the mysteries of life nor breathe the air of freedom in which their brethren in the ministry of the churches they leave behind them rejoice as an eagle in the sunlight. Oh! the absurdity and the folly, the shame, the untold loss and disaster of it all! And yet one simple principle, which was uttered in the beginning of the conflict in private and in public, in the committee-room at Boston and on the platform at Des Moines, one plain practical word of that statesman, philosopher, friend of missions, whose voice will long be heard in the councils of the Board, as in halls where men are learning to think and to live in the freedom of the spirit of Christ, might settle all the wrangling and clear all the confusion of the hour: "Let the Board follow, not dictate to, the churches. Let the Prudential Committee cease to be a theological and become a Prudential Committee." Then the Board could do its work in peace, and give scope to the nobility of its service and summon men to new enthusiasms.

3. We cannot stop without adverting to one other reflection. The conflict for a reasonable liberty of opinion within the Congregational body is not peculiar to this generation. What is striking is, that it is not now in ministerial bodies, nor in the churches. These have all found or conquered peaceful conditions of religious thought and life for the present at least, whatever the future has in store. The present conflict is in a close corporation. Still the Board is not wholly outside the churches. It depends upon them mainly for its funds, as for its missionaries. It is in an atmosphere in which a contest for liberty within the terms of the gospel has never terminated but in one way.

NOTE.

As we are concluding the preceding article, we are informed that the present week the Prudential Committee has sent to an applicant, who had offered in expression of his faith the familiar "creeds of acknowledged weight," supplementary questions not only upon the relation of this life to the future, but upon other topics. A short time ago such questions, in a case known to us, were reduced to two. Now, to an applicant offering the same creeds, so far at least as the Congregational symbols are concerned, and as the questions are concerned, a larger number is presented. Why this distinction?

Further, it is evident that in the face of all remonstrances the Committee is determined to pursue inquiries beyond the creeds. And yet Dr. Storrs thinks that discussion should cease, so that the contributions may grow.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

MARK XVI. 9-20, AND JOHN VII. 53-VIII. 11.

THE genuineness of writings nearly two thousand years old could hardly have failed to be called in question, and with reference to our canonical Gospels the inquiry has probably elicited all that is attainable of external testimony. The result of extended discussion has been, for many minds, to confirm the substantial authenticity of these books, and for not a few to replace the unquestioning faith of a less inquiring age by a corresponding belief based on solid grounds. Indeed, the present tendency of what was destructive criticism is to shorten the interval between the events of our Saviour's life and their records, and to accredit to his immediate followers the traditions contained in those records.

The internal tokens of authorship have even more evidential value than the external proofs. Such tokens may be found in each of the four Gospels, and especially in the second and fourth. Moreover, neither of the Gospels — with the exceptions hereafter to be made — shows any mark of divided authorship, or of other than slight and insignificant accretions or interpolations by later hands. To account for what the Synoptic Gospels have in common forms no part of my present purpose; I have elsewhere given what seems to me a perfectly satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon. Each of the Gospels, taken by itself, seems a continuous story, written by a man who had a distinct conception of the life and character of Jesus Christ, and there are no incidents or utterances out of harmony with that conception, — none which indicate any other than the author's wonted point of view. Then, too, the four Gospels confirm one another's authenticity, inasmuch, in their differences of material and style, with their distinctive marks of separate authorship, there is no discrepancy as to the personage whose history they give. The fourth Gospel, indeed, has in its contents very little in common with the Synoptics; yet its fuller view of the interior life and the spiritual teaching of Christ is but the drawing out, in more ample detail, of traits of mind, soul, speech, and life, of which we have the clear outline in the other three. Each of the four contributes to the perfectness of the picture, while in neither of them is there a line or tint out of keeping with the portraiture in the other three. Still farther, as to what is commonly called the miraculous element in the life of Christ, if that element existed, there is nothing in these narratives which might not have been written by eye and ear witnesses, who described their own remembered impressions of what they saw and heard.¹ In fine, those who believe Christ to have possessed and

¹ The only objection which we anticipate to this statement concerns the cure of the so-called demoniacs. Those who believe in the reality of demoniacal possession of course find no difficulty. If the persons so cured were insane or epileptic patients, and the lookers-on had supposed them possessed by

manifested all of the divine that could be made human, find in these narratives nothing un-Christlike, — nothing that does not correspond in word and deed with their highest Christ-ideal. In saying this we must except two passages, which are found in the long received Greek text of the New Testament, stand without any expression of doubt in our common English translation, and are retained, though printed apart and as of more than doubtful genuineness, in the Revised Version. The only portions of the Gospels which I should want to expunge for the sake of our Divine Master and his religion are these, which have no right to be there.

The first of these passages is Mark xvi. 9-20. This is entirely wanting in the Sinaitic and the Vatican Manuscripts, undoubtedly the oldest extant, also in still existing manuscripts of Armenian and Æthiopic versions which were made in the third or fourth century. In more than forty manuscripts it is inserted, with a note, generally to the effect that the passage is regarded as spurious, and is not contained in the more accurate copies, sometimes, however, with an opposite statement, which is fully as clear a token of disputed genuineness. Some manuscripts and versions give a short and very different ending to the Gospel, after verse 8, and in one manuscript of venerable antiquity both endings are given, each with the note, "This also is extant," showing that neither of them was considered as rightfully belonging where it stood. Origen, from whose writings the Gospels might almost be reconstructed, does not quote from this passage; Eusebius says that it is wanting in most copies and in the most accurate; and Jerome says that it is omitted in almost all the Greek manuscripts that came under his hands.

That Mark should have left his Gospel unfinished is by no means strange, when we consider the precarious hold on life of the early Christian propagandists. That Mark's Gospel was virtually Peter's is a belief resting not only on tradition, but equally on very strong tokens of Peterine authorship. But if Mark wrote as Peter's amanuensis, Peter's imprisonment and martyrdom may have arrested the story abruptly, and in that case the disciple may have preferred leaving it unfinished to writing a conclusion of his own, especially if he was not personally cognizant of the resurrection and the events that followed it. Or Mark's own career may have been suddenly arrested; for the narrative of his latter years rests on very slender authority. That a close should be added was almost inevitable. Morally speaking, it was not a case of forgery. Our notions of literary property and of the inviolableness of authorship are modern. No one in the second or third Christian century would have regarded himself as performing other than a right, necessary, and pious work in finishing to the best of his ability an unfinished book, and the various devices by which in our time the honest finisher of another's work would take care to discriminate between the original and the supplement have come into use since the introduction of printing. Copyists who

evil spirits, we should expect from them very much such accounts as we have, especially when we consider that Jesus himself would have spoken on such occasions in the Oriental idiom, rife with personification and apostrophe. Still farther, if a herd of swine, alarmed by the concourse of people, had rushed down a precipice into the lake, what more natural than that bystanders should suppose that the demons let loose had entered into the swine? Indeed, a person who had no belief in demons might have very easily described the scene by saying that the madness passed out of the men into the swine.

were fully aware that the addition was by another hand, if it contained nothing that seemed to them objectionable, would gladly and gratefully have adopted it, oftener than not without comment, and so transmitted it as seemingly genuine to successive generations of copyists.

The verbal construction of this passage shows that it was not written by the author of the book. In the first sentence Mary Magdalene is named as the woman from whom Jesus "had cast out seven devils." She is twice mentioned by Mark in connection with the crucifixion and entombment; and if he had wanted to designate her in this way, he would have done so when she is numbered among those standing by the cross. But the writer of the supplement either meant to tell what Mark had omitted, or else he failed to observe the previous introduction of Mary's name by the evangelist.

In that same sentence "the first day of the week"¹ is designated in a form nowhere else found in the New Testament, while in the second verse of this same chapter Mark had used a form which occurs repeatedly elsewhere.²

The expression "them that had been with him" is peculiar to this closing paragraph, and nowhere else in the New Testament are the apostles thus designated; while the phrase itself was much more likely to have been used at a later period than by one who had been familiarly acquainted with the apostles.

In verses 10 and 11, a demonstrative pronoun is used in a way in which I cannot find it employed anywhere else in the New Testament, in a sense neither demonstrative nor emphatic. "*She*³ went and told them." "And *they*,⁴ when they had heard that he was alive."

There are, beside, in this short passage some ten or twelve instances in which the writer uses words or phrases peculiar to himself, and unlike those which Mark uses in similar connections. In fine, the style of the passage differs from Mark's style. While perhaps less Hebraistic, it evidently belongs to one less in the habit of writing in the Greek tongue.

This passage would hardly claim special notice, and we would prefer to leave it undisturbed in its place, were it not for the false and utterly unchristian notions that have been derived from it. We refer especially to the words: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." This is the only instance in the New Testament in which salvation is represented as contingent on anything else than character. Jesus never requires specific beliefs of any kind as the condition of his or of God's approval. "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love." "He that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven" designates the object of the divine favor. In like manner Peter says: "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." Paul, indeed, in his two controversial epistles, shows that faith in Christ supersedes the Jewish ritual; but with him the substance of doctrine is that "the grace of God that bringeth salvation" teaches "that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." James lays such intense and sole stress on character that Luther, who differed from him, called his epistle — that transcendently admirable compend of Christian ethics — an epistle of straw.

¹ Πρώτη σαββάτου.

² Ἑκλήνη.

³ Τῆς μίας σαββάτου.

⁴ Κάκεῖνοι.

As to the idea that baptism is essential to salvation, no inference of the kind can be drawn from any other passage in the New Testament. Baptism is not even of Christian origin. There is abundant evidence that it was practiced by the Jews for proselytes and their families. That it was no new thing appears from the question put to John: "Why baptisest thou, then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?" — implying that this was the normal mode of initiation into a new religious régime. In this sense Christ prescribed it as the outward sign of admission to his church from Judaism or Paganism, and it is impossible to determine from the New Testament alone whether his purpose was that it should ever be other than a token of proselytism. We cannot, indeed, doubt that the same equally appropriate sign of the induction of the convert or the child from the outside world into the church has his approval and benediction, and my own belief is that it was included in his design and appointment. But had the salvation of Paul's converts depended on their baptism, it is inconceivable that he should have spoken of this rite with an indifference which from any one else might seem unbecoming, thanking God that he had baptized only two persons in Corinth, and then by an afterthought recalling one other instance. Had he ever heard of the saying of Jesus quoted by Mark's continuator, he would never have suffered a convert of his to pass from his hands till he had seen him safely through the water.

The earliest trace of a belief in baptism as essential to salvation is in the "Shepherd" of Hermas, which probably belongs late in the second century, and the earliest token that we have of the existence of this spurious close of Mark's Gospel is in the treatise of Irenæus "Against all Heresies," which bears nearly the same date. In the "Shepherd" the apostles are said to have baptized the Old Testament saints in Hades, in order to secure their admission into heaven. From that time the church doctrine of the necessity of baptism and of its efficacy in removing all sin seems to have been established. Hence Christian parents had the rite performed as soon as possible after a child's birth, trusting in the earlier time to penitence, and at a later period to the ritual of penance, for the cleansing from post-baptismal sin. On the other hand, adults who wanted to prolong the privilege of sinning postponed baptism till they were consciously in the shadow of death, that they might make the best of both worlds.

The theory of the Roman Church, certainly from the third century to the present day, has been the non-salvability of the unbaptized, even of new-born infants. The devices employed to cheat Satan out of his prey when the death of an infant was anticipated are a curious and a very unedifying chapter of church history. In the interest of mercy, the baptismal use of wine was authorized in an emergency when water was unattainable. In one recorded instance of sudden illness in a waterless desert sand was used; but as the baptized person did not die, while the baptism was held to have been hypothetically valid, it was decreed that water was essential to the completion of the rite. Lay-baptism, when the services of a priest could not be obtained, has always been regarded by authorities in the Roman Church as of saving efficacy.

We must not forget that in giving baptized infants a place in heaven the Roman Church was less unchristian than those Protestant sects that have maintained belief in the indiscriminate damnation of all infants, — a dogma which had its poet laureate in Michael Wigglesworth, and, as we

trust, its last champion on earth in Rev. Thomas Williams, who has but lately gone where he must have learned the difference between Moloch and Jehovah.

The English Church has retained in full the Roman doctrine of baptism. Its burial service is not used "for any that are not baptized," nor for excommunicated persons, nor for suicides, while for all who do not fall under one of these heads, even for notorious profligates, it expresses thanks for their delivery from the miseries of this world, and the hope that they rest in Christ. Unbaptized infants cannot have the rites of Christian burial, and until the passage of the recent Burials-Bill, they could not be interred in "consecrated ground," a term which included by far the greater part of the English cemeteries. The popular belief in England has been that the Quakers, because unbaptized, are excluded from the hope of heaven. When Bishop Stanley, in his cathedral at Norwich, preached a funeral sermon on Joseph John Gurney, than whom there could have been no more Christlike man, while there were many who admired and applauded his courage, he was utterly condemned by the more rigid churchmen for recognizing as a Christian a person who, as spiritually a *felo-de-se* by remaining unbaptized, must needs have been hell-bound. Indeed, fully half the Bishop's sermon is taken up in proving that so saintly a man as Gurney could not be shut out of heaven for lack of the external seal of the visible church.

In accordance with the established belief, great stress has been laid on the baptism of children as soon as possible after birth. Bishop Charles Wordsworth's mother was a Quaker, and was baptized on the day of her marriage. He thinks that it was on account of her indifference to the rite that he was not baptized till he was six months old, which, he says, "has always been a cause of some uneasiness," of course, in the thought of what might have been his doom had he died in early infancy. Archbishop Tait, in his stormy administration, encountered no hostility so bitter as in his advocacy of the Burials-Bill, one of the chief objections to it being that it opened the churchyards for the interment of the unbaptized; and among the strongest arguments against the bill it was urged that under the old régime dissenters fared no worse than the unbaptized children of churchmen. It should not be forgotten that in the English, as in the Roman Church, lay-baptism is valid. Not many years ago, a child born in an American family temporarily resident in England, died a few hours after its birth. The mother sent for the clergyman of the parish to perform a funeral service. He declined on the ground that the child had not been baptized. The nurse, who seems to have been well instructed, interposed and said that she, seeing that the child could not live, had herself administered baptism. The minister then said, "What this woman has done, though irregular, is enough to take the curse of God off from the child," and he performed the desired service. It would be well worth inquiry whether that poor man had derived a single idea from any other portion of the Gospels except that spurious verse. Did he suppose that the children on whom Jesus laid his hands in blessing had first been baptized?

The service of the American Episcopal Church indicates probably as wide a departure from the English in this respect as could have obtained the sanction of the prelates whose approval was a prerequisite to the consecration of the American bishops. It excludes "unbaptized adults" from the rites of Christian burial, and in the baptismal rubric, the min-

ister is enjoined to "often admonish the people, that they defer not the baptism of their children longer than the first or second Sunday after their birth, or other holy day falling between, unless upon a great and reasonable cause." While with the intelligent members of the American Church baptism is properly regarded as a sacred and salutary rite, not to be neglected or unduly postponed, it is hardly possible that the Roman and Anglican theory can have any strong foothold among them.

But there are in other quarters traces of this superstition about baptism. Within a few weeks the question, "Can a person be saved without baptism?" was discussed in one of the principal Baptist churches in this State. Of course adult baptism by immersion was meant; for the Baptists recognize no other form of the rite as valid. The question then was, "Are we Baptists to have heaven to ourselves alone, and are all the rest of the human race, including those around us whom we call our fellow-Christians, going into perdition?"

It is impossible to overestimate the mischief that has been done by this single spurious text, the anguish which it has caused with reference to the innocent and holy dead, and the agony of parents in committing their children with a prayerless funeral to an unhallowed grave. Still worse, even, is the reproach that has been cast on the character of God, in making salvation often contingent on conditions for which no human being can be held accountable. This verse has borne no small part in the past in cherishing those repulsive views of God the Father, which have made Christ seem the refuge from his wrath, rather than the incarnation of his infinite compassion (*con-passio*), love, and mercy, thus negating Christ's own words, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;" "I and the Father are one."

There is yet another charge against this spurious close of Mark's Gospel. Jesus is represented as saying: "These signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." No promises of this kind are recorded in the other Gospels; and Mark's continuator evidently generalized the two or three instances of the exercise of healing gifts in the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul's suffering no harm from the viper, which the narrator does not represent as miraculous, though the men of Malta thought it so.

Still farther, the nineteenth verse was undoubtedly borrowed from the account of Stephen's vision in the Acts of the Apostles; for while the phrase "sat on the right hand of God" means simply what all Christians believe, the form is not historical, and the other evangelists do not attempt to describe what passed after Jesus was taken from their sight.

Mark's Gospel was undoubtedly the earliest Gospel written in Greek, and was among Luke's authorities in his Gospel, "the former treatise;" while this close of Mark's Gospel indicates an acquaintance with a book which must have succeeded "the former treatise" by several, perhaps many years.

The other spurious passage to which I referred at the outset is John vii. 53-viii. 11, the narrative of the woman taken in adultery. This is wanting in all extant Greek manuscripts of earlier date than the eighth century, except the Cambridge Manuscript (*Codex Bezae*), which probably belongs to the sixth century. It is either wanting or inserted

in the margin in the oldest extant manuscripts of the earlier versions. Origen evidently knew nothing of it. Ambrose speaks of it as undoubtedly spurious. In many of the manuscripts in which it is found it is either written in the margin, or marked with an asterisk or an obelisk; in some it is appended to the Gospel; in some it is inserted between the twenty-first and the twenty-second chapters of Luke's Gospel.

In this short passage there are two designations — one of a place, the other of persons — which occur nowhere else in the Gospel. One is "the Mount of Olives," often used by the Synoptics with reference to various places within the region comprehended under this title, — places which in the fourth Gospel are designated by their local names. The other instance is the mention of "the Scribes,"¹ spoken of in the genuine portion of the Gospels as "the Jews," in the sense of "the hostile Jews," — the term ordinarily rendered *scribe* bearing, in Ephesus, where the fourth Gospel was probably written, an entirely different meaning, as appears from Acts xix. 35.²

If we omit this passage we have an unbroken narrative, in which Jesus holds a continuous conversation on the same day, with the same persons, and in the same tone on his part and on theirs; while if we receive the passage in question as genuine, a night intervenes; in the morning the guilty woman is brought to him in the Temple; when she goes he is left alone there, and he immediately speaks "unto *them*,"³ there being no persons to whom by any possible construction the pronoun can refer.

Eusebius speaks of a story not unlike this, told by Papias, as being in a no longer extant "Gospel to the Hebrews." It was probably first inserted as an edifying story in the margin of the fourth Gospel by some copyist, and at length taken into the text by a much later copyist, who supposed that it had been accidentally omitted, and that it really belonged in the text.

The circumstances of this narrative are highly improbable. If the woman was legally in custody, the officers of justice would not have lost their hold upon her; while volunteer accusers could hardly have carried her to the Temple in open day without her own consent. Then, too, the Levitical law prescribed stoning only in certain specified cases; we have no evidence that this penalty had been inflicted even in such cases in the later periods of self-rule in Judæa, and at this time the Jews did not possess the right of capital punishment. Then, as to the purpose of ensnaring Jesus, his position with reference to the seventh commandment of the Decalogue must have been too well known to leave any opening for doubt or cavil.

But the sufficient reason for not retaining this narrative in the Gospel is that it places Jesus in a position adverse to that which he constantly maintained. It represents him as taking no cognizance of the woman's present state of mind with regard to her crime, as neither recognizing any expression of contrite sorrow nor exhorting her to repentance, but rather as extenuating her guilt by assuming like guilt on the part of her accusers. That he should have regarded her with pity, and should have

¹ *Οἱ γραμματεῖς.*

² *Ὁ γραμματεὺς*, rendered "the town-clerk" in both the common and the Revised Version, but denoting a magistrate who, while having charge of the public affairs, possessed authority not unlike that of the mayor of a modern city.

³ *Αὐτοῖς.*

pledged to her the divine forgiveness if she was truly penitent, would have been in harmony with his spirit and his mission. But that he should have treated her sin so lightly and dismissed her without a word of censure is entirely out of keeping with his wonted method, and we may well be glad that the narrative, as it stands, lacks the sanction, not only of the beloved disciple, but also of the earliest Christian antiquity.

A. P. Peabody.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Patrick Henry. Life, Correspondence, and Speeches. By *William Wirt Henry*. With Portrait. Vol. I. pp. ix, 622. Vol. II. pp. xv, 652. Vol. III. (Correspondence) pp. 672. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. — These three large and handsome volumes give essentially the same result as Professor Tyler's compact biography, except that the Southern feeling is very pronounced in the second volume (as it was in Patrick Henry himself), and that the revolutionary and sub-revolutionary affairs of Virginia generally are given in great amplitude, as indeed they might well be in the life of a man in whose personality Virginia was so thoroughly bound up. The biography shows, without exaggeration, though not without filial emphasis, the large generosity of Virginian statesmanship during this vital time, and the large generosity of Patrick Henry's own statesmanship in helping to broaden the basis of the commonwealth, and to establish the rights of conscience in their fullness.

Mr. Henry hardly brings out as distinctly as Professor Tyler the futility of Jefferson's insinuations of incompetency and idleness against his ancestor's earlier professional life. To most of us, Patrick Henry had appeared as an inspired ignoramus and loungeur, who set the country on fire at the beginning, and spent the rest of his life on the strength of this first afflatus. His two later biographers have effectually disposed of this impression. Patrick Henry was not, indeed, in law a Marshall, or in the theory of statesmanship a Madison; but he was, as a jurist, thought worthy by Washington of being offered the Chief Justiceship of the United States, while, as Governor of Virginia in the darkest hour of the Revolution, he was *worthy* to be the Governor of Virginia. The contrast between his own greater and Jefferson's lesser efficiency in this office (of which Henry was only too sensible), though not, after all, so very marked, seems to have been the foundation of the latter's invincible malignity towards him for the rest of his life. Jefferson was a great mind, but can hardly be called a great man, for, as Hildreth remarks, his nature was cast in a feminine rather than a masculine mould, and he did not well sustain the shock of masculine collisions. Henry's absence of gall, sharp as he could be on occasion, seems to have been one great secret of his undying influence in Virginia.

Patrick Henry and Jefferson seem to have diverged in their relations to the Constitution from the time that it went into effect. Jefferson had hardly been so intense against it as it stood, but gave it, when adopted, an anarchical interpretation, culminating in the Resolutions of 1798, which poisoned the whole subsequent temper of the South towards federal authority, and,

as the author reminds us, by no means of the South alone. Patrick Henry, on the other hand, opposed ratification to the very verge of disunion; but when he failed, he loyally, though by no means lovingly, acquiesced, and recognized that his State had established over herself, for general ends, a true national government, of whose powers she individually could no longer judge, opposing all attempts at nullification. "What Charlotte County," said he, "is to Virginia, that is Virginia to the Union." This sound position, from which he never varied, was what brought him around at length from his strained relations to Washington back to the old affectionate cordiality. As for Jefferson's circuitous attempts to bring the tension of these years to a rupture, and the spiteful fling of his party that the Federalists had offered Patrick Henry everything which they knew he would not accept, it is enough to say that they are thoroughly Jeffersonian. It is true, if Henry had not been so immovably hostile to the whole influence of French encyclopædism, Jefferson might have found it easier to forgive him. Patrick Henry's conduct in the whole range of "relative duties" as husband, brother, father, and master seems to have exemplified typically that eminent healthiness resting on un-moved Christian faith, as this deepened and comprehended more and more of the character which appears to be still characteristic of his class of society in Virginia, and not least in southern Virginia. The struggles of his life to find the means of supporting his family of seventeen children are allowed to have ended in a somewhat excessive attachment to the wealth into which his later years opened out. He did not dwell much on his fame, but was only too well pleased with compliments to his property.

Henry's oratory, great as it was, was so largely made up of the personal element as hardly to rank among the very highest, as may be said, perhaps, even of Whitefield and Chatham. As a lawyer, he entered fully into the peculiar morality, or immorality, of his profession, and appears, on occasion, to have been an absolutely consummate master in the art of making the worse appear the better reason.

As a Southerner, it was not without good ground that Patrick Henry recognized in the young John Randolph of Roanoke a probable successor, though the immediate occasion of his favorable judgment of him had nothing to do with sectional matters. The contemptuous and rather selfish readiness of New England and New York to give up control of the Mississippi for present commercial concessions from Spain seems to have always rankled in his mind. The keynote which he set for the South was: "Southern interests will always be sacrificed by the Northern majority." His descendant and biographer holds him to have been a true prophet as to the whole course of the future. He does not explain how this innocent and oppressed section came to suffer such wrongs during a history of seventy-two years, in which she held the keys of power in person for forty-eight, indeed, including servile deputies, for fifty-six, and in which she frightened the North into granting almost everything that she desired, and into surrendering almost everything that she disliked. Jefferson's more ideal vision was, on this side, undoubtedly nobler and worthier of a prophet.

The author bestows what appears to us rather excessive praise on the value of the amendments which his great-grandfather was the chief agent in securing, and the still greater value of those which he would have liked to secure. We own to great doubt whether, the Constitution being what

it is, these earlier amendments have made much difference in its development. There seems a smack of superfluous declamation in them. This chapter, however, has a good many cautionary hints by no means unworthy of being pondered. The biographer cordially admires the Constitution, defects and all, as equally fitted for a narrow territory or for a continent, and emphatically reprobates all pretense that resistance to it has ever rested on any other than a revolutionary right.

The Life has a tone of cordial eulogy, well kept within the limits of demonstrable fact, untinged with bitterness, although some facts have to be mentioned which bear rather bitterly on the great but not magnanimous enemy whose sly spite kept Patrick Henry out of his full rights of renown for so many years.

Christopher Columbus, And how he Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery. By *Justin Winsor*. "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." (Psalms cvii. 23, 24.) Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1891. Pp. xi, 674. \$4.00. — Mr. Winsor might perhaps have rendered his valuable biography still more valuable, if he had not written it in such a constant attitude of pugnacity towards "the canonizers," ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical, from Irving and Prescott to De Lorgues. His love of justice sometimes seems to verge on injustice. This appears still more in his designation of Isabella as "an unlovely character, and an obstructor of Christian charity." She may have been this, but it does not appear in the course of his own narrative. On the contrary, for anything that comes to view in this Life, she may have been substantially as gracious and high-minded as Irving or Prescott represents. We have not discovered on what Mr. Winsor rests in accusing her, towards her end, of affecting a disposition of patronage towards Columbus which she no longer felt. We are glad to see that Mr. Winsor describes her as chiefly interested in the new discoveries on their "emotional" — that is, religious — "and intellectual side." He also, we see, does not dispute her sincere displeasure when the natives were enslaved or ill-treated. She was not a Las Casas, it is true, but is it not a rather unmerciful rigor to insist on judging her by our standard, by which Las Casas himself, as a Spanish Catholic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, might possibly suffer, at least in our self-complacent eyes? We shall, therefore, until better advised, continue to hold her, in Mr. Caldecott's words, "a queen of singularly high and tender soul," though hardly of as unimpeached a truthfulness as her daughter Catherine. Her confessor and her husband seem thus far to have shoulders broad enough to bear the weight of the direful faults into which Spanish bigotry betrayed the impressibility of a female soul. We must own, however, to shivering when we think of some things related of her haughty defiance of the Pope when he threatened her coffers by objecting to her peculiar uses of the Inquisition.

Columbus's own faults Mr. Winsor sets forth with the amplest detail, and fairly luxuriates in them. His want of the commanding soul falls into view at the very first: his utter lack of self-knowledge in stipulating for the viceroyalty of a world when he could hardly govern a ship, and could not at all govern a province; his lack of those elementary instincts of justice and humanity towards the natives which were so quick in Isabella and so luminous in Las Casas, and of which even Ferdinand was not without some trace; the growth or decline of his pious zeal for convert-

ing the natives in almost exact inverse ratio to his prospects of making gain by plundering or enslaving them; his willingness to compel his men to perjury in order, *per fas et nefas*, to turn Cuba into Cathay; his mean readiness, on a self-attested oath, to rob a poor seaman of his subordinate renown and reward; the hysterical vagaries into which his fancy was always ready to fall; the extraordinary closeness of his observation and his incapacity of large or sober induction from it, — all these things seem to be unmistakably in the facts, however mercilessly Mr. Winsor may lie in wait to pelt our unwary admiration or unpermitted charity with them. When we succeed to the holy chair, we think we shall canonize Columbus out of sheer desperation, on the ground that a great deed can hardly be stumbled into by mere mistake, without some answering greatness in the doer.

Mr. Winsor puts an end to the fanciful pictures of frowning convocations of ecclesiastics and professors, gathered to argue down the possibility of a new world out of Aristotle and Joshua, and making us wonder how the poor man ever steered clear of the Inquisition. In his narrative there appears hardly a trace of this. The conference at Salamanca, it is true, reported unfavorably, after a private and informal session; but of course there could be no serious question of orthodoxy if St. Augustine, as Mr. Winsor says, had taught the earth's sphericity, and if one of the things known by heart to the monks of the Middle Ages was a poem anticipating very much such discoveries. The reprobation of Antipodes rested on wholly different grounds. Two fifths of the width of the Atlantic, it must be remembered, was already known, and these floating notions of floating islands and of fixed archipelagoes, in the space which we now know to be almost bare, helped the imagination wonderfully. We remember the beneficent illusions which Schopenhauer, like a great fool as he is, is said to be so severe in criticising, but by which Columbus and his men were lured on day after day until they reached the goal.

What, then, was there so great in Columbus's feat? That is the legendary question, to which we know his legendary reply, which, in Mr. Winsor's emendation, might well have been his answer, as it had really answered other cavaliers somewhere in the time of the earlier Quaternary. The shutting up of eastern routes by the Moslem forced Christian expectation into the southern and the western channel; and at last, when these floating fancies strengthened into the fixed thought of an aspiring imagination, and this kindled a kindred flame in the high imagination of a great queen, the thing was done. The terrors of the Sea of Darkness, in spite of all conjectures, still rested on the minds of common men, and they were dispelled at last because Columbus was not a common man, and because Isabella was not a common woman. The Pilgrim Fathers, too, have been picked to pieces, most authentically, a thousand times. Their thoughts lagged immensely behind their achievements, and the particular performances which they anticipated lagged immensely behind their thoughts. Their holiest purposes, moreover, were crossed and flecked with cupidity and cruelty. Nevertheless, it was rightly said to them, as it might have been rightly said to Columbus and Isabella: "The glory shall be yours to the world's end." Sounder heads than that of Columbus followed him, when the flaming torch of a soaring spirit had lighted the way for them. A few years more, and Cabral struck Brazil in beating down towards the Cape of Good Hope. If, now, San Salvador had not been already discovered, we might at present all be wondering why

we are not called Cabralians instead of Americans. Only it so happened that San Salvador had been actually discovered. The sky fell a little before Cabral's time, and so Columbus caught the larks. Let him by all means keep them.

Mr. Winsor shows that the discovery makes even now a greater stir in our minds than it appears to have made, outside of a few limited circles, at the time when the caravels sailed back into Palos. The animated and brilliant picture which Irving draws of the reception in Barcelona hardly reappears in the annals of Barcelona, or in other chronicles of the time. It was an interesting thing, indeed, to learn that the islands off the coast of Cathay had been reached in fact, as wise men had so often opined that they might be. But why should the world be shaken over a discovery of which Seneca had had so much better a premonition than the very man who himself had caused "Ocean to relax his bonds, and a new world to arise beyond the Western main," and who did not know, and never would consent to know, what he had done when he had done it? Even when he finally discovered the continent of South America (which it seems reasonably certain that Vesputius had not done before him), he wavered between Paradise and Cathay, but would know nothing of a *Novus Mundus*. It seems that Ferdinand Columbus, after his father's death, regarded South America as quite a distinct thing from the great and original discovery, and did not complain that this secondary find should bear the particular name of America. There never was a more innocent or less contested usurpation until, towards 1550, good Las Casas suddenly waked up and protested too late — knowing now that *Noster Seneca* had here at least proved canonical — that the New World "ought to be called Columba."

Mr. Winsor would evidently not have had the slightest objection if Lief Ericsson had discovered America, or if he had instructed Columbus how to do so. But he holds it doubtful whether Columbus, in his one northern voyage, touched Iceland; and if he did, whether he learned anything of these Vinland voyages; and if he did, whether they signified much to him. Greenland is put down in the maps of the time as an immense extension of northern Russia or Scandinavia, and it would not have meant much to Columbus to learn that it was a few days' journey longer or shorter. They tell us now that Labrador is as far as Lief can have gone. Certain it is, that when later Columbus had all occasion to summon every authority, he said nothing about this, and of course he did not expect to find Vinland by sailing southwest.

The biographer, it seems to us, draws a rather harsh inference, in concluding, from the indifference with which the news of the great discoverer's death was received, to his unworthiness of being remembered. Surely the attention which that "king in disguise," known as To-day, receives, is in very uncertain proportion to his intrinsic rank. Certainly Columbus has not suffered from any lack of attention now that it can do him no good. Still, we will not in the least dispute that what he *was* stood much below the level of what he *did*, and that to the great gift of aspiration the great gift of lofty constancy of noble endeavor was not added for him.

"The soul of man is adequate to gain
Heights which it is not adequate to keep,"

seems to have been emphatically true of this character.

We think, however, that it is possible he might ask : " In this year, of all years, might I not perhaps have enjoyed from a son of the New World a somewhat milder presentation of my many and grievous faults, and a somewhat more cordial acknowledgment of my supreme achievement? "

The ups and downs of the Admiral's reputation in the hands of biographers are very divertingly told. We doubt whether the present biographer has found quite the line of no variation. His person and countenance seem to be as little of a fixity as his character. Mr. Winsor, however, allows us to believe him of impressive demeanor and appearance, and of that complexion which, in a Genoese, suggests Teutonic blood. He gives us all the portraits, and we may choose our Columbus for ourselves. Even Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella are contended with considerable reason to be only ideal faces founded on loose remembrances after portrait-painting had become more common in Spain. As to birth, we are happy in being finally allowed to believe, what was once supposed, that the discoverer was born in Genoa. Not seven, but seventeen cities, have contended for the honor of his nativity, and we can only gratify them all by assuming an original pluripresence, and so canonizing him *ab initio*.

The character of Columbus is seen to singular disadvantage when contrasted with the far-reaching plans, lofty simplicity, and magnificent self-devotion of Prince Henry of Portugal, the father of modern discovery, whose agents were men of like self-forgetting and heroic mould with himself.

The portraits, and pictures, and diagrams, and above all the maps, with which the book is sown, take us through all the stages of conjectural, incipient, unfolding, and completed discovery.

There seems to be very fair reason for believing that Columbus is, after all, buried in Havana.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. The Unseen Friend. By Lucy Larcom. Pp. xi, 217. 1892. \$1.00. — Personality. Sermons by Samuel Richard Fuller, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Malden, Mass. Pp. 302. 1892. \$1.25.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. West Roxbury Sermons. By Theodore Parker. 1837-1848. From Unpublished Manuscripts. With Introduction and Biographical Sketch. Pp. xxiii, 235. \$1.00.

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